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RESOURCES**

Educational Issues Series

The Language of Education

The Bilingual Education Controversy

About the Author:

Bob Peterson teaches fifth grade at La Escuela Fratney, a two-way bilingual public school in Milwaukee. He is MTEA building representative and has served on the MTEA executive committee. He is also editor of *Rethinking Schools*, co-chair of the National Coalition of Education Activists. He can be reached at REPMILW@AOL.com.

By Bob Peterson

When I hear people complain about bilingual programs in our public schools, I don't know whether I should laugh or cry. Actually sometimes I do both. The sources of the criticisms run the gamut — from virulent white supremacists who would prefer a white, Christian, English-only nation to Hispanics who have struggled to enter the English-speaking world and feel strongly that bilingual programs do a disservice to their children.

What I have found about all such criticisms and, quite frankly, about much of the praise for bilingual programs is that many opinions on the subject are based on very little knowledge about language acquisition of children or about

the socio-economic context in which such programs exist.

As a teacher in the bilingual Spanish/English program in the Milwaukee public schools for the past thirteen years, I have come to recognize the issue for what it is: complicated, political, and above all else a necessary one for our nation to confront.

In this article I examine the history of bilingual education, common types of bilingual programs, and some of the common misconceptions about bilingual education. I also argue that certain types of bilingual programs are exactly the kind of programs that will help move our country forward in terms of race and language.

A Long History

An interesting place to start with bilingual programs is that of history. Few people realize that there is a long history of bilingual education programs in our nation's history (Crawford, 1989). During the second half of the 19th century, for example, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Polish, Italian, Czech, French, and Spanish were all taught in public schools either in a monolingual or bilingual setting in various states. (Kloss, 1977). The most valiant and sustained struggles for bilingual education were waged by three language groups: the German-Americans, Native-Americans and Mexican-Americans. Tyack (1974) says that in the Midwest in 1900 there were 231,700 children studying in German in public elementary schools, concentrated heavily in the public school systems of Ohio and Indiana. Garcia (1982) says that although "German-Americans fought vigorously for bilingual-bicultural instruction," their struggle failed because the "German nation has twice in this century been the political enemy of the US government." This in turn brought a wave of nativism, anti-bilingual and anti-foreign language legislation, and outright repression against German foreign language schools, press, and cultural institutions.

Restoration approaches are similar to the maintenance models but the purpose is to "restore or recover a language and culture that has been lost, stolen or strayed" (Garcia, 1982). Example of these types include the Window Rock Arizona Navajo bilingual program and the Cherokee, Choctaw and the Seminole bilingual programs.

Immersion Programs

An immersion program involves "children from the linguistic majority of a country (with a high status mother tongue) choosing to be taught through the medium of a foreign language" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). This is the principal bilingual model for Canada's English speaking children. Started in 1965, it has spread to all provinces with more than 20% of all English speaking children in Montreal and Ottawa participating. The children are completely instructed in French, their second language, and only begin English instruction after they have begun reading in French. By fourth or fifth grade, instruction is half in one language and half in the other. It is considered a program of "enrichment bilingualism." The Canadian experience is particularly important because it has been thoroughly evaluated and shown to be successful in the development of bilingual children (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). Another finding from the Canadian experience that is particularly interesting given the racial problems confronting the USA, is that the learning of a second language by these majority children produced a "more liberal and enlightened perception of other ethnic groups" (McLaughlin, 1978; Lambert & Tucker, 1972). This is not surprising given the interconnectedness of language and culture.

Milwaukee Public Schools has three immersion elementary schools (French, German and Spanish) and one immersion middle school that uses all three languages.

Bilingual Education Under Attack

Bilingual education has always had its critics, but recently it has come under particularly intense attacks from conservatives, including the Republican party, private groups such as US English, and conservative think tanks such as the Cato Institute and the Heritage Foundation. Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich devoted an entire chapter of his book, *To Renew America*, to the alleged failings of bilingual education. In September of 1995 Sen. Robert Dole made a high-profile denunciation of multilingual education. Wisconsin's own Toby Roth (D-Green Bay), an author of "English-only" legislation, has called for the elimination of all bilingual education programs (Amselle, 1996).

