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May 25, 1998, Monday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; Metro Desk

LENGTH: 2005 words

HEADLINE: A BOOMTOWN OF **BILINGUAL EDUCATION**

BYLINE: NICK ANDERSON, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: MIAMI

BODY:

While **California** debates whether to stop teaching schoolchildren in two languages, the school system in this city at the crossroads of the Americas is expanding **bilingual education** under the argument that students will need to speak, read and write in English and Spanish when they reach the business world.

Here in Miami, there was little protest and much praise when the school board this year endorsed a plan to increase bilingual teaching for all students--not just those with limited English skills--from kindergarten through 12th grade.

The decision was seen as natural for a metropolis where the top-rated television station broadcasts in Spanish, the top-ranked newspaper publishes a separate Spanish daily edition, many top civic leaders speak effortless Spanish and Latinos have become the majority.

Other school districts nationwide have come to similar conclusions, as "two-way" bilingual programs--which immerse students in English and another language--have grown in popularity. There are at least 200 such programs in 20 states, according to the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington. They are in cities such as New York, Chicago, Houston and San Jose.

Their growth appears to be limited only by demographics (mixing students who speak different languages is ideal), by the supply of bilingual teachers (often scarce) and by money (always a concern).

Donna Christian, the center's director, said the two-way approach has become popular in part because it avoids the "stigma," "negative press" and "controversy" that often follow other forms of **bilingual education**.

California May Move in Opposite Direction

Nowhere is the controversy more intense than in **California**, where a vote on an anti-**bilingual education** initiative, Proposition 227, will take place June 2. The initiative, ahead by a 63%-23% margin among likely voters in a new Los Angeles Times poll, would end most bilingual programs in **California** and give students with limited English skills about one year of special English classes before placing them in the mainstream.

How **California** votes on the measure could have nationwide repercussions because the state has more students with limited English skills than any other: 1.4 million. About 30% of them are in formal bilingual programs, including some two-way programs. But the more common approach in **California** is "transitional" **bilingual education**, in which students often spend more time being taught in their native language than in English during their first school years. Educators in Miami, home to the first bilingual

public school in the modern era, are baffled by the cultural and political firefight over **bilingual education** on the other side of the country.

"We view it here differently than they do in **California**," said Miami school board member Perla Tabares Hantman. "We see it as a business opportunity for students."

Noting that their region's trade with Latin America amounts to billions of dollars a year, business leaders say Miami cannot afford to do without **bilingual education**.

"I don't give a hoot about the political aspects of it," said James F. Partridge, chief of Latin American and Caribbean operations for Visa International, a branch of the credit card company. "To me, that's a lot of garbage. I'm interested in the financial well-being of this community. We need bilingual people to survive."

Partridge is so concerned about the issue that his office here gives remedial lessons in Spanish and Portuguese to dozens of employees whose weak bilingual skills don't allow them to communicate with clients in those languages.

The pro-bilingual movement in the 340,000-student Dade County Public Schools, the nation's fourth-largest district, highlights several issues often overlooked in the Proposition 227 debate.

In **California**, **bilingual education** is usually seen as a program just for students with limited English skills. But here, **bilingual education** is sold as a program for everyone.

In **California**, fluency in English is the overriding priority. Here, no one denies that English is essential, but other languages--including Spanish, Portuguese and Haitian-Creole--are also deemed vital.

In **California**, many people assume that the children of immigrants can learn their native language from family while studying only in English at school. Here, many people have concluded that native language skills erode without help from schools.

Consider the story of Hilda Garcia, 26, born to Cuban parents and raised in Miami. She learned Spanish at home but attended English-only schools as a child. Now she works for a steamship line that does business with Panama, and she finds her Spanish sorely lacking.

"I never was able to learn perfect Spanish. We all speak Spanglish," Garcia said, referring to a hybrid of Miami's two dominant languages. "I regret that very much. Our faxes, our e-mail, everything is in Spanish. I have to have three dictionaries next to me to make sure it all gets translated correctly."

Hoping to give her 6-year-old son, Jonathan, a formal grounding in Spanish, Garcia has enrolled him in Coral Way Elementary School. The school on Cuban Memorial Boulevard in the Little Havana district lies just south of a shrine with a perpetual flame burning for those who died at the Bay of Pigs.

All students spend three hours a day learning in English in one classroom and two hours in Spanish in another. Teachers boast of students who are exposed to Shakespeare and Cervantes by the time they leave for middle school. Even E.D. Hirsch, the renowned education conservative and advocate of "cultural literacy," has given the school his endorsement in a signed plaque that hangs in the principal's office.

No distinctions are made among the newcomer from Nicaragua who has limited English ability, the young Haitian who speaks mainly English and Creole and the third-generation Cuban American who knows a bit of Spanish and a lot of English.

About a third of the school's students start with limited English skills, officials say, but nearly all are close to fluency by third grade. On standardized tests, students score in the 71st percentile in math computation and 47th percentile in English reading comprehension--considered good marks for an urban area.

Principal Migdania D. Vega said she has hosted legions of out-of-town educators, including a recent delegation from the Los Angeles Unified School District. What makes the difference, she said, is attitude. **Bilingual education** here is seen as "enrichment" rather than "remedial."

Some research has found that two-way programs, also known as "dual immersion," are more effective than other kinds of bilingual or English-intensive teaching methods.

The approach, Vega said, "needs a lot of support, a lot of commitment, a lot of belief in what you're doing."

Birthplace of the New Bilingualism

Marjorie Figueroa has no doubts. The 7-year-old daughter of Salvadoran immigrants, a native Spanish speaker, is an archetypal bilingual success story for Miami civic leaders. She was writing an account of Mother's Day in class one morning in clear English.

The confident second-grader looked up from her journal to tell a reporter that she speaks "English to my sister and brother, to my dad Spanish and English, and to my mother, Spanish, because she doesn't know English."

It was at Coral Way Elementary in 1963 that **bilingual education** was reborn, a response to the influx of Spanish-speaking children after the communist takeover of Cuba. Teaching in two languages, common in other eras of American history, had fallen out of practice after the First World War amid a wave of nationalism and English-only sentiment.

The school helped inspire the landmark federal **Bilingual Education** Act in 1968. In **California**, mandatory English-only education was repealed the previous year under then-Gov. Ronald Reagan.

Despite the success at Coral Way Elementary, schools elsewhere in Miami kept teaching almost entirely in English. Most Cuban emigres didn't seem to mind, leaving Hilda Garcia's generation to learn the Spanish of the streets and the home rather than the Spanish of the business world or academia. Newcomers were given some classroom help in their native language, but for the most part, English was the rule.

The new push for **bilingual education** is coming from the Miami business community. In **California**, by contrast, few businesses or business groups have spoken out against Proposition 227.

A 1995 survey of businesses in Miami and surrounding Dade County found that more than half did at least 25% of their work in Spanish. What's more, 95% of the businesses surveyed agreed on the importance of a bilingual work force. Another study by a University of Miami geographer found evidence that Dade County's Hispanic (the term preferred here over Latino) inhabitants who know English and Spanish earn more than those who know only English--perhaps as much as \$ 3,000 a year more, on average.

Unz Initiative Puts Emphasis on English

Ron K. Unz, the businessman who authored Proposition 227, says he supports bilingualism. But he asserts that **bilingual education** has failed to teach hundreds of thousands of **California** students the English they need to compete in colleges or the job market. He cites other research suggesting that Latino immigrants in bilingual programs failed to keep pace in earnings.

"Fluency in Spanish may prove a significant advantage," Unz wrote in an opinion piece for The Times last October, "but lack of literacy in English represents a crippling, almost fatal disadvantage in our global economy."

An Unz campaign spokeswoman said that the fine print of Proposition 227 would make two-way

programs possible for students whose parents obtain waivers. But critics say the initiative would wipe them out.

English-only advocates in Dade County, in years past quite vocal, seem for now a virtually silent minority.

Enos Schera, a retired electrician, is a vice president of a group called Citizens of Dade United, which opposes **bilingual education** and illegal immigration. Schera said many people resent the emerging power of Spanish-speakers who have turned the county's demographics, culture and politics upside-down.

English immersion, Schera said, is "the best method for anybody to learn a language. Not this bilingual business." He added: "They all have a mind-set around this town that everybody should be learning Spanish to link into the Latin American trade. I think that's deplorable. What if they the students choose not to become Spanish speakers?"

But such views hold little influence here these days. A community task force earlier this year recommended several steps aimed at making all students bilingual. First on the list were about \$ 2.3 million worth of proposals to, among other things, add dozens of bilingual and English-as-a-Second-Language teachers at all grade levels and start 10 new two-way bilingual programs in elementary schools. About 30 elementary schools now have such programs, out of 200 districtwide.

Recommendations for ensuing years, which cost considerably more, include requiring three years of foreign-language study in high school and doubling the amount of Spanish language instruction in all elementary schools--to one hour a day from the current half hour minimum. The eventual goal is to make voluntary bilingual classes available to every student.

The nine-member school board unanimously approved the plan in March during a spirited multilingual meeting--which included recitations of the Pledge of Allegiance in Spanish and "Jingle Bells" in Latin--though it put off funding decisions until June. Several board members and school administrators now say they expect the first year's funding to pass easily.

And in following years? "I'm going to go as far as I can take it," said Roger C. Cuevas, the Cuban-born school superintendent. "It's really all about economics. And the engine of economic development is education."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Lisette Fernandez teaches at Coral Way Elementary School, **PHOTOGRAPHER:** BILL COOKE / For The Times **PHOTO:** where sign shows emphasis on bilingualism. **PHOTOGRAPHER:** BILL COOKE / For The Times

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 25, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

Example: House of Representatives

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May 26, 1998, Tuesday 18:46 Eastern Time

SECTION: Commentary

LENGTH: 865 words

HEADLINE: GLEANINGS FROM CALIFORNIA'S ETHNIC MEDIA-- ETHNIC PRESS SPEAKS WITH RARE UNITY FOR **BILINGUAL EDUCATION**

DATELINE: **BILINGUAL EDUCATION NEEDS FIXING**

BODY:

BUT 227 ISN'T THE WAY

We believe that Proposition 227 is inherently flawed. But we believe that current **bilingual education** programs are flawed as well.

Unz's initiative was important in forcing us to re-examine our current school system and how we have or haven't been serving the 1.4 million limited-English speaking children -- including 200,000 plus Asian Americans -- across the state.

Too often, children aren't learning English. We need to concentrate not only on the best way to teach English, but on how to improve the entire school system and equip our local schools with the resources and tools they need to improve current programs.

Asian Week (San Francisco)

NO ON PROPOSITION 227

Approving Proposition 227 would provide a fatal blow to the state's educational system. The proposition arbitrarily establishes unproved educational methods, and keeps parents and educators from deciding on the best methods. It would be unfortunate if the proposition is approved, but even more so if it passes thanks to Latino votes.

Latinos should vote against it or they will contribute to one of the biggest mistakes in the history of **California's** educational politics, with possible repercussions throughout the country. **Bilingual education** should be improved not eliminated.

La Opinion (Los Angeles)

THE TRUTH ABOUT PROPOSITION 227

The decision on the future of **bilingual education** is drawing closer, yet media coverage doesn't address the concerns of those against abolishing such programs.

As a result, many recipients of these programs (or their families) are being misled about the true nature of Prop. 227. Like Ron Unz, many supporters of 227 are Anglos and monolingual and concealing their true political and racist motives -- they are against the advancement of Latinos.

Bringing Spanish or other languages into schools adds to the richness of the culture of the United States.

Vote no on Prop. 227, which without the Hispanic vote, will lack legitimacy.

El Reportero (San Francisco)

NO ON 227

Once again the racist right wing forces have come up with a proposition designed to hurt, hamper and hinder the education of people of color.

They would like us to believe that 227 is about the betterment of education. However, the Republican Party (and in most cases the Democratic Party as well) has never been concerned with improving the situation for people of color in the U.S. or abroad. This proposition is simply another attempt to keep people of color from being educated.

Not only is 227 ridiculous from an educational standpoint but it is racist arrogance to assume English should be the only language of education or business. In an increasingly global economy it is important and beneficial to know a language other than English.

Sun Reporter (San Francisco)

BILINGUAL EDUCATION: A BRIDGE TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

What was the most difficult subject for you in school? Imagine having to learn it with a teacher speaking a foreign language.

That's what will happen to immigrant children if Proposition 227 is approved -- it will mean a return to the old days of "sink or swim" education. That system worked for a small group, but overall it was a failure.

Bilingual education is not perfect but it tries to give immigrant children a chance-- it suggests to them that their language is valuable and, as a result, so are they.

La Oferta Review (San Jose)

LET'S VOTE "NO" REGARDING PROPOSITION 227

While very few Vietnamese students in **California** are in **bilingual education**, they will be severely affected if the Proposition passes.

Many Vietnamese Americans are of two minds about the issue. Those who came between 1975 and 1980 did not go through special English language instruction, and did well. They assume those who came later can do as well -- but the fact is, many latecomers did not have a good educational background in Vietnam.

Cali Today (San Jose)

A MEAN-SPIRITED ATTACK

Latinos continue to be the scapegoat for America's shortcomings.

Take the case of Proposition 227. It underestimates the difficulty of learning English -- considered worldwide to be the most challenging language.

Prop. 227 gives **California's** schools less than three months to devise and implement a new program of "sheltered English immersion" for the 1,350,000 students with limited English proficiency. Unz's heavy handed, one-size-fits-all solution negates the wisdom and commitment of educators and language specialists. We can't afford to turn our back on the immigrant child.

El Tecolote (San Francisco)

PROPOSITION 227 WON'T WORK AT ALL

Bilingual education is good for English-limited students. Proposition 227 is detrimental to an open and effective learning and teaching system, according to Liana Szeto, principal of the Alice Fong Yu School in San Francisco.

Cancelling **bilingual education** is not fair. To put all age levels of students in one classroom is just silly. Students with varying age levels have different educational backgrounds and learning patterns.

Proposition 227 takes away the parents' rights to choose their children's educational plan.

World Journal (San Francisco)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 27, 1998

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Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

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May 29, 1998, Friday, Home Edition

SECTION: Metro; Part B; Page 9; Op Ed Desk

LENGTH: 635 words

HEADLINE: COMMENTARY;
BILINGUAL ED SHORTCHANGES LATINO KIDS;
YES ON 227: SANTA BARBARA TRIED IT BOTH WAYS. STUDENTS SCORED BETTER WITH
THE ENGLISH- EMPHASIZING PROGRAM.

BYLINE: ALAN EBENSTEIN, Alan Ebenstein is a member of the Santa Barbara Board of Education

BODY:

When the Santa Barbara Board of Education voted earlier this year to eliminate **bilingual education** from local schools, it did so on the basis of factual information that pertains elsewhere.

Bilingual education in California is failing. The students who go through the program are not performing as well as students from all other ethnic groups. In 1996 among 12th graders in Santa Barbara schools, 55% of African Americans, 47% of Asian Americans, 46% of whites but only 14% of Latinos took the Scholastic Assessment Test. This figure for Latino participation is comparable with other years. Most college-bound students take the SAT.