The criticisms are set in the context of two concurrent political trends: increasing attacks on public education programs, especially those for poor and minority children and increasing attacks on the rights of immigrants or those perceived as immigrants in our country. For example, California's Proposition 187, an anti-immigrant rights referendum, approved by a 3 to 2 margin in 1994, prohibits, among other things, providing education to "illegal" immigrant children in the state (De La Torre, 1994a). This provision was included in the referendum even though in 1982 the US Supreme Court found in the *Plyler v. Doe* decision that a Texas law that prohibited undocumented immigrant children from attending public school to be unlawful because it violated the students' equal protection rights under the constitution (De La Torre, 1994b). Several provisions of Proposition 187, including those affecting education, are still being litigated in court.

Most criticisms of bilingual education fail to take into account the rights of language minority students as expressed in the *Lau* and *Plyler* decisions or differences within bilingual programs as described above.

The pedagogical criticism

"If they spent more time listening and doing things in English, they'd learn English quicker."

While this statement has a certain common sense appeal, the fact is that research shows that continued development of both languages enhances cognitive development (Cummins, 1989, Lindholm and Zierlein, 1991). Children continue to learn in subject areas in a language that is understandable to them while they learn English.

Moreover, many literacy-related skills are transferable from one language to another (Cummins, 1993). Research shows that students who immigrate from Spanish-speaking countries who were well educated in their native language of Spanish can learn English literacy skills much more rapidly and better than US-born children who speak Spanish at home, but did not participate in a bilingual educational setting (Nieto, 1993). My personal experience with 5th graders confirms both these points. The students who have a solid literacy background as Spanish readers and writers, can fairly quickly become good English readers and writers.

The lousy program criticism

"Some Latino kids are put in to lousy bilingual programs and they aren't learning."

Among the anti-bilingual literature one often encounters the personal stories of some parent in Texas or California (Amselle, 1996) who has been treated poorly and whose child has met no success in a bilingual program. Upon closer scrutiny many such criticisms have little to do with the fact that the program is bilingual but more to do with the fact that the school district didn't adequately inform or listen to the parent. Bilingual programs are intended to be optional and parents must give their permission for their children to participate in them.

Moreover, the range of quality in bilingual classrooms and programs varies _ just as the range of quality varies in all other educational programs. At times a lack of resources, a shortage of well trained bilingual teachers, or ineffective instructional strategies can hurt bilingual programs. But just because one can find incidents where students and families did not find satisfaction with a particular program, doesn't mean we eliminate the program, but rather we improve it.

The "We made it_so can they" criticism

"But other immigrants didn't need bilingual education and they made it."

Most people who make this statement don't know that the USA has a long history of bilingual education programs. Some immigrants, particularly Germans, definitely promoted and benefited from such programs.

Nonetheless, it is true that many immigrants "made it" without being part of bilingual educational programs. So why are such programs so necessary now?

The key to understanding the difference, however, is not educational, but economic. The economic realities that earlier immigrants and current immigrants face are quite different. In the early 1900's during the first great wave of immigration the economic conditions allowed first generation immigrants, albeit with some difficulty depending on their country of origin, to get relatively decent paying (at times union) jobs that would help their families and their children move into a more secure financial existence without an extensive knowledge of English. People who argue against bilingual education and other immigrant rights today by saying that "previous immigrants made it" are not taking into account the dramatically different economic situation in this country. Today, with the decline of manufacturing, the likelihood of securing a family-supporting job without extensive knowledge of English is doubtful.

In other words, because of today's economic conditions, bilingual education programs are needed by LEP children because through them they will learn English better than if they didn't participate in such programs.

Real Problems in Bilingual Programs

Like other educational programs, bilingual programs can definitely be improved. They suffer from large class sizes, lack of funding, insufficient staff development, etc. that many educational programs face these days.

There are some problems particular to bilingual programs, however. One is that most programs are transitional and not enrichment. In other words, children are pushed out of bilingual programs often after first or second grade. The students have what appears to be classroom fluency in English, but they can't really operate in more cognitively-challenging and text-dominated settings of upper elementary school. More districts would do well to emulate programs in Milwaukee which seek to maintain both languages by having children participate in bilingual educational settings throughout elementary school and into middle and high school if they so choose.

The problem of large class sizes, while a problem for all teachers and students, is a particularly problematic one for bilingual classrooms. Most of these classrooms are in under-funded, urban settings and begin with large classes. Having immigrant children who may not speak any English in one's class necessitates more one-on-one and small group work, and thus is a further argument for smaller class sizes. Unfortunately, with budget caps and cutbacks, the prospect for change on that front is not too likely.

Another criticism that has been raised about bilingual programs is that they have a segregating effect _ putting many children of one race, most often Hispanic, into separate classrooms. In addressing this problem, educators have to balance the needs of those children for intense language instruction (in either their native language or English) and the negative effects of segregation. Perhaps the best way to overcome this dilemma is the creation of more two-way bilingual programs where children of all races are integrated into classrooms where they learn two languages.

Conclusion

Whatever the outcome of the current political debates over language issues, teachers will always face the classroom dilemma of how to best educate children who speak languages other than English. As teachers we know what is best for those students _ which is what is best for all children _ build on the child's strengths, have high expectations for all, and fight like the dickens for the rights of all children.

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Issues in U.S. Language Policy

Bilingual Education

For many Americans, bilingual education seems to defy common sense – not to mention the Melting Pot tradition. They ask:

- If non-English-speaking students are isolated in foreign-language classrooms, how are they ever going to learn English, the key to upward mobility?
- What was wrong with the old "sink or swim" method that worked for generations of earlier immigrants?
- Isn't bilingual education just another example of "political correctness" run amok – the inability to say no to a vociferous ethnic lobby?

Some English Only advocates go further, arguing that even if bilingual education is effective – which they doubt – it's still a bad idea for the country because bilingualism threatens to sap our sense of national identity and divide us along ethnic lines. They fear that any government recognition of minority languages "sends the wrong message" to immigrants, encouraging them to believe they can live in the U.S.A. without learning English or conforming to "American" ways.

Such complaints have made bilingual education a target of political attacks. One of the most serious to date is now under way in California, a ballot initiative that would mandate English-only instruction for all children until they become fully proficient in English.

No doubt many of the objections to bilingual education are lodged in good faith. Others reflect ethnic stereotypes or class biases. Sad to say, they all reflect a pervasive ignorance about how bilingual education works, how second languages are acquired, and how the nation has responded to non-English-speaking groups in the past.

Reinforcing popular fallacies requires less space than deconstructing them. That's why my writing on these issues grew from a handful of newspaper

articles into a 310-page book, Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory, and Practice (3rd ed., 1995). Nevertheless, a few points:

● Science is often counterintuitive. Its breakthroughs tend to upset common-sense notions, not to mention cherished myths. Linguistics is no exception. In fact, it invites more than its share of opposition from nonspecialists – witness the "Ebonics" controversy – because most people feel like experts when it comes to language. Our reactions are often visceral. Perhaps that's because our speech defines us ethnically, socially, and intellectually. It's tied up with a sense of who we are – and who we are not – evoking some of our deepest emotions.

● What once seemed obvious about bilingualism – for example, that it handicaps children's cognitive growth – has usually proved unfounded. Since the 1960s, research has shown that multiple language skills do not confuse the mind. Quite the contrary: when well-developed, they seem to provide cognitive advantages, although such effects are complex and difficult to measure (Hakuta 1986).

● Another discredited notion is that children will "pick up" a second language rapidly if "totally immersed" in it. For generations, this philosophy served to justify policies of educational neglect – assigning minority students to regular classrooms, with no special help in overcoming language barriers. Disproportionate numbers failed and dropped out of school as a result. The sink-or-swim approach was ruled illegal by the U.S. Supreme Court in Lau v. Nichols (1974).

● Research has shown that the quality – not the quantity – of English exposure is the major factor in English acquisition. That is, the second-language **input must be comprehensible** (Krashen 1996). Otherwise, it's just noise.

● English as a second language (ESL) is best taught in natural situations, with the second language used in meaningful contexts rather than in repetitious drills of grammar and vocabulary. One variant of ESL, known as "sheltered subject-matter instruction," adapts lessons to students' level of English proficiency. This approach is common in bilingual education programs, coordinated with lessons in students' native language.

● Native-language instruction also helps to make English comprehensible, by providing contextual knowledge that aids in understanding. When children already know something about dinosaurs, a lesson on the subject will make more sense when instruction shifts to English. Not only will they learn more about dinosaurs; they will also acquire more English.

● The same principle applies when it comes to acquiring literacy. Teaching in the native language can facilitate the process, as the linguist Stephen Krashen (1996) explains:

- We learn to read by reading, by making sense of what we see on the page. ...
- If we learn to read by reading, it will be much easier to learn to read in a language we already understand.
- Once you can read, you can read. The ability to read transfers across languages.