One of the great misunderstandings regarding **bilingual education** is that it is a program intended mostly or even largely for students who are not born in the United States. This school year, 8.5% of Latino kindergarteners in Santa Barbara schools were not born in the United States, yet approximately 85% of Latino kindergarteners are receiving most of their instruction in Spanish. **Bilingual education in California** is predominantly a program to teach American children of Latino descent in Spanish for most of their elementary school years.

A statistic often used by supporters of **bilingual education** is that only about 30% of 1.4 million students in the state classified as "limited English proficient" receive instruction in their "primary" language. This statistic is misleading from several perspectives.

In the first place, on the same chart that the **California** Department of Education publishes showing about 30% of LEP students receiving instruction in "academic subjects through the primary language," another 22% of LEP students are listed as receiving "primary language support."

As important, though, the 30% figure used by bilingual proponents does not differentiate between Spanish-speaking and other LEP students, nor does it differentiate between elementary and secondary students. About 80% of LEP students in the state are Spanish-speaking, but about 96% of bilingual teachers in the state are Spanish-speaking. Moreover, **bilingual education** is much more likely to be concentrated at the elementary level.

The bottom line is that for elementary students in the state who speak Spanish at home, 80% to 90% receive either academic instruction in Spanish or Spanish-language support, particularly during the vital kindergarten through third-grade years when children learn to read and write.

One of the major arguments made by bilingual proponents is that students in bilingual programs not only will do better in English, but also in content areas of instruction. This wasn't the case in Santa Barbara. Among our 10 elementary schools, one has utilized an English-emphasis approach during recent years,

while others have implemented a traditional bilingual program. Spanish-speaking LEP students from the school that has emphasized English are doing better in English reading and writing than Spanish-speaking LEP students from other schools--and their scores are better in math as well.

Bilingual education programs have been formulated by well-meaning people. They are implemented by thousands of child-oriented teachers. But they have not worked. The children who have gone through bilingual programs are not well prepared academically for the challenges of the American economy at the turn of the 21st century.

Only through passage of Proposition 227, the **Unz initiative**, will change in **bilingual education** come for hundreds of thousands of Spanish-speaking students trapped in **California's** bilingual morass. Only through Proposition 227 will the large urban school districts that educate most of the state's Spanish-speaking children change their programs. These children have too much potential to squander their education.

GRAPHIC: GRAPHIC-DRAWING: (no caption) LALO ALCARAZ, La Jomada, Mexico City

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 29, 1998

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Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

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Example: House of Representatives

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May 31, 1998, Sunday 19:05 Eastern Time

SECTION: State and regional

LENGTH: 1442 words

HEADLINE: Waivers studied as key to Prop. 227

BYLINE: Ed Mendel

DATELINE: SACRAMENTO

BODY:

It's commonly said that Proposition 227 on Tuesday's statewide ballot would end most **bilingual education** programs.

But would it?

As the initiative continues to hold a commanding lead in the polls, school districts are taking a close look at a built-in waiver process while they begin thinking about how the measure would be implemented.

The initiative requires that all of the children in **California** public schools who speak limited English, about 1.4 million students, be quickly taught English in "sheltered immersion" programs normally lasting about a year.

However, under what some think may turn out to be a broad and flexible provision, the initiative allows waivers of the English immersion requirement for children who have "special physical, emotional, psychological or educational needs."

The special needs are not defined. But the initiative makes it clear that waivers allow **bilingual education**, in which students are taught in their native language for up to seven years while studying English for a varying period each day.

Conservative opponents of the initiative, who want to end all **bilingual education**, contend that the special-needs waiver is an obvious loophole that will allow school districts to continue **bilingual education** if parents sign waivers.

"A child who doesn't speak English of course has special needs, and any child with that can demand **bilingual education**," said Terry Graham, a conservative activist in Sacramento.

But another group of opponents, many **bilingual education** teachers, agree with the conventional view that the initiative sponsored by businessman Ron Unz will end most **bilingual education** programs.

"The waiver process will not address the needs of a large majority of parents who are actively seeking to have their children in those (**bilingual education**) programs," said Maria Quezada, president of the **California Association for Bilingual Education**.

The initiative, should it win, will have a short start-up period, applying the new rules to school terms that begin 60 days after the election. One or more legal challenges are being prepared, and opponents are expected to seek a court order blocking the initiative while its constitutionality is litigated.

"It's going to be a hard legal challenge," predicted Erwin Chemerinsky, a University of Southern **California** law professor. "A lot depends on how it's presented in court and who the judge is."

Dual strategy

Some think opponents of Proposition 227 may use a two-pronged strategy, similar to the battle against a new law that requires all students to take an annual statewide achievement test even if they don't speak English.

The San Francisco Unified School District obtained a court order blocking the test for non-English speakers. The Los Angeles Unified School District did not give the test to thousands of children who speak limited English after their parents requested waivers. The San Diego Unified School District reluctantly agreed to give the test, under the condition that the state report the results of limited-English students separately.

Among the school districts looking at the waiver provision in Proposition 227 is the Sweetwater Union High School District, which draws students from the Chula Vista, San Ysidro, South Bay and National City elementary districts.

"We have been talking to parent groups, and the parents are saying, 'Yes, they will sign the waiver,'" said Alma Pirazzini, Sweetwater **bilingual education** director.

The Chula Vista Elementary School District, whose board is committed to a policy of multiple languages for all students, has been working with other districts to draft a waiver form for parents.

"We are starting to put something together, should it pass," said Dennis Doyle, Chula Vista assistant superintendent. "We need to move forward with having some vehicle ready for parents."

The Los Angeles Unified School District has prepared an 18-page draft of a contingency plan for implementing Proposition 227. The plan mentions the waiver process but does not say how a special-needs waiver would work.

"We have no way of knowing," said Tony Marsnik, Los Angeles Unified language acquisition coordinator. "That is one of the tasks that is left to do."

At the San Diego Unified School District, officials worry that Proposition 227 could harm the popular "dual-immersion" programs. Half the students in a class speak English, half speak another language, and the two groups learn each other's language while pursuing regular studies.

"If the interpretation of special needs is strict, those programs will be decimated," said Tim Allen, San Diego Unified director of second-language education.

San Diego Unified operates dual-immersion programs at four schools and has programs under development at two more schools. There are about 60 dual immersion programs statewide.

Unz, the Proposition 227 sponsor, said school districts should be preparing to seek the waivers that will be needed to continue operating dual-immersion programs if the initiative passes.

"I think the voters will take a very dim view of school board members who were sufficiently irresponsible to ignore the possibility that our initiative might pass," said Unz.

Waiver guidelines

Under the initiative, guidelines for special-needs waivers would be established by local school boards, subject to review by the state Board of Education. Unz expects the state board to act as a check against any local board that might try to undermine the intent of the initiative.

Unz believes some districts will establish "magnet" schools for **bilingual education**, drawing students from a wide area. Some school officials are exploring whether **bilingual education** can be offered

through innovative charter schools, whose number was expanded by a recent law.

"We are certainly not going to get rid of all of the **bilingual education** programs in **California**," said Unz. "We are probably going to get rid of 97 percent of them."

Although Unz is confident that the waiver provision will not be converted into a broad loophole, one of the co-authors of the initiative argued against putting anything in the initiative that might become the thin edge of a wedge.

"To be honest, I didn't want a waiver process in there at all," said Alice Callaghan of Las Familias del Pueblo in Los Angeles. She helped organize a school boycott two years ago by 90 students whose parents wanted their children taught in English.

But the nature of the debate over **bilingual education** changed after the initiative was placed on the ballot. A court ruled earlier this year that the state law requiring **bilingual education** had expired in 1987.

The ruling prompted the state Board of Education to adopt a new policy allowing local school boards to decide whether to use **bilingual education** or an alternative such as sheltered English.

And now the waiver allows Unz to cite the flexibility of the initiative when critics say decisions should not be imposed by the state, but made at the local level.

Under the initiative, there are three ways for parents to get waivers allowing their children to be taught through "**bilingual education** techniques or other generally recognized educational methodologies permitted by law."

While applying for a waiver, the parents or legal guardians of a child must visit the school and receive a full description of the educational programs and materials available to the child.

One waiver is specifically designed for English speakers who want to take dual immersion programs. The student's score on a standard English test must be at or above his or her grade level or the fifth-grade average, whichever is lower, to get the waiver.

A second waiver is for children 10 years or older. **Unz and the initiative** backers say kindergarten and first-grade students can quickly learn enough English, often in a few months, to move into a mainstream class and continue their English development. But older students may need to be taught in their native language.

Children seeking a waiver for the third reason, special needs, must first spend at least 30 days in an English-language classroom. The school principal and educational staff must believe that the child has a special need, and a written description of the need must accompany the waiver request.

The initiative says that if at least 20 students in a grade receive a waiver, the school must establish a bilingual class. If the school has no bilingual class, a student with a waiver must be allowed to transfer.

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 01, 1998

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June 1, 1998 Monday, FINAL / ALL

SECTION: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1323 words

HEADLINE: CALIFORNIANS TO DECIDE FATE OF BILINGUAL STUDIES

BYLINE: By JOE FROLIK; NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT

DATELINE: SANTA ANA, CALIF.

BODY:

Dora Godinez came here from Mexico as a teenager to a classroom where all instruction was in English. She floundered for three years, then dropped out. Godinez says it makes her heartsick to think of other newcomers being treated like that.

So tomorrow she will vote "No" on Proposition 227.

Lenin Lopez, another Mexican immigrant, saw his children on an educational treadmill to nowhere. Taught almost solely in Spanish in a Los Angeles school, they learned little English - the language he knows they will need to succeed in their new homeland. Lopez says it angers him to think of other children being marginalized like that.

So tomorrow he will vote "Yes" on Proposition 227.

Dubbed by its authors the "English for the Children" initiative, Proposition 227 would make sweeping changes in the way nearly a quarter of this state's schoolchildren are taught. It would effectively end **bilingual education** - the approach of teaching children in their primary language until they acquire proficiency in English, which academics say can take up to 10 years. It would mandate a year of intensive language instruction, then thrust those children into regular classrooms.

Polls indicate easy passage with strong support among Latinos, whose children make up 80 percent of **California's** limited-English students. The new law is to take effect by the time schools reopen this fall, although challenges are expected in the courts and in the classroom, where some teachers have publicly vowed to defy its dictates.

Opponents say Proposition 227 is a "sink-or-swim" approach that will send many children to the bottom of the educational pond.

"I very strongly believe we need to improve the English programs in schools," said Esperanza Linares, mother of two in the Santa Ana Unified School District, where 71 percent of the students are considered "limited English proficient."

"But it's also important not to forget those kids who don't understand. It's going to be a waste of time and a waste of lives."

Supporters counter that the current system already wastes time and lives, that almost anything beats the status quo.

"What happens now is, too many children end up illiterate in two languages," said the Rev. Alice Callaghan, an Episcopal minister who runs Las Familias del Pueblo, a storefront community center near

the school Lenin Lopez's children attend. "A lot of our children never learn to read or write well in either language."

Callaghan helped software entrepreneur Ron Unz and a handful of Latino educators draft the proposition.

The Los Angeles Times recently reported that 1,150 of the 5,800 schools in the state with at least 20 limited-English students failed to move even one child to English fluency last year. Statewide, only about 6 percent of limited-English students attain proficiency each year.

Virtually everyone concedes that there is no accountability - if children fail to advance, school districts face no sanctions; they keep getting special funding. This as **California** classrooms bulge from an immigrant wave that has lasted two decades.

California has 5.6 million public school children; a quarter come from homes where English is not the primary language. (By contrast, Ohio has 1.8 million public school students, 13,000 of them from limited-English backgrounds.) The number of limited-English children in **California's** schools has increased 300 percent since 1980. More than a third of all immigrants to the United States since then have settled in **California**.

Today in downtown Santa Ana, almost all store signs are in Spanish - the language of most clerks and customers. Callaghan, who works in a similar neighborhood near Los Angeles' garment district, argues that makes it especially important to insist on English in the classroom.

"Most of our kids live in Spanish-speaking homes, they watch Spanish-language television, they live in segregated neighborhoods," she said. "If the schools don't teach them English, how are they going to learn it?"

Bilingual programs are common in large urban school districts, but only about a third of the state's limited-English children attend such classes. More typical are schools that offer limited assistance to non-English speakers or simply toss them into regular classes, the situation that so frustrated Dora Godinez. No school districts now operate as Proposition 227 would mandate.

Gay Wong, an education researcher at **California** State University in Los Angeles, argues for bilingual classes that teach core subjects in the child's primary language while gradually building English proficiency. The idea, she says, is to not let youngsters fall behind their peers in math or history while they learn English.

But Wong admits that few programs really operate as an academic would like. The state is chronically short of bilingual teachers - despite paying them up to \$5,000 extra a year. Many children end up taught by uncredentialed instructors barely fluent in Spanish, Vietnamese or whatever other language they are supposed to be using.

Wong, an immigrant from Hong Kong, says Proposition 227's one-year limit on intensive English instruction bothers her most. "I just don't think it's realistic," she said.

Neither does Stanford University education expert Kenji Makuta. Makuta says bilingual instruction does help students, but it does not offset what he sees as the real problem facing many limited-English students: the poverty of their families and communities. Poor Anglo kids don't fare well in **California's** schools, either, he said, but language "has become a distraction."

Supporters point to the proposition's waiver process, which allows parents to seek additional, specialized help for their children. Some critics doubt poor, immigrant parents with little knowledge of English themselves will use such a process.

The 1996 boycott of Ninth Street School by Lopez and other Latino parents drew 227 author Unz to the **bilingual education** issue. Although he has no children, the Silicon Valley millionaire became

convinced that bilingual teaching was creating an academic backwater. He has put up nearly \$1 million to help pass 227.

Despite opposition from most education and civil rights groups and all four major candidates for governor, the **Unz initiative** is backed by more than 60 percent of Californians, polls indicate. It is ahead among Latino and Asian voters, a reflection, analysts say, of their commitment to seeing their children learn English.

Minority support has been a major goal for Unz. He insists his effort is not cut from the same cloth as 1994's Proposition 187, which sought to deny public services to the children of illegal immigrants, or 1996's Proposition 205, which ended racial preferences in state contracting and college admissions.

Last month, the initiative did pick up one high-profile supporter, Gov. Pete Wilson, the mastermind of Propositions 187 and 205. Unz, who ran against Wilson in the 1994 GOP primary, denounced the governor's endorsement - a clever move, in the eyes of Harry Pachon, president of the Tomas Rivera Public Policy Institute and a leading student of Latino politics. "Wilson is second to the anti-Christ among Latinos," said Pachon.

Zeke Hernandez, president of the League of United Latin American Citizens in Orange County, isn't buying Unz's assurances. Proposition 227, he frets, is another sign that, "they're coming after us." He predicts educational chaos if it passes.

But standing outside a Santa Ana church one evening after a vigil for local murder victims, he concedes that "privately we all know this will pass." And, he says, there may be a silver lining.

"Prop. 187 got people who had been here for years to become citizens so they could vote," said Hernandez. "Maybe this will motivate some of our Latino parents to go and learn English or at least turn off Channel 34, the Spanish TV station, so their kids get some reinforcement at home."