● "Language is not a unitary skill, but a complex configuration of abilities" (Hakuta and Snow 1986). Social communication skills – a.k.a. **playground English** – should not be confused with **academic English**, the cognitively demanding language that children need to succeed in school. While playground English tends to be acquired rapidly by most children, academic English is typically acquired over a period of five to seven years (Cummins 1989).

● Research on the effectiveness of bilingual education remains in dispute, because program evaluation studies – featuring appropriate comparison groups and random assignment of subjects or controls for pre-existing differences – are extremely difficult to design. Moreover, there is considerable variation among the pedagogies, schools, students, and communities being compared. While numerous studies have documented the benefits of bilingual programs, much of this research has faced methodological criticisms – as noted by an expert panel of the National Research Council (August and Hakuta 1997a).

● Certain critics of bilingual education have interpreted the NRC report to mean that, despite a generation of research, "there is no evidence that there will be long-term advantages or disadvantages to teaching limited-English students in the native language" (Glenn 1997). This conclusion – widely circulated by the so-called READ Institute – has been rejected by

the NRC study directors. To the contrary, they say, the expert panel concluded that "a great deal has been learned from the research that has been conducted on English language learners." Moreover, there are "empirical results . . . support[ing] the theory underlying native language instruction" (August and Hakuta 1997b). According to the panel's chairman, the "attempt by READ to place its own political spin" on the report hardly advances the cause of objective research (Hakuta 1997).

● Other critics continue to deny that such empirical support exists. A recent "review of the literature" (Rossell and Baker 1996) reports that bilingual education is inferior to English-only programs of all kinds, including sink-or-swim. Yet these conclusions owe more to the manipulation of program labels than to student performance in the classroom. Critiques of Rossell and Baker by Cummins (1998) and Krashen (1996) show that, among other distortions, the researchers rely heavily on studies of French immersion in Canada – bilingual or trilingual approaches that they portray as monolingual "immersion" or "submersion" models. Meanwhile, a meta-analysis of the same body of research reviewed by the critics, but using a more rigorous methodology, found quite different results: a significant edge for bilingual education (Greene 1998).

● The most sophisticated evaluation study to date – a four-year, longitudinal study of 2,000 Spanish-speaking students in five states – found that "late-exit," **developmental** bilingual programs proved superior to "early-exit," **transitional** bilingual and English-only **immersion** programs (Ramírez et al. 1991). That is, in programs that stressed native-language skills, students' growth in English reading and mathematics continued to increase long after it had leveled off among their peers in the other programs. While this study has been praised by many, others have rejected the comparison as invalid because all three programs were not tested in the same school districts.

● Nevertheless, a consensus of applied linguists recognizes that the following propositions have strong empirical support:

- Native-language instruction does not retard the acquisition of English.
- Well-developed skills in the native language are associated with high levels of academic achievement.

- Bilingualism is a valuable skill, for individuals and for the country.

● Bilingual education was adopted by many local school districts in the 1960s and 1970s to remedy practices that had denied language minorities an equal educational opportunity. Yet it was hardly a new invention designed to replace the Melting Pot with the Salad Bowl or some other model of ethnic pluralism. There is a long bilingual tradition in the U.S.A., in which minority-language schooling has played a central, albeit largely forgotten, role.

For a more detailed analysis of the research controversies over bilingual education, see my book Hold Your Tongue (1992). For a response to some common canards  see Diane Ravitch on bilingual education.

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A Meta-Analysis of the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education

by Jay P. Greene
Assistant Professor of Government
University of Texas at Austin
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Sponsored by
The Tomas Rivera Policy Institute
The Public Policy Clinic of the Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin
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Introduction

The voters in California are being asked to consider an initiative this June that would ban the use of foreign languages in the instruction of younger children with limited English proficiency. Both advocates and opponents of this initiative claim that scholarly research supports their case, but their reading of the literature is often selective, exaggerated, and distorted. With the sponsorship of the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, the Public Policy Clinic of the University of Texas' Government Department, and Harvard University's Program on Education Policy and Governance, I have conducted a systematic, statistical review of the literature on the effectiveness of bilingual education. With this technique known as meta-analysis to summarize the scholarly research, I find that children with limited English proficiency who are taught using at least some of their native language perform significantly better on standardized tests than similar children who are taught only in English. In other words, an unbiased reading of the scholarly research suggests that bilingual education helps children who are learning English.