GRAPHIC: BOX: PLAIN DEALER; PHOTO BY: RENE MACURA / ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOGRAPHER; Esperanza Linares of Santa Ana will vote against Proposition 227. She holds her niece, 5-year-old Katherine Linares, who says she sometimes has to translate for classmates.; **PHOTO BY: KEVORK DJANSEZIAN / ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOGRAPHER;** Silicon Valley entrepreneur Ron Unz drafted **California's** bilingual initiative after becoming convinced that it was retarding the progress of English-limited students.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 2, 1998

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Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

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June 3, 1998, Wednesday; Second Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A-1

LENGTH: 916 words

HEADLINE: Bilingual measure headed to court ;
S.F. school board votes to join suit against Prop. 227

SOURCE: OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

BYLINE: CAROL NESS(Diana Walsh and Eric Brazil of The Examiner staff)

BODY:

Grappling with the state's burgeoning diversity for the third time in four years, **California** voters once again have taken a sink-or-swim approach, axing **bilingual education** by a huge majority.

And for the third time, the losers, civil rights groups, educators and advocates for 1.4 million **California** school kids who aren't fluent in English, are asking the courts to toss them a life preserver.

The San Francisco Board of Education voted unanimously Wednesday morning to join a federal court suit against the initiative, agreeing with Superintendent Bill Rojas that it is "fruitless, without standards, without accountability" and does an educational disservice to students.

Proposition 227, which would virtually replace **bilingual education** with one-year English immersion classes starting in the fall, won by 61 to 39 percent of the vote, about the same margin as 1994's Proposition 187, which would have denied education and medical care to undocumented immigrants, and by a greater margin than 1996's Proposition 209, which ended public affirmative action in **California**.

This time, only San Francisco and Alameda county voters went against the tide.

"We don't intend to sink or swim," Rojas told a spirited crowd of Prop. 227 opponents at their party in the Mission Tuesday night.

"The lucha has just begun," he added, using the Spanish word for struggle as a tip of the hat to his multilingual audience.

Six civil rights groups intended to file a lawsuit against Prop. 227 in federal court in San Francisco Wednesday, Rojas said.

After they voted to join the suit, school board members joined hands and chanted, "We are not going to sacrifice our kids."

Rojas told a cheering crowd Wednesday that the initiative was only a vehicle for another run at the governorship by its chief sponsor, Palo Alto software entrepreneur Ron Unz.

"He has no research, he has no standards," Rojas said of Unz. "All he has is hopes and a lot money. The **Unz initiative** cannot supersede the rights of children and their federal guaranteed rights."

Rojas indicated the district would not comply with the measure, even if the courts didn't block it before school started in the fall.

Unz ecstatic

In Los Angeles, an ecstatic Unz, who got the measure on the ballot using \$ 500,000 of his own money, said the vote proved that **California** voters agreed with him that **bilingual education** was not best for immigrant children.

"We were outspent by about 20-to-1 on advertising, but we had the people of **California** on our side because they believe the simple truth, that children should be taught English when they go to school and be taught English as quickly as possible," Unz said by phone.

"This is a tremendous victory for the people of **California** and for immigrant parents in **California**," he added.

The vote drew national attention because **California's** increasingly multiracial population is seen as the face of the country to come. Ten other states require **bilingual education**, and others offer it. As with its bold moves against undocumented immigrants and affirmative action, **California's** vote Tuesday is expected to strengthen opposition to **bilingual education** elsewhere.

Voting against Prop. 227 at the Mission District police station Tuesday, Ann Dryg explained that she felt strongly because her two sisters-in-law from Mexico were enrolled in a bilingual program at Mission High.

Couldn't grasp it

"They just moved here two years ago, and there is no way they would be in classes that are only speaking English," Dryg said. "They couldn't grasp it."

Prop. 227 was the biggest issue drawing San Franciscan Joellen Miller to the polls, too, because she supported it.

"The bilingual thing upsets me. . . ." she said. "It's better to make sure everyone is speaking, reading and writing English, and I don't think we are adequately doing that."

At the anti-227 party, representatives of several of the groups that were to file suit against the measure said the issue wasn't whether to learn English, but how.

Refusing to talk about their suit, they took their anger out on Unz, whom they accused of manipulating the electorate with misleading sound bites.

"We've been Unz-ed," fumed attorney Martha Jimenez, who recently moved to the Public Advocates civil rights group from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Prop. 227 challengers

Both San Francisco groups were to be among those suing, according to Rojas, joined by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Asian Law Caucus, the Asian Pacific American Legal Center and the Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy group.

Many of the same groups formed the backbone of opposition to Props. 187 and 209, and got mixed results in federal court. Both propositions were immediately blocked by emergency stays of the kind likely to be sought Wednesday to keep Prop. 227 from taking effect.

Mixed rulings

But while Prop. 187 was ultimately thrown out in federal court, Prop. 209 was ruled constitutional in a case that went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. It took effect last year.

"We will follow the same course," Rojas said.

The Legislature will be another line of attack, Rojas said. Unlike Gov. Wilson, both major candidates to replace him, Democrat Gray Davis and Republican Dan Lungren, opposed Prop. 227. With a friendly governor, the Legislature could overturn 227 with a two-thirds vote.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: June 04, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

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June 3, 1998, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 6; National Desk

LENGTH: 1239 words

HEADLINE: CALIFORNIA PASSES MEASURE TO LIMIT BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

BYLINE: By TODD S. PURDUM

DATELINE: LOS ANGELES, June 2

BODY:

Californians today approved a ballot measure that would curtail three decades of bilingual instruction in the public schools here, paving the way for similar assaults on such programs around the nation, according to early election returns.

Strong majorities across major ethnic and racial lines expressed support in pre-election public opinion polls for the measure to effectively end **bilingual education**, though most Hispanic elected officials and all the major candidates for governor in both parties opposed it.

The measure, sponsored by Ron K. Unz, a multimillionaire software entrepreneur from Silicon Valley, tapped into widespread dissatisfaction among parents, politicians and educators. They argued that existing **bilingual education** programs, a legacy of the civil rights movement of the 1960's in which students are taught basic subjects in their native language while they also learn English, were not working well to prepare a huge new generation of immigrant students for the job market.

In another fiercely contested race, Lieut. Gov. Gray Davis, a 23-year veteran of state politics, rode a wave of support from traditional liberal constituencies to soundly defeat his richer rivals for the Democratic nomination for governor, Representative Jane Harman and Alfred A. Checchi, a multimillionaire businessman who spent about \$40 million on his campaign, the individual record for any non-Presidential candidate in American history.

Mr. Davis declared victory just after 10 P.M. "My friends, this is truly an experience money can't buy," he told his supporters. Ms. Harman conceded defeat while Mr. Checchi was running a distant third. "Winning is more fun, but losing with honor ain't bad," Ms. Harman said.

Mr. Davis will now take on the Republican State Attorney General, Dan Lungren, who faced token opposition today in the state's new blanket primary in which the names of all candidates appeared on the same ballot regardless of party. They will compete for the right to succeed Gov. Pete Wilson, a Republican who is barred from seeking a third term, in what promises to be a classic liberal-conservative contest over contrasting views of the Golden State.

At stake is a major beachhead of Presidential politics in 2000 and control of Congressional redistricting in the nation's most populous state for 2002.

Other races, including a fight for the Republican nomination for United States Senate between State Treasurer Matt Fong and Darrell Issa, another wealthy businessman, remained too close to call, as did a fight over a ballot measure that would require unions to obtain written consent from members before using their dues for political purposes.

Over all, it was the most expensive primary election campaign in the nation's history, with about \$100

million spent on races for governor, United States senator and other statewide offices and on a handful of ballot propositions pro and con, including the bilingual initiative and the measure limiting the use of union dues.

With **California** on a sharp rebound from years of economic recession and natural disasters, voter interest was generally low in a state famous for political apathy, and turnout was predicted to reach no more than 40 percent of the state's 14.6 million registered voters. As usual here, most of the campaign played out in millions of dollars of television advertising, this year featuring charge and counter-charge by candidates in contested gubernatorial and Senate races.

The most contentious issue on the ballot was Mr. **Unz's initiative**, which will no doubt be subject to court challenges by opponents. It would essentially limit help for non-native speakers to a year of intensive English instruction, though parents could request a waiver if they believed their children needed special help. Its supporters contend it allows for flexibility and note that its only requirement is that instruction in general subjects be primarily in English.

But the measure's opponents, which included the **California** Teachers Association, the state Parent Teacher Association and President Clinton, contended that the measure would impose a rigid, one-size-fits-all solution on the state's diverse school districts, many of which have already chosen on their own to end or greatly modify bilingual programs.

The race for governor reflected intense volatility in voter sentiment, with each of the three Democratic candidates by turns taking first -- and last --- place in pre-election public opinion polls. But in the closing weeks of the race, Mr. Davis, 55, opened a clear lead over his rivals, Ms. Harman, 52, a three-term Representative from the beachfront communities on the south edge of Los Angeles, and Mr. Checchi, 49, the former co-chairman of Northwest Airlines, who was making his first run for elective office.

For months last year, most of the **California** Democratic establishment assumed that the the state's most popular politician, Senator Dianne Feinstein, would come home to run for governor and would be the overwhelming favorite to win the nomination. But despite encouragement from the White House to run, Ms. Feinstein announced in January that she would not, in part, she said, because she loathed the prospect of millions of dollars in attack ads from Mr. Checchi.

Ms. Harman entered the race on short notice, with her own private wealth and most of Ms. Feinstein's political team behind her, and promptly vaulted to the lead in the polls. But then Mr. Checchi began a barrage of televised attacks on her record and character that not only caused Ms. Harman to plunge in the polls but backfired on him as well. By May, half of all voters in the state viewed Mr. Checchi unfavorably, four times the level of February, according to a statewide poll by the Field Institute of San Francisco, and he never recovered.

Mr. Davis, meantime, who could not afford to begin television advertising until well after his richer rivals, benefited from their feud, appearing as a relatively unscarred, fresh face on the scene the moment he began airing commercials touting himself as the embodiment of "experience money can't buy." In fact, Mr. Davis is one of the longest-serving politicians in the state, with a career stretching back 23 years, to his days as chief of staff to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.

On the Republican side, Mr. Lungren, 51, spent 10 years in Congress representing his native Long Beach. He is a classic **California** conservative in the Ronald Reagan mold, who as State Attorney General since 1990 has developed a reputation for toughness on crime. But he has also been faulted for ineffective handling of the state's ban on assault weapons and for being reluctant to join other states in litigation against tobacco companies. In addition, his strong anti-abortion stance has been seen by many political analysts as a potential vulnerability in a state whose Governor for the last eight years, Mr. Wilson, who is a Republican, supports abortion rights.

Even as Mr. Lungren coasted to the nomination, Mr. Fong, 44, and Mr. Issa, a multimillionaire car alarm entrepreneur, battled in an intense primary for the right to take on Ms. Boxer, 57, in November. Ms.

Boxer, who was first elected to the Senate in 1992 after 10 years in the House of Representatives, had once been viewed as highly vulnerable this year, but recent polls have shown her leading both of her potential Republican rivals.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Lieut. Gov. Gray Davis had good reason to smile after casting his ballot yesterday in Los Angeles. Mr. Davis, with strong liberal support, soundly defeated his rivals for the Democratic nomination for governor. (Monica Almeida/The New York Times)(pg. A20)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 3, 1998

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Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

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June 04, 1998, Thursday

SECTION: News; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 965 words

HEADLINE: Language blurs Prop. 227
Californians haven't heard last word on bilingual bill

BYLINE: Holly K. Hacker
Staff writer

BODY:

Just because voters approved an initiative Tuesday that effectively ends **bilingual education**, don't expect Ventura County schools to immediately chuck their Spanish textbooks and draw up new lesson plans.

In the wake of Proposition 227's passage, the mood across local school districts Wednesday was one of wait and see.

As Cliff Rodrigues, the county's **bilingual education** director, put it: "Don't abandon ship at this point, because we don't even know where the ship is going."

The initiative by Silicon Valley millionaire Ron Unz passed with 61 percent of the vote. It requires that public school instruction be conducted "overwhelmingly" in English. Children with limited English skills have about a year to learn the language before being placed in English classrooms. In limited cases, parents can request waivers.

The initiative gives school districts 60 days to comply. But instead of scrambling on Wednesday, school leaders said they're waiting to see what the state Department of Education tells them to do, and whether anyone files a lawsuit against the initiative.

"A few days one way or another isn't going to make much of a difference," said Jane Kampbell, assistant superintendent of the Fillmore Unified School District. "There's no point in going off willy-nilly."

Sure enough, on Wednesday the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund announced that a coalition of civil rights and community organizations has filed a lawsuit.

And state Superintendent Delaine Eastin said her office will offer some guidance to school districts in the next few weeks. A team will review the initiative and create a plan to help districts comply.

Statewide, 1.4 million children are classified as "limited-English proficient." Fewer than a third receive instruction in their native language.

In Ventura County, where one in five children are learning English, no two school districts teach them in quite the same way. The method used depends upon a mixture of educational philosophy, demographics and logistics.

In most eastern Ventura County districts, where there are relatively few limited-English students, the effects of Proposition 227 will be minimal. That's because most schools, including those in Simi Valley

and Thousand Oaks, already teach limited-English students in English while providing extra help.

"I think we might have to make some modifications, but I don't think it will have the same implications for us as it will in other districts," said Ken Moffett, interim superintendent of the Simi Valley Unified School District, where 6 percent of students are learning English.

Districts in western Ventura County, including Oxnard, Fillmore and Santa Paula, will be harder hit. Up to half of all students in those districts are learning English, and most speak Spanish. The majority of schools use transitional **bilingual education**, teaching students academic subjects in their native language while gradually building English skills.

It's that kind of instruction Unz has sought to eliminate.

Local educators say they have too many unanswered questions to start dismantling their programs: Just how flexible are the waivers? Does the **Unz initiative** conflict with federal law? How do you define "overwhelmingly" English instruction?

"The **Unz initiative** is a little bit vague on some of these," said Joseph Spirito, superintendent of the Ventura Unified School District. "You have to wait and sift it all out."

But Unz said Wednesday those districts that haven't started figuring how to comply with his initiative should know better.

"They're burying their heads in the sand. This is the law in **California**," Unz said. "What they should have been doing over the last eight months was drafting contingency plans."

At least one local district, Oxnard Elementary, has done just that. The district has written a 30-day lesson plan that uses English instead of Spanish instruction.

Stephanie Purdy, the district's English language development manager, predicts that many parents will ask for waivers so their children can stay in bilingual programs. It's the children who go right into English classrooms she worries about.

"If they don't understand an academic concept in English, our hands are tied and we can't teach them in Spanish," Purdy said.

In Moorpark Unified, the only east county district to offer a comprehensive bilingual program, administrators said they will spend this summer trying to figure out how they can meet the letter of the law but still teach children in the way they think is best.

"I have to abide by the law, but it's going to break my heart," said Diana Guerrero, who teaches a bilingual third-grade class at Peach Hill School in Moorpark. "I'm hoping it will be declared unconstitutional. I'm not saying **bilingual education** is perfect. It's not. But this isn't the right way to do it."

The initiative means almost no changes for Conejo Valley schools, which essentially have no bilingual programs now.

It will also have little financial impact because almost all the books the district buys are in English. The district also plans to keep its bilingual aides, who help students still learning English.

Though his district won't be affected much, Assistant Superintendent Richard Simpson had some strong words of advice for the districts that will.

"It has passed," he said, "and now you can either gamble on an injunction or you start scrambling."

In Ventura County, 66 percent of voters supported Proposition 227, several points higher than the state

average. Voters in Thousand Oaks and Simi Valley were its strongest supporters, with more than 70 percent saying yes.

Voters in Oxnard, Fillmore and Santa Paula rejected the initiative, based upon a precinct analysis.

GRAPHIC: LESSONS AS USUAL: Elsa Soto reaches Hector Alvarado, 6, in Spanish at Peach Hill School in Moorpark. Area educators are taking a wait and see stance on the passage of Proposition 227, which effectively ends **bilingual education**. They say the bill's vague wording and court challenges make early responses premature. Photo/Richard Quinn

OPEN TO INTERPRETATION: Educators are uncertain what Proposition 227 means to their classrooms, although the state superintendent of education plans to create guidelines in the next few weeks. Bilingual teachers such as Dennis O'Leary, left, at Isbell School in Santa Paula say they will continue their usual lessons until school districts and politicians sift through the new law. Photo/Ed Compean

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: June 4, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

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USA TODAY

June 4, 1998, Thursday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 431 words

HEADLINE: Bilingual education ban faces lawsuit

BYLINE: Martin Kasindorf

DATELINE: LOS ANGELES

BODY:

LOS ANGELES -- Civil rights groups on the losing end of a **California** ballot initiative scrapping **bilingual education** sued in federal court Wednesday to overturn the voters' decision.

Proposition 227 passed overwhelmingly Tuesday in **California's** primary, 61% to 39%. The measure would require all instruction in the state's public schools to be in English.

Californians were among the millions of voters who went to the polls in eight states Tuesday, the biggest day so far in the 1998 primary season. With the economy humming, voters renominated most incumbents, though Alabama Gov. Fob James Jr. will face a runoff.

Proposition 227 complainants, led by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, say the initiative violates constitutional equal-protection guarantees and federal civil rights laws.

"Parents, including immigrant parents, should have the right to make basic choices about their children's education," said civil rights lawyer Deborah Escobedo.

The law would, with limited exceptions, give children who can't speak English a year of English-immersion teaching before being placed in English-only classrooms.

Bill Rojas, superintendent of San Francisco schools, said the school system would join in the lawsuit and would not comply with the law in the meantime.

Thirty percent of that city's 65,500 public school students, have limited proficiency in English.

Ron Unz, the initiative's Silicon Valley author, defends the measure

as "ironclad constitutional."

Organized labor was celebrating their come-from-behind victory in the defeat of an equally controversial initiative, Proposition 226. The measure would have required labor unions to get members' permission to spend dues on politics.

Unions poured \$ 20 million into the 6-week campaign. The proposal lost by 365,000 votes, 53%-47%.

Colorado Gov. Roy Romer called the vote "a tremendous victory" for the unions.

But U.S. Chamber of Commerce official Bruce Josten said union threats of retaliatory legislation intimidated businesses from taking a more active role in favor of the measure.

At least one state resident was delighted with voters' choices. Former **California** governor and three-time presidential candidate Jerry Brown, 60. Brown was elected mayor of Oakland, **California's** fifth-largest city, with a 58% majority over 10 rivals.

One of Brown's first priorities: Placing an initiative on the November ballot to change the city's weak-mayor system. He wants power to veto laws and hire and fire the city manager.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 04, 1998

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Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

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June 4, 1998, Thursday; Second Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A-1

LENGTH: 1134 words

HEADLINE: Bilingual litigation;
Prop. 227 triggers cultural battle on immigrants' right to education

SOURCE: OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

BYLINE: ERIC BRAZIL(Examiner wire services contributed to this report.)

BODY:

CALIFORNIA'S third epic legal battle in four years over an initiative fraught with broad social implications is under way in the wake of the passage of Proposition 227.

Opponents of the measure scrapping most of the state's **bilingual education** programs fired the first shot just hours after its passage by filing suit Wednesday in U.S. District Court in San Francisco to invalidate it on constitutional grounds.

Simultaneously, software millionaire Ron Unz declared Prop. 227 "ironclad constitutional" and predicted that it is destined to be used as a nationwide model.

Initial reaction to the election results recalls the uproar that followed passage of Proposition 187 in 1994 and Proposition 209 in 1996. Both initiatives faced lengthy court battles.

Anti-immigrant Prop. 187 has never been implemented. It was gutted in March by federal Judge Marianna Pfaelzer in Los Angeles. Her ruling has been appealed. Prop. 209, the measure that ended most public affirmative action pro-JUMP TYPE BELOW:
grams, survived all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court and is now law.

Unz said he believes that "the overwhelming majority of school districts in **California** will be implementing our initiative at the beginning of the school year." And while he said he expects a quick settlement of the legal issues it raises, the history of such big-ticket items argues otherwise.

Attorneys for the coalition of civil rights, parent, church and ethnic organizations who filed the class action suit seeking an injunction to block implementation of Prop. 227 acknowledged that they're in legal territory that has never been fully mapped.

"We're not arguing that there's a categorical entitlement to **bilingual education** classes," said Ed Chen, an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern **California**. "Our point is that (Prop. 227) not only eliminates **bilingual education**, it limits (English) immersion (programs) to one year."

Federal courts have held that public school districts must remove the educational barriers faced by non-English speaking students. Whether one year of English immersion meets that requirement is an issue that has not been legally tested, Chen said. "I don't think anybody is saying that you can give these kids the kind of literacy they need in one year," he said.

Deborah Escobedo, attorney for Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy Inc., said the case is unique because "there never has been a case where you had an initiative that has actually taken away a program that the state and the schools have found meets the educational needs of students."

"It's the first instance where extremely viable means of providing equality of educational opportunity are being stripped from the state and local school districts," Escobedo said.

The class-action complaint argues that Prop. 227 is invalid because it violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 and the 14th Amendment (equal protection) of the U.S. Constitution.

It discriminates against minorities on the basis of national origin, the plaintiffs contend, because the law requires school districts to take steps to take "appropriate action to overcome language barriers" for non-English speakers.

In their effort to squelch the initiative, the plaintiffs must first convince Judge Charles Legge that Prop. 227's implementation should be halted pending resolution of the legal issues it raises. Legge, who was appointed by President Ronald Reagan in 1984, is regarded as one of the more conservative members of San Francisco's federal bench. The case was assigned to Legge by lottery.

Prop. 227 prescribes one year of "sheltered English immersion" for children whose native tongue is other than English in place of the array of bilingual programs now offered in **California**, a solution that many educators regard as pedagogic snake oil.

Nine school districts have filed petitions with the state Board of Education in Sacramento seeking a waiver from the proposition's one-year immersion requirement. They are Oakland, Berkeley, San Jose, Hayward, Fresno, Saddleback Valley, San Mateo, Foster City and Capistrano.

The state education code gives the state board the power to give general waivers to any education code section, except those that are explicitly exempted. The **Unz initiative** does not include such language, according to waiver section chief Judy Penegar.

The sheltered English immersion solution is "completely unbelievable," said Veronica Chavez, a teacher in charge at San Francisco's Buena Vista Alternative school, which teaches Spanish- and English-dominant students by immersion.

"If we told any English-speaking parent that we could teach their kids (Spanish) in a year, we'd be lying, but that's what we're now telling Spanish-speaking parents," she said.

Carolyn Meeajane, who teaches Oakland's oft-praised sheltered English immersion program, said that "mainstreaming" non-English speaking students in a year is "absolutely impossible. Most research shows that it takes anybody five to seven years to become truly fluent" in a new tongue.

The suit contends that the "sheltered English immersion" will subject children to an educational experiment, deny them access to critical parts of the curriculum and virtually assure that they will be low academic achievers.

But Sherry Annis, spokeswoman for the Prop. 227 campaign, said first-grade teacher Gloria Tuchman of Santa Ana, who is running against state Superintendent of Education Delaine Eastin in November, has been able to mainstream her first-graders after a single year of instruction.

San Franciscans voted against Prop. 227 in the same proportion that the statewide vote was for it, 61 percent to 39 percent, and the opposition blasted away with all of its rhetorical guns on Wednesday.

"The Unz backers want to take us back to an era of primitivism and remediation, and we will not do that," said San Francisco Unified School District Vice President Dan Kelly.

All members of the school board, which earlier in the day passed a resolution authorizing Superintendent Bill Rojas to pull out all the stops to oppose implementation of Prop. 227, joined hands and chanted, "We are not going to sacrifice our kids."

At Buena Vista Elementary School, after listening to Spanish -dominant Cynthia Peirce and English-dominant Dominick Parker recite from the story of "El Gato Galano" (The Elegant Cat), teacher Marilyn Garcia said she can't imagine how youngsters can be weaned from their native tongue and given sufficient cognitive skills to function in another in one year.

"It takes a lot longer than one year," she said. "They maybe able to talk, but to make themselves understood and to understand takes longer."

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO 1 _ 2 (EXAMINER PHOTOS BY KATY RADDATZ)

Caption 1, **Bilingual education** is a way of life for teacher Veronical Dhavez, above, and first-grader Olivia Ford at Buena Vista Elementary School in San Francisco. At left, Marilyn Garcia helps first-grader Cynthia Peirce read "El Gato Galano" ("The Elegant Cat") at Buena Vista.

PHOTO 3

(SAME AS PHOTO 1)

Caption 2, Bilingual teacher Marilyn Garcia teaches Buena Vista students Adela Salazar, right, and Brandi Davis.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: June 05, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

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Example: House of Representatives

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View Related Topics

June 4, 1998, Thursday; Second Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A-1

LENGTH: 1134 words

HEADLINE: Bilingual litigation;
Prop. 227 triggers cultural battle on immigrants' right to education

SOURCE: OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

BYLINE: ERIC BRAZIL(Examiner wire services contributed to this report.)

BODY:

CALIFORNIA'S third epic legal battle in four years over an initiative fraught with broad social implications is under way in the wake of the passage of Proposition 227.

Opponents of the measure scrapping most of the state's **bilingual education** programs fired the first shot just hours after its passage by filing suit Wednesday in U.S. District Court in San Francisco to invalidate it on constitutional grounds.

Simultaneously, software millionaire Ron Unz declared Prop. 227 "ironclad constitutional" and predicted that it is destined to be used as a nationwide model.

Initial reaction to the election results recalls the uproar that followed passage of Proposition 187 in 1994 and Proposition 209 in 1996. Both initiatives faced lengthy court battles.

Anti-immigrant Prop. 187 has never been implemented. It was gutted in March by federal Judge Marianna Pfaelzer in Los Angeles. Her ruling has been appealed. Prop. 209, the measure that ended most public affirmative action pro-JUMP TYPE BELOW:
grams, survived all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court and is now law.

Unz said he believes that "the overwhelming majority of school districts in **California** will be implementing our initiative at the beginning of the school year." And while he said he expects a quick settlement of the legal issues it raises, the history of such big-ticket items argues otherwise.

Attorneys for the coalition of civil rights, parent, church and ethnic organizations who filed the class action suit seeking an injunction to block implementation of Prop. 227 acknowledged that they're in legal territory that has never been fully mapped.

"We're not arguing that there's a categorical entitlement to **bilingual education** classes," said Ed Chen, an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern **California**. "Our point is that (Prop. 227) not only eliminates **bilingual education**, it limits (English) immersion (programs) to one year."

Federal courts have held that public school districts must remove the educational barriers faced by non-English speaking students. Whether one year of English immersion meets that requirement is an issue that has not been legally tested, Chen said. "I don't think anybody is saying that you can give these kids the kind of literacy they need in one year," he said.

Deborah Escobedo, attorney for Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy Inc., said the case is unique because "there never has been a case where you had an initiative that has actually taken away a program that the state and the schools have found meets the educational needs of students."

"It's the first instance where extremely viable means of providing equality of educational opportunity are being stripped from the state and local school districts," Escobedo said.

The class-action complaint argues that Prop. 227 is invalid because it violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 and the 14th Amendment (equal protection) of the U.S. Constitution.

It discriminates against minorities on the basis of national origin, the plaintiffs contend, because the law requires school districts to take steps to take "appropriate action to overcome language barriers" for non-English speakers.

In their effort to squelch the initiative, the plaintiffs must first convince Judge Charles Legge that Prop. 227's implementation should be halted pending resolution of the legal issues it raises. Legge, who was appointed by President Ronald Reagan in 1984, is regarded as one of the more conservative members of San Francisco's federal bench. The case was assigned to Legge by lottery.

Prop. 227 prescribes one year of "sheltered English immersion" for children whose native tongue is other than English in place of the array of bilingual programs now offered in **California**, a solution that many educators regard as pedagogic snake oil.

Nine school districts have filed petitions with the state Board of Education in Sacramento seeking a waiver from the proposition's one-year immersion requirement. They are Oakland, Berkeley, San Jose, Hayward, Fresno, Saddleback Valley, San Mateo, Foster City and Capistrano.

The state education code gives the state board the power to give general waivers to any education code section, except those that are explicitly exempted. The **Unz initiative** does not include such language, according to waiver section chief Judy Penegar.

The sheltered English immersion solution is "completely unbelievable," said Veronica Chavez, a teacher in charge at San Francisco's Buena Vista Alternative school, which teaches Spanish- and English-dominant students by immersion.

"If we told any English-speaking parent that we could teach their kids (Spanish) in a year, we'd be lying, but that's what we're now telling Spanish-speaking parents," she said.

Carolyn Meeajane, who teaches Oakland's oft-praised sheltered English immersion program, said that "mainstreaming" non-English speaking students in a year is "absolutely impossible. Most research shows that it takes anybody five to seven years to become truly fluent" in a new tongue.

The suit contends that the "sheltered English immersion" will subject children to an educational experiment, deny them access to critical parts of the curriculum and virtually assure that they will be low academic achievers.

But Sherry Annis, spokeswoman for the Prop. 227 campaign, said first-grade teacher Gloria Tuchman of Santa Ana, who is running against state Superintendent of Education Delaine Eastin in November, has been able to mainstream her first-graders after a single year of instruction.

San Franciscans voted against Prop. 227 in the same proportion that the statewide vote was for it, 61 percent to 39 percent, and the opposition blasted away with all of its rhetorical guns on Wednesday.

"The Unz backers want to take us back to an era of primitivism and remediation, and we will not do that," said San Francisco Unified School District Vice President Dan Kelly.

All members of the school board, which earlier in the day passed a resolution authorizing Superintendent Bill Rojas to pull out all the stops to oppose implementation of Prop. 227, joined hands and chanted, "We are not going to sacrifice our kids."

At Buena Vista Elementary School, after listening to Spanish -dominant Cynthia Peirce and English-dominant Dominick Parker recite from the story of "El Gato Galano" (The Elegant Cat), teacher Marilyn Garcia said she can't imagine how youngsters can be weaned from their native tongue and given sufficient cognitive skills to function in another in one year.

"It takes a lot longer than one year," she said. "They maybe able to talk, but to make themselves understood and to understand takes longer."

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO 1 _ 2 (EXAMINER PHOTOS BY KATY RADDATZ)

Caption 1, **Bilingual education** is a way of life for teacher Veronical Dhavez, above, and first-grader Olivia Ford at Buena Vista Elementary School in San Francisco. At left, Marilyn Garcia helps first-grader Cynthia Peirce read "El Gato Galano" ("The Elegant Cat") at Buena Vista.

PHOTO 3

(SAME AS PHOTO 1)

Caption 2, Bilingual teacher Marilyn Garcia teaches Buena Vista students Adela Salazar, right, and Brandi Davis.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: June 05, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual Education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

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Example: House of Representatives

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Ventura County Star (Ventura County, Ca.)

June 07, 1998, Sunday

SECTION: Editorials; Pg. D08

LENGTH: 758 words

HEADLINE: Need remains for **bilingual education**

PROPOSITION 227: Thousands of children have just become the pols' pawns and guinea pigs.

BODY:

It's telling that the voters in Ventura County communities who most favored eradicating **bilingual education** in public schools know the least about it.

In the Ventura County cities where the most students benefit from **bilingual education** -- Oxnard, Fillmore and Santa Paula -- voters rejected Proposition 227 in Tuesday's election.

It is, of course, no surprise that Proposition 227, billed as "English for the Children," passed overwhelmingly, by 61 percent statewide and by 67 percent countywide. Its premise is, after all, one we all support: "All children in **California** public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible."

What voters failed to grasp, however, is that the premise is the identical goal of **bilingual education**, a broad term that covers a host of approaches to teaching English.

One of the most common approaches, and one that studies have proved effective, provides for instruction primarily in a child's first language with a gradual introduction to English.

What Proposition 227 requires is, in the amazingly simplistic words of the initiative, "all children in **California** public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English." It would allow for English learners to have one year of English instruction before being sent to an English-only classroom.

Critics have aptly called it the "sink-or-swim" approach. We trust that those who cast their votes for Proposition 227 were optimistic that most will swim. However, the majority of bilingual teachers -- who have the experience by which to judge -- are fearful that too many of their charges will sink.

Certainly, millionaire Ron Unz, who wrote the "**Unz initiative**," had no qualifications to write a law that would change the way students learn English. However, while the Silicon Valley businessman may not know anything about education, the would-be governor knew that he could get plenty of political mileage out of Proposition 227.

Now it's up to teachers to pay for Mr. Unz's ambitions by figuring out how to cope with this ill-conceived and vaguely worded law, which, barring a successful legal challenge, could be implemented in 60 days. In that short amount of time, thousands of teachers must change the way they teach. If they don't, under Proposition 227, they can be sued.

Not unexpectedly, a lawsuit against Proposition 227 was filed on Wednesday in U.S. District Court in San Francisco, on the basis that it violates the civil rights of the 1.3 million **California** schoolchildren who are not fluent in English. Even if the legal challenge is unsuccessful, it may at least buy time for educators to adjust.

While the Star continues to be critical of Proposition 227, it is clear from the election results and news of

some failed **bilingual education** programs that there is room for improvement. If anything good can be said about Proposition 227 it is that it has at least focused attention on how the state's limited-English students can best learn English and succeed in academics.

Unfortunately, just days before the election, one promising alternative to Proposition 227 was vetoed by Gov. Pete Wilson. Senate Bill 6 -- authored by state Sen. Dede Alpert, D-Coronado, and co-authored by Assemblyman Brooks Firestone, R-Los Olivos -- would have provided each school district the flexibility to tailor its own instructional program for limited-English students, along with a test to assess language development. It was supported by the Legislature and the **California** Teachers Association.

Even with the veto of SB 6 and the success of Proposition 227 at the polls, Sen. Alpert has not given up. She is now working on legislation to smooth some of Proposition 227's edges and clear up some of its vague wording. For instance, she is exploring ways to assist English learners who still need help after their year of immersion. Some legislators are also considering adding an extra instructional year for students who must forego a year of academic instruction while they focus on language acquisition.

Fortunately, the initiative does allow for some students, with written authorization from parents, to receive bilingual instruction. It also allows for schools to offer **bilingual education** classes if at least 20 students at one grade level request a waiver from the English-immersion program.

It is now up to legislators and educators to determine all the options and spell them out to parents. **California's** schoolchildren are the guinea pigs in this experiment. We cannot fail them.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: June 7, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

Example: House of Representatives

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The Straits Times (Singapore)

June 20, 1998

SECTION: Commentary Analysis; Pg. 57

LENGTH: 770 words

HEADLINE: English or not: The US dilemma

BYLINE: Sunanda K. Datta-Ray

BODY:

THERE are lessons for Singapore in the resounding victory of **California's** Proposition 227, which not only abolishes the handicap of **bilingual education** but also suggests how children whose first language is not English can achieve success at school.

For Singapore, this has a two-fold message.

Dr Sharon Siddique drew attention to the first by stressing in an Institute of Policy Studies report that "the importance of the use of the English language in multi-racial communication cannot be over-estimated." It is the means of individual and community advance, as well as of inter-ethnic harmony.

What the language does for communities it can also do for nations -and this is the second point.

By 2000, some 1,000 million people will use English, either as the mother tongue or as the second language. Mastery of English is, therefore, essential to remain plugged into global business and commerce.

Proposition 227 requires **California** public schools to teach only in English. Students without any English will take a one-year crash course in the language before joining mainstream classes.

Silicon Valley software tycoon Ron Unz, who sponsored the measure, believes that now, "all the children in the state will be taught to read, write and speak English as quickly as possible, which is what their parents want and what they need to succeed in our society".

He took the plunge after Spanish-speaking parents boycotted a Los Angeles school in 1996 until it agreed to teach their children to read and write in English.

They had realised that linguistic chauvinism had robbed the already poor of the chance of making good. It has strengthened ghettos like Koreatown in Los Angeles, and Miami's Little Havana and Little Haiti.

The National Hispanic Leadership (NHLA), which claims to champion the cause of 27 million people, does not deny this. It says it is motivated only by the "continuing quest for educational equity and excellence". **BILINGUAL EDUCATION NOT PANACEA**

The aim was supposedly realised in 1967 when Mr Ronald Reagan, then governor of **California**, repealed the state's 19th-century English-only education code so that students are now taught most subjects in the mother tongue, and expected to gradually ease into English.

It has not worked. The NHLA admits that "**bilingual education** is not a panacea" in itself, and that it must be implemented properly.

Though the US spent US\$ 12 billion (S\$ 20 billion) on bilingual schooling in 1994, the shortage of teachers compounded the effects of a built-in flaw that enables only the brightest to succeed, allowing

others to lag behind, thus creating a huge and handicapped Latino underclass.

Of course, no situation is in stark black and white. The NHLA points out that only half of **California's** Hispanic youths aged 18 to 24 could complete the eighth grade when teaching was only in English.

Only 30 per cent of the 1.4 million **California** students (out of 5.6 million) who are poor in English are enrolled for **bilingual education**.

The Hispanic dropout rate of 5.6 per cent is still 1 per cent lower than the African-American.

Unfortunately, education has become entangled in the wider politics of a country that has 323 different languages but none that is constitutionally official, while only about 15 per cent of its citizens are of English origin.

While Washington lobbyists demanded official status for English, and Hispanics complained of cultural deprivation, the Republicans took fright at Canada's experience in Quebec, and the Democrats continued to court the immigrant vote.

English-only laws in about 25 states from Alabama in the south to Montana in the north and Hawaii in the west mean that no other language can be used when dealing with government departments. But **California** allows driving tests to be taken in 35 languages.

The NHLA says the Unz measure, which has been challenged in court, will deny the same educational opportunities to all children.

But the question is: Is token bilingualism's proven counter-productiveness better than a year's cramming which might, admittedly, be too short a period to master a foreign language?

Proposition 227 challenges the education authorities to create a level playing field. It also challenges Hispanic parents, teachers and students to make the most of the great hurly-burly of American life.

No less than 62 per cent of registered Latino voters would not have supported the **Unz initiative** if they had not been convinced that it could deliver.

They must not be disappointed. (The writer is an editorial consultant with The Straits Times.)

GRAPHIC: Linguistic chauvinism, it was found in the US, robs the already poor of the chance of making good.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 21, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

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Example: House of Representatives

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The Nation

June 29, 1998

SECTION: No. 23, Vol. 266; Pg. 2; ISSN: 0027-8378

IAC-ACC-NO: 20968212

LENGTH: 1675 words

HEADLINE: Who killed **bilingual education**? pro and con arguments concerning what led to the end of **bilingual education** in **California**

BYLINE: Acuna, Rodolfo F.; Rodriguez, Gregory

BODY:
Northridge, Calif.

* Gregory Rodriguez, a research fellow at the conservative Pepperdine Institute and a relative newcomer to Chicano/Latino politics, bases his April 20 "English Lesson in **California**" on numerous untested assumptions. First, he says that the powerhouse behind the campaign for **bilingual education has been the California** Association of Bilingual Educators (CABE) and that behind it is "**California's** powerful teachers' unions--one of the Democratic Party's strongest constituencies," which have "made the issue a mainstay of that state's liberal agenda"

Although CABE draws thousands to its annual convention, that is not the same as wielding political clout, and among Latino organizations CABE is not regarded as a powerhouse. Teachers' unions of course are, but until recently they gave Latino issues low priority, largely because of their ethnic composition: In the mammoth Los Angeles Unified School District, 67 percent of the students are Latino, but only about 13 percent of the teachers are. As for their liberality, a near-majority in the union voted to eliminate **bilingual education** and a substantial number supported Propositions 187 and 209.

Second, Rodriguez asserts that **bilingual education** is the mainstay of the Latino civil rights movement and that "bilingual lobbyists were more concerned with preserving the program than making sure it was benefiting the children it served." That is an awful assumption. We who support **bilingual education** do so because we believe it helps children. Moreover, there has been considerable debate over pedagogy, as well as theory, among bilingual supporters. Rodriguez never went through the agonizing pain as a child of having to sit through English-only sessions and being pinched by teachers for speaking Spanish. I am a survivor of the immersion method, and I consider it only logical to use knowledge acquired in one language to supplement learning in another. Proposition 227 is a horror story. It makes snitches out of teachers. If a teacher continues to use a foreign language for instruction, he or she can be prosecuted and must pay the cost of litigation.

The third assumption of the man from Pepperdine is that "in **California**, even **bilingual-education** supporters don't think the current system is working." We must ask, In **California** is any kind of education working for poor and working-class students? The answer is no. In the fifties, **California** was second in the nation in per student spending; today it ranks fiftieth--below Mississippi. Yet **California** ranks thirteenth in per capita income, while Mississippi ranks fiftieth. When **bilingual education**, like mainstream education, is funded properly and the teachers are good, the outcome is excellent.

Fourth, Rodriguez says the Republican Party as well as supporters of Props 187 and 209 are not enthusiastically backing 227, the "English for the Children" initiative. This is nonsense. Because immigrant-bashing has produced a backlash among Latino voters, the nativists have simply become

more covert. Ron Unz, the man behind the proposition, is a right-wing multimillionaire who dreams of running for governor. He is no dummy. He knows there is a strong core constituency of anti-immigrant, anti-minority voters in **California**. He knows Pete Wilson's political career was almost dead until Prop 187 resurrected it. Unz contributes to Heritage Foundation Policy Review; he opposes affirmative action, abortion and welfare.

But Rodriguez ignores both the politics and the history of this issue. In 1986 **California** voters passed Proposition 63 by a 3-to-1 margin, making English the official language. The Prop 63 campaign spent more than \$ 1 million, \$ 500,000 of it from US English, the largest English-first organization in the country. US English directs and funds other groups, including the Learning English Advocates Drive, or LEAD, which has actively opposed **bilingual education** in the LA schools and teachers union. It stirs up anti-immigrant hysteria and its members are largely Republican. Another group, Americans Against Illegal Immigration, is tied to the Federation for American Immigration Reform, which was active in the campaign for Prop 187--indeed, the battle over Prop 187 became a Republican versus Democratic Party issue.

In 1993 the English-only movement reported total contributions of more than \$ 6 million, some of which came from the right-wing Laurel Foundation and the Pioneer Fund. These and other conservative foundations and think tanks--like the Center for Equal Opportunity, funded by the reactionary Olin Foundation--played a prominent role in the genesis of Prop 209.

Finally, Rodriguez argues that Latino voters support **Unz's initiative**. Lest we forget, three months before the vote on Prop 187, polls showed nearly 60 percent of Latinos favoring it. In the end some 80 percent voted against it. Latino voters apparently felt proponents had racialized the issues. Evidently this time they saw the connection between 187,209, 227 and the ideologues, arch-conservative think tanks and foundations that have made them all part of a single political agenda.

Echo Park, Calif.

* Professor Acuna's anger at my assessment that intransigent, self-righteous, old guard activists are partly responsible for creating the backlash against **bilingual education** evidently kept him from reading my article with any clarity.

First off, I never said that CABA was "the powerhouse behind the campaign for **bilingual education**." Indeed, I wrote that CABA is not currently "on the front lines of the battle" to save **bilingual education**. Nor did I assert that Latino voters would ultimately support the initiative at the ballot box. I wrote, "Many long-time observers have predicted that the Latino vote will be split." Moreover, I made a prominent reference to one highly respected Latino political scientist who predicted that "the No on Unz campaign may still be able to garner a majority of Latino votes if it is able to reframe the ballot measure as anti-immigrant or anti-Latino." In short, I was acknowledging that campaign strategy would play a significant role in determining how Latino voters would decide on the measure.

As for Acuna's disagreeing that the Republican leadership shied away from supporting the **Unz initiative**--he calls my assessment "nonsense"--I remind him that conservative Dan Lungren, **California's** Republican gubernatorial nominee, has opposed the **Unz initiative**.

Acuna then takes issue with my charge that "bilingual lobbyists were more concerned with preserving the program than making sure it was benefiting the children it served." I plead guilty to cynicism in this regard. Acuna himself says that he supports **bilingual education** because he believes it helps children and then he implies that it isn't quite working because of poor funding and bad teachers. Is it helping children or isn't it? And does Acuna have any evidence other than painful childhood memories? I defer to the National Research Council's 1997 study, which states that "evaluations have proven inconclusive about which teaching approaches work best." Acuna may not understand that while most education scholars do agree that primary language instruction can be an effective method in teaching children English, it has yet to be proved that the pedagogy can be practiced effectively on a wide scale.

Furthermore, Acuna has a problem with my statement that "even **bilingual-education** supporters don't

think the current system is working." I can only refer him to the CABA official who told me that "perhaps 10 percent or fewer of the state's bilingual programs are well implemented." Acuna's beef, then, is with CABA, not me. While it is easier to resort to

innuendo and the specter of right-wing bogymen than to recognize one's own role in a failed strategy, the good news is that contemporary Latino leaders have come a long way since Acuna was actively involved in Latino politics. In contrast to Acuna's pitiable strategy of pawning off all blame on one more vast right-wing conspiracy, Antonio Villaraigosa, the powerful Mexican-American Speaker of the **California** State Assembly, has sought to defeat the **Unz initiative** by recognizing the shortcomings of **bilingual education** and pushing reform of the program. The Speaker, whose wife is a bilingual teacher, has publicly declared that "Ron Unz is a decent man" and, unlike Acuna, has argued against the initiative on the merits.

More important, however, Villaraigosa chose not to let the state's Democratic and Latino leaders sit on their hands during yet another ballot initiative and, like Acuna, blindly defend the current state of affairs. "It is not a perfect solution" Villaraigosa said of the reform bill. "But neither is the **Unz initiative**; neither is the status quo"

I have written in the past that the best way to save **bilingual education** would be to mend it before someone comes along to end it. The Speaker evidently agrees. Whereas in the past liberal Latino activists and the state Latino Legislative Caucus vehemently opposed any and all attempts to reform **bilingual education**, this past April the majority of Latino legislators voted for reform. Unfortunately, it has come too late. I stated in my piece that "**California's** initiative process is usually the worst way to solve complex problems." I also wrote that the **Unz initiative** "could still become the instrument by which an overwhelmingly Anglo electorate asserts its displeasure with the state's Latino-bound demographic metamorphosis." That doesn't excuse Chicano activists like Acuna for their role in making **bilingual education** a sacred cow for so long. They bear at least partial responsibility for the death of **bilingual education** in **California** at the polls this June.

ELEMENTARY MY DEAR...

* "Paul Watson, founder of Greenpeace" was mentioned by Greg Goldin in "The Greening of Hate" [May 18]. Watson and Greenpeace parted company more than two decades ago, and he does not speak for that organization.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

IAC-CREATE-DATE: August 14, 1998

LOAD-DATE: August 15, 1998

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The Ethnic NewsWatch
Korea Times

June 30, 1998

SECTION: Vol. 7; No. 6; Pg. 28

LENGTH: 771 words

HEADLINE: **Bilingual Education** in the U.S.: Historical and Political Perspectives

BYLINE: Oh, Suzie K.

BODY:

Bilingual Education in the U.S.: Historical and Political Perspectives

By Suzie K. Oh

I became one of the "pioneer" Korean bilingual teachers in the mid-70's in Los Angeles Koreatown schools shortly after the historical U.S. Supreme Court Case called "Lau vs. Nichols." In the early 80's, I worked as an advisor on **Bilingual Education**. Subsequently, I was promoted to specialist in the Asian Languages Programs in the Central District Bilingual Office, where I had an opportunity to work with different Asian Languages programs and cultures. In the late 80's, I was assigned as Assistant Principal at Hobart School, right in the heart of Koreatown, where Korean bilingual programs were well-established. However, since 1993, I became the principal at Third Street School in Hancock Park.

At Third Street School, parents have requested not to have their children participate in bilingual programs. Therefore, we do not have any basic bilingual programs. Every class is part of the English Language Development Program, now known as Alternative Instructional Program, in which instruction is conducted in English only.

Having worked and lived in the midst of political and pedagogical debates surrounding **bilingual education** for almost 25 years, I thought I would like to share some of the historical and political perspectives of **bilingual education**.

When Johnnie cannot read, some people attribute to his possible learning disability. When Jose cannot read, they immediately accuse **bilingual education**. Because **bilingual education** can mean many things to many people, it is subject to popular misconceptions. **Bilingual education** has become so polarized and politicized due to external pressures and criticisms. Although **bilingual education** is a direct result of the social justice movement, there have been many strong feelings that have often confused the main issues. One of the reasons is that researchers and practitioners have not done a good job in communicating with the public.

Quality **bilingual education** programs enable children and youth to learn English and meet high academic standards including proficiency in more than one language. In my opinion, James Crawford, former journalist, author, and educator, does a good job in articulating **bilingual education** from a broader perspective. His three books reflect his thinking. They are: **Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory, and Practice**; **Hold Your Tongue**; **Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only"**, and **Language Loyalties: A Source Book on the Official English Controversy**.

Before 1950's, **bilingual education** meant English and German. After 1960's, it means Spanish and English, of course. I would like to loosely divide 4 major historical periods of **bilingual education** in the United States:

1. Pre-Civil War

Because of the massive immigration of Germans into Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, America's first **bilingual education** laws were enacted in those states in the 1840's. Later that decade, **California**, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas passed **bilingual education** laws to serve their burgeoning Spanish-speaking population.

2. Post-Civil War

Despite the increase in the number of transatlantic immigrants coming to America, a movement arose that advocated educating students in English only.

A large influx of Anglos came to **California** after the Gold Rush. They helped enact a law in 1870 which mandated education in English only. 37 states followed the states lead.

3. 1960's and 1970's

In the early sixties, the wave of Cuban political exiles coming to Dade County, Florida resulted in the states initiating Spanish bilingual programs in 1963.

In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson signed the **Bilingual Education** Act, four years after signed the Civil Rights Act. 1971 saw **California** Governor Ronald Reagan sign that state's **bilingual education** act. 30 states followed by beginning native language instruction. This movement climaxed in 1974 with the Supreme Court's decision in Lau vs. Nichols, which confirmed the constitutionality of the right to **bilingual education**.

4. 1980's and 1990's

In the mid to late eighties, U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett criticized native language instruction. This followed **California** Senator Hayakawa's proposal in 1981 for teaching in English only. Next week, **California** voters will decide the fate of state **bilingual education** in the vote on Proposition 227, the **Unz Initiative**.

Suzie K. Oh is completing her 5th year as principal at Third Street School, Los Angeles Unified School District. She can be reached by fax at (213)256-1765 or by E-mail at SKO 1212@AOL.COM

ETHNIC-GROUP: Asian/Pacific Island

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: September 22, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

Example: House of Representatives

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Ventura County Star (Ventura County, Ca.)

July 20, 1998, Monday

SECTION: Columns; Pg. B07

LENGTH: 722 words

HEADLINE: Kelley: It's time to stop fighting Prop. 227 and make it work
RON UNZ: **Initiative's** author purposefully left some wiggle room.

BYLINE: Beverly Kelley
CLU Department head

BODY:

It won't be easy, getting used to dinosaurs having feathers, that is. The discovery of a fossil in China has led scientists to surmise that ancient carnivores like the velociraptor sported plumage rather than leathery scales. Michael Crichton, whose technothrillers combine scary scenarios with scientific seminars, is sure to incorporate this breakthrough in the second sequel to "Jurassic Park." The question remains, however, whether ticket-purchasers who prefer their thunder lizards revoltingly reptilian, will plunk down \$6.50 to watch the birdie.

Ron Unz, architect of Proposition 227, is facing an equally tough sell. Despite opposition on the editorial pages of every major Golden State newspaper as well as the counter-punch provided by the **California** Teachers Association and Univision ponying up a million bucks apiece (Unz was outspent 5-1), the end to **bilingual education** as we know it was codified by a 61 percent avalanche.

The people have spoken: **Bilingual education** should become extinct. Since legislators and educators failed to provide a workable model for three decades, frustrated voters held their noses and approved Proposition 227, despite the fact that Unz draped his solution in a "one-size-fits all" caftan and otherwise irked the very folks needed to implement his initiative.

Wednesday, at the epicenter of so many earthshakingly liberal court rulings, legal challenges mounted by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund as well as Multicultural Education, Training and Advocacy did not rock U.S. District Judge Charles Legge. Unz's troubles, however, are hardly over.

The Clinton administration is scouring the legal landscape for possible conflicts with federal regulation. Several stubborn school districts are resisting reform. There are civil disobedience threats by as many as 1,500 petulant bilingual instructors. Ditto "Let 'em send me to jail" San Francisco school chief Bill Rojas. The gush of support from the Hispanic community, projected at 80 percent pre-primary, was reduced to a mere trickle by the persuasive opposition; an exit poll cites a humiliating 37 percent.

In Ventura County, where 5 percent more than statewide voters said si to Proposition 227, nearly 1 in 5 students are labeled "limited English proficient." The biggest challenge in instituting Proposition 227, according to Ventura County Superintendent of Schools Chuck Weis, is "understanding it."

He's not the first to stumble over the ambiguity in Unz's language. The need for a working definition of the hybrid methodology "sheltered English immersion" and some sort of quantification of murky terms such as "overwhelmingly" have kept Weis awaiting word from on high before he proceeds.

Why should Weis wait? Turning over even more control to state "educrats" is inconsistent with Unz's motivation for initiating Proposition 227 in the first place. He would not have offered waivers and

deliberately vague language if he didn't mean to create some wiggle room for the local school districts.

He claims, "I do my homework on these issues before I do something about them." Surely, the lesson of Proposition 13 -- i.e., a seemingly inconsequential phrase, "by law," ended up shifting municipal power to Sacramento -- was not lost on this Harvard grad. Not only do you always hurt the one you love, it's the unintended consequences that tend to smart the most.

Some facts lost during the surfeit of campaign soundbites are pertinent here:

1. Immersion has proved wildly effective with recent neurological studies supporting its superiority to traditional bilingual approaches. 2. Extra help for students is available via a \$50 million annual state budget line. 3. No language police will be prowling immersion classes; nowhere in the initiative are teachers required to speak English at all times.

"Hope," according to poet Emily Dickinson "is the thing with feathers that perches in the soul." According to President Yvonne Larsen, the **California** State Board of Education (not a dinosaur in the bunch) unanimously adopted emergency regulations on July 9 to give local schools and parents as much flexibility as possible in realizing the enactment of Proposition 227.

Now there's an optimistic strategy that might just take wing.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: July 20, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

Example: House of Representatives

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THE DISPATCH

August 15, 1998, Saturday

KR-ACC-NO: GI-BILINGUAL

LENGTH: 980 words

HEADLINE: Gilroy, Calif., School Officials Work to End Bilingual Programs

BYLINE: By Jane Haseldine

BODY:

There are more than 2,000 limited-English speaking students in the Gilroy Unified School District. Now that voters have terminated the old **bilingual education** programs, what kind of classroom environment will greet them when school opens in two weeks?

It is not clear.

"There are a lot of holes, and it really scares me," said Kim Merrill, president of the GUSD Board of Trustees. "It is really one of the biggest decisions I will make on the board. I don't disagree that **bilingual education** needs to be reassessed. In that respect Proposition 227 is good, but why does it need to be done in such a rushed and hurried manner? That is the beauty of propositions."

The board will convene in a special meeting Wednesday to finalize the details for implementing the measure **California** voters passed in June -- the **Unz Initiative**, ending **bilingual education** in the school systems.

Coordinator of State and Federal Projects David Pribyl gave an hourlong presentation to the board earlier this week after months of research, meetings with the state board of education and working on a county manual on implementing Proposition 227. Pribyl, who speaks five languages and is a former bilingual biology teacher, helped translate the proposition in Spanish, which is now listed on a website.

"There has been a lot of planning already behind the scenes," Pribyl said. "We want the kids to learn English."

After analyzing several studies on limited English students who were taught only in English, and others who were introduced to a subject in their primary language first, Pribyl recommended the latter.

"The preview review is successful with children. If you introduce a concept in a child's primary language, and then teach the bulk of it in English and then review the concept in the child's best language again, it works well. The key is to introduce the main aspects through their primary language first," Pribyl said.

Year-round schools Rod Kelley and Las Animas started classes last week and adopted the sheltered English approach. Under this style, teachers speak in simple English and use visual aids.

"There is a lot of oral language and total physical response. We demonstrate to the child by saying, Pencil' and then showing the pencil," said Maria Gonzalez, a Las Animas School kindergarten teacher, who said everything she had planned to teach in Spanish will now be taught in English."

About 40 students in kindergarten and first grade at Las Animas School are in English immersion classes, with lessons being taught primarily in English with reinforcement in Spanish.

"We want to bring the children into literature in a language they will understand while still being in

compliance with the law, building it in Spanish and then more in English as they progress through the grades," said Steve Gilbert, Las Animas School principal. "This will help quite a lot as they make the transition and hearing the English words orally every day. By the time they are in third grade, I don't want them to read an English word like dog and not know in English what a dog even is."

The proposition requires that lessons be taught "overwhelmingly" in English. Limited-English language students younger than 10 must be placed in a limited-language classroom for a period of not less than 30 days.

"They have 30 days, and these are 30 working days, almost one-quarter, when children will be just sitting there," Merrill said. "After 30 days there is an evaluation period and parents can sign waivers. What if parents are Spanish speaking and are concerned but can't communicate, and what about parents who don't get involved with their child's education. What will happen?"

After 30 days of being in a sheltered English Immersion class, parents can sign waivers requesting an alternative program better suited for the pupil. To apply for the waiver, a parent must personally visit the school and be advised of all alternative programs.

If 20 or more pupils receive waivers, the district is required to offer an alternative class. The district needs to determine what these alternatives will be.

The law also allows a few waivers that include children who already know English, children older than 10 and children with special needs.

"I don't think there will be a tremendous amount of difference now from **bilingual education**," said Patricia Blomquist, a school trustee. "The change will focus slightly from being taught in the primary language to mostly in English with primary language support. We aren't sending the kids into class with no Spanish instruction at all."

All parents received a letter from Superintendent David Alvarez, stating the district would implement Prop 227 in the fall and that all students would be instructed overwhelmingly in English unless their parents had completed a district adopted waiver process.

According to Pribyl, the only waiver the district received so far was from a parent of an English speaking student at Jordan School who wanted to be sure their child could participate in a bilingual-type program.

The letter from Alvarez stated children who are English learners will be taught through sheltered English Immersion instruction until they have reached a reasonable level of English proficiency. Students then would receive English language mainstream instruction.

The students would continue to receive additional services until they demonstrated English language proficiency comparable to the district's average native English language speakers and have "caught up" academically in the core curriculum.

"There is a lot of fear about the **Unz initiative**," Pribyl said. "Teachers are afraid they may be held liable if they say 'Hola' to their students. They don't clearly understand what the law says, overwhelmingly in English.' They are out Unzing Unz."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

JOURNAL-CODE: GI

LOAD-DATE: November 12, 1998

FOCUSTM**Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative**

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Example: **House of Representatives**

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AUGUST 16, 1998, SUNDAY, SUNDAY EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 6; EDITORIALS

LENGTH: 1021 words

HEADLINE: Some Bilingual Programs Deserve to Be Saved

BODY:

BY ALL RIGHTS, Brianna Wallace should not be affected by Proposition 227.

The anti-**bilingual education** initiative approved by voters in June was designed to quickly teach English to non-English speakers. Napa-born-and-bred, Brianna, a loquacious 9-year-old, is nothing if not a whiz in her native language.

However, because Brianna wanted to become bilingual in a Spanish/English setting known as dual immersion, her academic routine of the past five years is in for a Proposition 227 jolt.

The measure states that students who don't speak English must be taught rigorous English for one year and then go into mainstream classes. That eliminates half the students in Brianna's dual immersion class. And without the Spanish-speaking kids to learn from and to teach, the two-way dynamic that makes the program so successful is lost.

While waivers can be sought, they require special circumstances and 30 days in the English-only classes, which school officials and parents of dual immersion students consider too much of an interruption.

The goal in a dual immersion program is to make two groups of students -- English-speakers and non-English-speakers -- academically and linguistically bilingual by the time they leave fifth grade. About 60 dual immersion programs exist throughout **California** public schools, and while most are Spanish/English, there also are some in such combinations as Korean/English, Japanese/English and Chinese/English.

The programs produce students who, over the long haul, have an advantage economically, culturally and academically over their monolingual peers. A 1995 San Jose State study found that seventh-grade students in dual immersion programs at three different schools scored in the 80th and 90th percentiles on English-language reading and math tests. A long-term Virginia study found that dual immersion students maintained grade-level skills in their first language, achieved grade-level skills in their second language after four to five years and sustained their achievement through high school.

A timid state Board of Education has said it has no authority to exempt the non-English-speaking students from dual immersion classes, so school officials and parents panicked about the loss of control over the education they want for their children are seeking other ways to comply with the law.

Two Orange County schools have formally asked for a designation as an alternative school-within-a-school from the state Department of Education, and others, like Brianna's Westwood Elementary in Napa, are considering such a move. Alternative schools are exempt from most education code requirements, including those pertaining to Proposition 227.

Because the state Board of Education refused to get into the fray, the ball is now in the court of state Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin.

With fall school reopenings looming, Eastin appears to be the best hope for preventing the disruption of

a proven program.

Eastin has made clear that she has no intention of thwarting the will of the voters on Proposition 227. But dual immersion programs demand an exemption, and one of the reasons is that, as Brianna's mother, Deborah Wallace, notes, they represent "parent choice." Students are not routinely assigned to dual immersion classrooms. Their parents must make the effort to apply.

And keeping the double immersion programs would not undermine the spirit of 227, as it was promoted last year. Ron **Unz**, the initiative's author, was repeatedly asked about whether the measure would mean the end of such programs. In a meeting with the Chronicle's Editorial Board, he said parents who want double-immersion programs for their children should have that option.

Eastin should make sure that happens.

Many parents and students made a six-year commitment to the program and have kept that commitment for two, three, four years. For a school to abandon the dual immersion program now would be a breach of contract.

Eastin's spokesman, Doug Stone, has said that if Eastin is to grant the alternative school designation, she wants evidence that the parents and local school board are overwhelmingly in support. She also wants program officials to have an accountability and evaluation plan to make sure that language and academic standards and goals are met.

Her demands are reasonable, and school districts should have no problems accommodating them.

But time is short. **California's** schoolchildren are sharpening pencils and digging out dormant backpacks in preparation for a new school year. Students and parents who have chosen a wise path to bilingualism and high academic standards should not be denied that choice.

STATE RULES ON ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

-- Parents or guardians may ask local school boards to establish an alternative school program in the district.

-- The definition of an alternative school is fairly broad. An alternative school should, the state says, "recognize that the best learning takes place when the student learns because of his desire to learn. It also should be "operated in a manner to maximize the opportunity for improvement of the general school curriculum by innovative methods and ideas."

-- Alternative school enrollment must be open to all students districtwide.

-- After application by a school district, the state superintendent of public instruction may waive certain education code requirements.

EXAMPLES OF ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS:

-- "Free school" in which the emphasis is on increased freedom for teachers and students.

-- Magnet schools that are often focused on a special interest, such as the arts or sciences, career education or vocational skills training.

-- Multicultural, bilingual or ethnic school in which the emphasis is on cultural pluralism and ethnic and social awareness.

-- Street academy, dropout center or pregnancy-maternity center in which programs are targeted for specific student populations.

GRAPHIC: GRAPHIC

LOAD-DATE: August 17, 1998

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

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Example: House of Representatives

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THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

January 6, 1999 Wednesday, Final Chaser

SECTION: VALLEY AND STATE; Pg. B3

LENGTH: 365 words

HEADLINE: ANTI-BILINGUAL ED BALLOT EFFORT LIKELY

BYLINE: By Amy Svitak, The Arizona Republic; Written and compiled from staff and news service reports.

BODY:

English for the Children-Arizona is expected to launch an anti-**bilingual education** ballot initiative today.

Members of the Tucson-based group of parents and teachers are expected to discuss their plans outside the Secretary of State's Office after filing their petition at 1 p.m.

Ron Unz, author of **California's** Proposition 227, or "**Unz Initiative**" that outlawed bilingual ed in that state last year, will join Arizonans Maria Mendoza, Hector Ayala, Margaret Garcia Dugan and others at the event.

Polls show Arizonans want better regulation of **bilingual education**. A bill introduced in the Arizona Senate would give state officials tighter control over public school bilingual programs.

Information about both sides of the bilingual ed debate can be found at www.asu.edu/educ/cber/ on the Internet.

SUNNYSIDE DISTRICT CHIEF IS TOP SUPERINTENDENT

Mary Garcia, superintendent of the Sunnyside Unified School District in Tucson and vice president of the Arizona Board of Education, is the Arizona School Administrators' All Arizona Superintendent of the year.

Garcia was recognized by the association for her national and local efforts in family literacy, **bilingual education**, counseling, fine arts, staff development and school-to-work programs.

For more information about Garcia, visit Sunnyside schools' Web site at www.sunnysideud.k12.az.us online.

CALIF. STUDY: CLASS SIZE DOES MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Schoolteachers in **California** breathed a collective sigh of relief last week when results released from a statewide study showed that reduced class size equals a quality education.

The preliminary study, conducted by Policy Analysis for **California** Education, indicates that kids in small class settings have an increased opportunity for higher academic achievement.

In third grade, for instance, 41 percent of students whose classes were limited to 20 pupils scored at or above the national average in reading, compared with 33 percent in larger classes.

Information on **California's** class-size reduction initiative is available at www.cde.ca.gov/ftpbranch/sfpdiv/classize online.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

COLUMN: CHALK DUST

LOAD-DATE: January 7, 1999

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

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The Ethnic NewsWatch
Oakland Post

January 13, 1999

SECTION: Vol. 35; No. 64 ; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 867 words

HEADLINE: The Problems With **Bilingual Education**

BYLINE: Sullivan, Helen M.

BODY:
The Problems With **Bilingual Education**

By Helen M. Sullivan

When Mexican-American students and parents at the Ninth Street School in East Los Angeles, boycotted bilingual classes two years ago, it was because they felt that bilingual classes were not preparing students to function successfully in an English speaking society. One Mexican-American parent noted that proficiency in English was needed to "keep the children from winding up working in sweatshops or selling tamales on the corner." Another voiced concern that children were kept in the bilingual classes "year after year", and in fact some parents had already removed their children from bilingual classes and placed them in English classes.

The school administrators eventually acquiesced to the demands of the parents and students and began testing and reclassifying students able to function in regular classes, and the bilingual program was restructured so that more English was provided to the students. Thus was sparked the birth of the **Unz initiative**, or Proposition 227, that was passed overwhelmingly by **California** voters last year. This initiative stipulated that limited English students could be in a bilingual class for one year, but thereafter would be in regular classes unless parents got a special waiver for bilingual instruction.

During my near 30 years of working as an educator in Oakland Public Schools I had the opportunity to work in several elementary and middle school bilingual classes. During those years, many teachers, including myself, participated in training to get certification as Sheltered English Teachers for bilingual students. This certification allowed teachers who did not speak a foreign language to teach limited English students through the use of special curriculum.

In Oakland, most bilingual classes contain Mexican-American students who speak Spanish, however the district has never been able to acquire enough bilingual teachers of Vietnamese, Cambodian, Minh, and other east Asia languages so these students are often placed in Spanish bilingual or sheltered English classes even though the teacher does not speak the language of the students. African American and other ethnic minority students are often assigned to these classes in order for the class to meet the minimum number of students to qualify for special funding.

The problems pointed out by the East Los Angeles parents and students about the shortcomings of the bilingual program reflect some of the same questions and complaints by non-bilingual teachers and parents in other districts.

Here are several of those concerns:

Segregation. Most bilingual and African-American children live and play together in integrated neighborhoods, yet they part company upon entering the school. Racial strife at some schools has been attributed to this lack of interaction between ethnic groups for extensive parts of the school day.

Bilingual students are not tested regularly (as mandated by the bilingual program) in order to reclassify students into regular English classes.

Many students in bilingual classes score higher on English language reading and math tests than students in regular classes, yet they remain in bilingual classes. Regular testing that would classify many students as fluent English speakers (FEP) happens only sporadically.

Bilingual students are rarely retained or ??? classes for learning handicapped even after several years of low scholastic achievement. The tentative list of retainees that must be turned in to school principals near the end of the school year rarely contain Spanish surnames, and in fact tends to be overwhelmingly African-American. A look into any "special learning" classes will show hardly any ethnic group other than African-American. Hence, bilingual teachers are perceived of as being overly protective of their students by failing to refer them to special classes where there are few, if any, bilingual students.

Teachers of bilingual students often refer to their students as Spanish, rather than Spanish-speaking, even though most of the flatland schools have never had students from Spain, and the bulk of bilingual students are Mexican Americans.

African American students who are enrolled in Spanish bilingual classes participate in many activities that teach Mexican history: El Dia del Muerto, cinco De Mayo, constructing Mexican flags, for example. However, whether they receive equal curriculum about their own history is questionable.

There have been no published reports of comprehensive studies that determine whether teaching in dual languages slows the progress of students who speak only English and are in bilingual classes.

Many parents of bilingual students continue to speak only their native language at home although most students in bilingual classes are in fact born in this country, and have been exposed to five to six years of hearing, if not speaking, the English language by the time they begin school.

These concerns have never been fully addressed to the satisfaction of parents and teachers.

ETHNIC-GROUP: African American/Caribbean/African

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 14, 1999

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

Example: House of Representatives

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THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

February 28, 1999 Sunday, Final Chaser

SECTION: OPINIONS; Pg. B7

LENGTH: 684 words

HEADLINE: PUNISHED FOR SPEAKING SPANISH?;
'IMMERSION' DROWNS THE HOPES OF MANY HISPANIC CHILDREN

BYLINE: JEFF MacSWAN

BODY:

Ever learn a language in 180 days? Ron Unz, a software developer from **California**, recently visited Arizona to declare that you can. In fact, under his proposed "English for the Children" initiative, if you're a child whose native language is not English, then you must.

The proposed initiative provides that English learners be placed in "structured immersion" (or intensive English as a second language) for a period of one year, or 180 school days.

After that, children must be "mainstreamed," or placed in classes in the regular program alongside native English speakers. The initiative would also outlaw **bilingual education**.

Ironically, Tucson was home to "structured immersion" from 1919 to 1967. As Tucson discovered, the problem with such programs is that they fail to take into account a very important fact: School is primarily about learning content, such as language arts, math and science.

Because they do not understand the language of instruction, children tend to fall behind academically. Despite their ability to engage in simple conversations early on, it takes a number of years to learn English well enough to understand all-English instruction.

During Tucson's English Immersion Era, less than 40 percent of Hispanic children graduated from high school each year.

The enrollment of Hispanic children plummeted to about 25 percent by 1967, at which time the city's school district introduced **bilingual education**. Today, partly as a result of this innovation, nearly 90 percent of Tucson's Hispanic students graduate.

The Arizona Department of Education reports that students in bilingual programs do better statewide. Studies with large national samples have reached similar conclusions regarding the superiority of **bilingual education** programs.

Meanwhile, opponents of **bilingual education** report that only 4 percent of English language learners are reclassified as "English proficient" each year. What they don't tell us is that a full 73 percent of these children are now in Unz-style immersion classes, not **bilingual education** programs.

Little time has passed since **Unz's initiative** passed in **California**, but in Orange Unified School District, where Unz's program was implemented a year early, only six children in 3,549 could be mainstreamed last year. That's a failure rate of 99.83 percent for English the Unz Way.

But Unz's group of English-only zealots are not the only folks in Arizona who want to place arbitrary limits on children in bilingual and ESL programs. State Rep. Laura Knaperek recently introduced a bill which passed in the House of Representatives.

This bill limits support for English language learners to only three years. State Superintendent of Public

Instruction Lisa Keegan has advocated a limit of four years. These proposals may seem like wise, political compromise to politicians, but the least powerful of Knaperek's and Keegan's constituents - the children who need time to learn English - will view it as heartless and arbitrary.

After four years, only 75 percent of English language learners know enough English to participate effectively in mainstream classes, according to Keegan's own report. Knaperek's and Keegan's willingness to close the door on the weakest of the weak speaks to their true commitments as public servants.

Time limits of any sort reflect a basic distrust of learners. They appear to be guided by an underlying assumption that, if we threaten students enough with failure or expulsion, they will learn English faster, as though they are defiantly resisting the language of economic opportunity which brought them and their families to our state.

Bilingual education programs could be even better for our children. Sen. Joe Eddie Lopez has drafted an important reform bill which will strengthen well-designed **bilingual education** programs and revamp those in need of help.

It also strengthens parental choice, allowing families to choose the programs they want. Please urge your state senator to oppose the Knaperek bill and to support Lopez's legislation as approved by the Appropriations Committee.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

COLUMN: MY TURN

LOAD-DATE: March 2, 1999

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Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

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August 24, 1999, METRO FINAL

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. A3

LENGTH: 327 words

HEADLINE: MCCAIN ENDORSES UNZ IDEA

BYLINE: Dennis Love, Bee Capitol Bureau

BODY:

It didn't take long for U.S. Sen. John McCain, the Arizona Republican who has developed a maverick reputation both in Washington and as a presidential candidate, to find his **California** kindred spirit: Ron Unz.

McCain -- in the midst of a two-week campaign swing through the Golden State -- said Monday in Sacramento that he will endorse a stringent campaign finance reform voter initiative authored by Unz, the Palo Alto software entrepreneur who engineered controversial Proposition 227, the voter initiative which aims to end **bilingual education** in **California** public schools.

Unz's latest crusade, which he calls the "**California** Voters Bill of Rights," includes voluntary spending limits, free TV and radio air time for candidates, a ban on corporate contributions, overnight Internet disclosure and contribution caps (\$ 5,000 for statewide races, \$ 3,000 for all others). Unz said he expects to have the initiative on the March 2000 ballot.

McCain, who has made campaign finance reform his signature issue in his White House bid, said the Unz measure "isn't a perfect solution. . . . But that's no reason for me to reject it. It beats the hell out of the situation you've got here today."

The senator said that Arizona and Maine already have passed similar reforms, which seek to limit the influence of so-called "soft money," contributions which are not subject to campaign finance law restrictions. He said passage of the **Unz initiative** likely would be a precursor to other states following suit.

"It makes it tough for a congressman to vote against soft-money restrictions in Washington if his state has passed a soft-money initiative," McCain said.

McCain has long pushed campaign finance reform legislation in Washington without success.

Unz said the beauty of the **California** initiative process is that "it allows voters to speak their minds on the issues without worrying about having their wishes killed in a Senate committee."

GRAPHIC: Sen. John McCain

The GOP presidential hopeful has long advocated campaign finance reform.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 25, 1999

FOCUSTM**Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative**

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The Ethnic NewsWatch
Navajo Times

September 30, 1999

SECTION: Vol. XXXVIII; No. 39; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 497 words

HEADLINE: Bilingual ed supporters fight English-only plan

BYLINE: Abasta, Rick

BODY:

Bilingual ed supporters fight English-only plan

On Saturday, supporters of **bilingual education** spoke out in opposition to proposed legislation aimed at eliminating **bilingual education** in Arizona.

Dan Wegener, public relations coordinator for the Arizona Language Education Council, said there is a corporate need for bilingual employees and the legislation to end **bilingual education** is a step in the wrong direction.

"Speaking Spanish is a resource, not a problem to be eliminated," Wegener said to the roomful of parents, students and administrators.

Prior to a press conference held by the Center for Equal Opportunity, which supports the plan to reduce **bilingual education**, Wegener and bilingual supporters rallied to get out the word on the negative repercussions of the so-called "**UNZ Initiative**."

The controversial initiative is modeled after **California's** Proposition 227, which was passed last summer. Backed by Ron Unz, a computer executive, the initiative requires that non-English-speaking students learn English in an immersion program within one year.

Most directly affected by the plan are Native American - especially Navajo - and Hispanic **bilingual education** programs.

Ginny Kalish, a **bilingual education** instructor, says education is a bipartisan issue.

"It's important for them (students) to not just learn English, but the content of what I'm teaching," she said.

Kalish said discontinuing **bilingual education** is not the solution.

Presenting a student perspective on the subject, Gabriella Contreras, an eight grade student at Roskrue Elementary Bilingual Middle School in Tucson, said **bilingual education** is about choices.

"Why isn't there a movement to revitalize **bilingual education**?" Contreras questioned. "Without **bilingual education** how can we learn to communicate more effectively?"

A winner of the Presidential Award and recognized as one of the top 10 students in the country for volunteerism and youth leadership, Contreras says the proposal gives her a "terrible feeling."

Contrera said her volunteerism has given her the opportunity to travel abroad where it's not unusual to meet students who could speak as many as three languages.

Phyllis Bigpond, chairperson for the Intertribal Council of Tribes in Arizona, said the tribes support **bilingual education** which is often an integral part of preserving tribal languages.

She said several tribes have approved formal resolutions in support of **bilingual education** and against the English-only movement.

The Navajo Nation Council has taken a formal position against English-only and directed that the Navajo people be educated on the issue.

Representative Sylvia Laughter, District 3, said the motivation for legislators is money.

"It's a money issue," she said. "The Navajo Nation supports **bilingual education** in our schools. We're going back to teaching the Navajo language."

Article copyright The Navajo Times.

ETHNIC-GROUP: Native People

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: January 16, 2000

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;Bilingual education and California and Unz Initiative

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

Example: House of Representatives

The Associated Press State & Local Wire

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October 14, 1999, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: National Political

LENGTH: 346 words

HEADLINE: Unz: Donation limits wouldn't give rich candidates an advantage

DATELINE: SACRAMENTO

BODY:

The wealthy sponsor of a ballot measure that would limit campaign donations says the proposal probably won't help rich candidates who spend lots of their own money on their races.

The March 7 measure by high-tech entrepreneur and U.S. Senate candidate Ron Unz and former state elections official Tony Miller wouldn't limit how much of their own money candidates can spend.

But Unz said Thursday that the proposal would require candidates who exceed voluntary spending limits to reveal that in their campaign ads.

Unz predicted such a disclosure would create a "tremendous negative reaction" among voters.

He also said that the measure's public financing provisions, which would provide free broadcast time and mailings for candidates who accept spending limits, would help candidates who aren't wealthy.

"If you give people a certain amount of air time they can get their message out there," he said at a news conference on the measure.

State election officials announced Wednesday that Unz and Miller's proposal had qualified for the ballot.

Currently, there are no limits on the size of donations to state candidates in **California**, except in races to fill mid-term vacancies in the Legislature.

In the last 11 years, voters have approved three measures that included contribution limits, but they were blocked by courts.

Miller and **Unz's initiative** would put a \$ 5,000-per-election cap on donations to statewide candidates from most sources.

Most contributors could give up to \$ 3,000 per election to other state and local candidates, although local governments could adopt tougher restrictions.

The initiative would also ban donations from corporations and limit fund-raising periods for candidates.

And it would require candidates who raise at least \$ 25,000 a year to disclose donations of \$ 1,000 or more on the Internet within 24 hours of receipt.

Unz was the sponsor of an anti-**bilingual education** ballot measure approved by voters last year. The Palo Alto Republican is also running for the U.S. Senate seat held by Democrat Dianne Feinstein.

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HEADLINE: Bye-bye to Bilingual Ed?

BYLINE: Amselle, Jorge

BODY:

The wave of **bilingual education** that washed over the United States starting in 1968 seems to be receding--though it still suffuses school systems around the country.

In recent years, states and school districts with decades-old bilingual programs began to make changes in light of growing criticisms of these programs. In 1995, Hispanic students and parents successfully lobbied the New Jersey legislature to allow them the right to exit bilingual programs.

That same year in New York City, the Bushwick Parents Organization, a group representing over 100 Hispanic families, filed suit against the state to remove its members' children from bilingual programs.

The watershed event for opponents of **bilingual education**, however, came in 1996 in Los Angeles' garment district. Over 60 Hispanic families at Las Familias del Pueblo community center boycotted the Ninth Street Elementary School because of the institution's failure to teach English. It was this event that motivated Silicon Valley entrepreneur Ron Unz to launch his "English for the Children" citizens' initiative, also known as Proposition 227.

Opponents, including the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), called the initiative a "one-size-fits-all model," an "infringement on the right of local communities to make critical decisions about how they educate language-minority students."

Raul Yzaguirre, president of the NCLR, successfully lobbied the White House to oppose the initiative and said "the administration has joined every single mainstream educational organization in concluding that the so-called **Unz initiative** is unsound educational policy."

This criticism palled in comparison to the angry tone taken by the National Association of **Bilingual Education** (NABE). Spokesman Jaime Zapata said that "Proposition 227 threatens to take us back to the days when children entered the classroom eager and ready to learn but were labeled 'slow' because the instruction was in a language they did not understand."

PROPOSITION 227's EFFECT

Former NABE Executive Director Jim Lyons said that "Proposition 227 will be stopped by the courts; it flagrantly violates fundamental constitutional rights and civil rights protections."

Despite the attacks on Proposition 227 and on Unz personally, the initiative was approved in June 1998, with 61 percent of the vote. It virtually eliminated **bilingual education** and required that all language-minority students be taught in a "structured English immersion" program. Parents are able to sign waivers, asking for their children to be placed in bilingual programs, but these can only be granted

under specific circumstances.

Several legal challenges to the initiative have to date been unsuccessful. The first year of test results for language-minority students is now available. Kenji Hakuta, professor of education at Stanford University and a leading expert in **bilingual education**, has recently published his analysis of these test scores.

"At present," according to Hakuta, "there is no scientifically defensible way to compare districts that have implemented [Proposition] 227 and those that have maintained bilingual programs. Both show positive changes, especially in second grade. Any claim that Proposition 227 worked is bunk."

Unz dismisses such criticisms and said in a recent press release, "Last year, when **California** voters were considering our measure, nearly the entire educational and political establishment predicted disaster and plummeting test scores if it passed. Now that statewide test scores for immigrant students in elementary grades have risen a remarkable 20 percent after just seven months of the new program, those same opponents are reduced to disputing Prop. 227's success instead of decrying its failure."

Indeed, it is clear that language-minority students suffered no harm from English immersion.

The debate over Proposition 227 has sparked a renewed interest in the education of English learners, and educators and policymakers have begun to make serious changes in existing programs. Within the past two years, school boards in Denver and Chicago have changed existing bilingual programs to increase the amount of English that is taught and enable students to mainstream within three years.

Chicago has focused on speeding up English acquisition with after-school and weekend English as a Second Language classes and summer school. Denver's program includes a commitment to giving parents greater control over how their children are taught.

In Arizona, with help from Unz, Hispanic parents and educators have launched their own "English for the Children" initiative-- almost identical to the one in **California**. The Arizona parents have already begun collecting the signatures necessary to place it on the ballot in the November 2000 election.

Congress, which originally helped start these programs, has witnessed various bills intended to kill, reform, or restrict the federal role in **bilingual education**. In 1998, now retired Rep. Frank Riggs (R-**California**) introduced a bill that would give more than \$ 300 million in federal **bilingual-education** funding directly to the states for either bilingual or all-English programs. This bill passed the House but was not considered in the Senate.

Last year, Congress held several hearings on **bilingual education**, and Rep. Matt Salmon (R-Arizona) introduced new legislation that would require parental consent before a child may be placed in a bilingual program.

SUPPORT FOR ENGLISH-ONLY CLASSES

Most polls show that a majority of the general public supports programs that immerse students in English.

Questioning the parents of children who need help with English has shown similar results. Nearly every poll taken of Hispanics leading up to the vote for Proposition 227, and every one since, has indicated overwhelming support for English.

One notable exception was a CNN/Los Angeles Times exit poll of Hispanic voters indicating that 63 percent voted against the initiative. According to Unz, "We were outspent 20 to 1 in advertising." Indeed, the week prior to the vote saw a massive amount of negative advertising aimed at Latino voters.

But public opinion polls continue to show a strong preference among immigrant parents that their children be taught English as quickly as possible. Last fall, a poll by Public Agenda, a nonprofit

organization in New York, found that 75 percent of immigrant parents valued rapid English acquisition even if it meant that children would fall behind in other subjects. This was almost exactly the same result that the Educational Testing Service found a decade earlier in a survey conducted for the Department of Education.

Supporters of **bilingual education** were surprised by the **California** initiative and the passage of the Riggs bill in Congress. These defeats have engendered a sort of reinvention that was evident at the NABE conference last year in Denver. **Bilingual education** is no longer touted as a remedial program but instead as an enrichment program aimed at providing all students with an opportunity to become proficient in more than one language.

Many bilingual advocates are also admitting publicly for the first time that alternative programs can be very effective at meeting the needs of English learners.

DUAL-IMMERSION PROGRAMS

This new attitude has contributed greatly to the popularity of one form of **bilingual education** that has not slipped from favor: dual-immersion programs. According to NABE, in two-way **bilingual education**, or dual immersion, "[Limited-English-proficient] and native English-speaking students acquire each other's languages in a developmental **bilingual-education** environment that features collaborative learning and a challenging curriculum. The goal is to help both groups meet high academic standards and develop fluent bilingualism and full literacy in two languages. Students are typically enrolled in these programs for five or more years."

The classes have the added benefit of not segregating students.

There are two types of dual-immersion programs (each of which uses qualified bilingual teachers):

One follows a 50-50 approach, in which children spend half their day learning in each language from the start.

The other uses a 90-10 approach, in which children start by spending the bulk of their day being taught in Spanish. The amount of time spent learning in English is gradually increased until in grade five it reaches 50-50.

Dual-immersion programs have shown some early success and increasing popularity. All successful dual-immersion programs share certain characteristics. One key element may be their scarcity. In general, dual-immersion programs operate in only a few schools in a district and often parents must request that their children be included. These schools have sufficient resources, certified teachers, and parental involvement and essentially operate like magnet schools.

THE RISE AND FALL OF AMERICANIZATION

Throughout the country's past, the notion of **bilingual education** was essentially at odds with the prevailing U.S. "melting-pot" culture. Assimilation, not separation, has historically been the key to America's nation-building success, and a common, standardized language has been, many argue, indispensable. This ideology has played a key role in America's domestic policies toward immigrants, particularly in the area of education.

At the start of the twentieth century, schools were placed in the forefront of new "Americanization" efforts, which the arrival of large numbers of newcomers had fostered. Schools focused on immersing their students in English and teaching American history, customs, and traditions. Native language and cultures had no place in the public schools and were to be left at home. This policy dominated American education until the civil rights upheavals of the 1960s.

Until that time, the notion of **bilingual education** had been rejected out of hand. Comments by Arturo Vargas, current chairman of the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda, illustrate the mind-set of the era.

"History has proven that English-only instruction harms Hispanic students in several ways," he says. "It makes their acquisition of English more difficult and frustrating, it unnecessarily delays their academic subject matter learning, it prevents parents with limited English skills from actively participating in their children's schooling, and it sharply increases the rate at which Hispanic students drop out of school."

These dropout rates motivated Congress to pass the **bilingual education** act in 1968, providing federal funding for programs that taught part of the day in a child's native language. Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D-Texas), sponsor of the act, stressed that the purpose of his bill was "not to try to make the mother tongue the dominant language, but just to try to make those children fully literate in English."

In 1974, the Supreme Court held in *Lau v. Nichols* that Chinese students in sink-or-swim programs in San Francisco had a civil right to receive specialized-assistance services. The court did not, however, mandate any particular approach.

According to NABE, "**Bilingual education** is an instructional approach that uses a child's native language to make instruction meaningful. **Bilingual education** programs build upon the knowledge that all children bring to school." In essence, bilingual programs were meant to offer academic instruction in the native language until English was mastered so that students would not fall behind.

CLASH OF THE SCHOLARS

Stephen Krashen, a professor of education at the University of Southern California and a leading advocate of **bilingual education**, explains his educational theory in the book *Condemned Without a Trial: Bogus Arguments Against Bilingual Education*.

"The knowledge that children get through their first language helps make the English they hear and read more comprehensible," Krashen says. "Literacy developed in the primary language transfers to the second language."

A principal aspect of bilingual theory is that students must spend five to seven years mastering their native language before they can learn English. But, according to Rosalie Pedalino Porter, a researcher and former director of **bilingual education** programs in Lowell, Massachusetts, "**Bilingual education** is a classic example of an experiment that was begun with the best of humanitarian intentions but has turned out to be terribly wrongheaded."

Educators who are critical of **bilingual education** instead support alternative programs that focus more on English instruction. Christine Rossell, a professor at Boston University, found that a structured, intensive program of English acquisition is exactly what most children who speak less-common languages receive. English as a Second Language programs provide instruction to students in English acquisition for a portion of their school day from a teacher specially trained in improving language skills.

"The research evidence suggests that all-English instruction holds the least risk and usually has the greatest benefit for limited-English-proficient children," Rossell declares.

This contrasts sharply with the views of Jim Cummins of the University of Toronto, who is widely viewed as the developer of **bilingual education** theory. Cummins, speaking before a gathering of the American Association on Higher Education in Washington, D.C., last March, said that "the academic debate lines up virtually all North American applied linguists who have carried out research on language learning as advocates of bilingual programs against only a handful of academics who oppose **bilingual education**."

Cummins often denounces the "coercive relations of power" that he discerns in the traditional American multiethnic classroom. He sees this coercion stemming from a "curriculum that reflects only the experience and values of white middle-class English-speaking students." Those who disagree with him are branded "intellectual xenophobes" and "cultural hegemonists."

Such belligerence and arrogance, critics of **bilingual education** say, help keep this form of schooling among the dominant movements on the education front today. Although **bilingual education** has been thrown on the defensive nationwide and rolled back in a few localities, it is still a fixture in most school districts--and will likely remain so for years to come.

Jorge Amselle is the executive director of the READ Institute (short for Research in English Acquisition and Development) in Washington, D.C.

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