Estimated Benefit of Bilingual Education

This conclusion is based on the statistical combination of eleven studies that meet minimal standards for the quality of their research design from a total of seventy-five studies reviewed. These eleven studies include standardized test score results from 2,719 students, 1,562 of whom were enrolled in bilingual programs, in thirteen different states. The estimated benefit of using at least some native language in instruction on all scores measured in English is .18 of a standard deviation on standardized tests. The average student in these bilingual programs was tested in third grade after two years of bilingual instruction. Bilingual programs produce .21 of a standard deviation improvement on reading tests and .12 of a standard deviation improvement on math tests measured in English. The gain in all test scores measured in Spanish is .74 of a standard deviation. All of these gains, except for math, are statistically significant, meaning that they are unlikely to have been produced by chance. (See Table 1 for summary of results.)

Interpreting Standard Deviations

To put the size of this benefit in perspective, the gap between the scores of minority and white students on standardized tests nationwide is about 1 standard deviation. The estimated benefits of bilingual education are also comparable to the improvements produced by the school choice program in Milwaukee that I have studied, where students gained between 1/3 and 1/2 of a standard deviation after four years of participation (Greene et al, 1997). Education researchers generally consider a gain of .1 standard deviation as slight, .2 or .3 of a standard deviation as moderate, and .5 of a standard

deviation as large. (Hanushek, 1996; Hedges and Greenwald, 1996)

In more concrete terms, we can imagine two identical students with limited English proficiency who enter first grade scoring at the 30th percentile on the reading component of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS), meaning that 70% of those who take the same test in first grade perform better than they do. After two years in which one student was in a bilingual program and the other student was in an English-only program, the bilingual student would be performing about 1/5 of a standard deviation better than the English-only student on the ITBS reading test. If the English-only student scored at the 26th percentile at the end of those two years, we would expect the bilingual student to score at the 34th percentile. (See Figure 1) The English-only student would be five months behind grade level, while the student in the bilingual program would be only two months behind grade level. According to this hypothetical, students in bilingual programs receive the equivalent of roughly three additional months of learning over a two-year period compared to similar students in English-only programs.

Estimated Benefits of Bilingual Education from Random Assignment Studies

Random assignment to treatment and control groups, as in medical experiments, is the highest quality research design because it increases the confidence in the conclusion that any differences between the groups after a period of treatment can be attributed to that treatment. The results from the five studies in which subjects were randomly assigned to bilingual and control programs favor bilingual education even more strongly. The estimated benefit of bilingual programs on all test scores in English according to these studies with random assignment is .26 of a standard deviation. The positive effect on reading scores is .41 of a standard deviation among the studies with random assignment. And the improvement in scores measured in Spanish is .92 of a standard deviation in the studies with random assignment to treatment and control groups. All of these estimated benefits of bilingual education from studies with random assignment are extremely unlikely to have been produced by chance (the odds are fewer than 1 in 100). (See Table 2 for summary of results) The fact that the studies of bilingual programs with random assignment, the highest quality research design, have even stronger results greatly increases the confidence in the conclusion that bilingual education positively affects educational attainment.

A meta-analysis of the 11 studies that meet minimal standards for the quality of their research design as well as the 5 highest quality studies based on random assignment show positive, statistically significant, benefits for bilingual education. The results of this meta-analysis are similar to the meta-analysis conducted by Ann Willig in 1985 based on the Baker and de Kanter review of the literature in 1981. While few acceptable-quality studies have been conducted in the intervening years, the conclusions that Willig drew from the literature are still true today: the evidence that is available suggests that native language instruction has a significant, positive impact on children learning English.

Method for Selecting Studies and Computing Results

The eleven studies included in this meta-analysis are drawn from a list of 75 "methodologically acceptable" studies compiled by Christine Rossell and Keith Baker, two vocal critics of bilingual education, in a 1996 literature review (Rossell and Baker 1996). The Rossell and Baker list is used as the pool of studies examined for this meta-analysis for a few reasons despite the potential for bias in their selections. First, Rossell and Baker claim to have selected their methodologically acceptable studies based on criteria that I believe are reasonable. To be acceptable the studies had to:

- 1) compare students in a bilingual program to a control group of similar students
- 2) differences between the treatment and control groups had to be controlled statistically or assignment to treatment and control groups had to be random
- 3) results had to be based on standardized test scores in English, and
- 4) differences between the scores of treatment and control groups had to be determined by applying appropriate statistical tests.

In addition to these requirements this meta-analysis only included studies that measured the effects of bilingual programs after at least one academic year. Bilingual programs were defined as ones in which students with limited English proficiency are taught using at least some of their native language. An appropriate control group was one in which students were taught only in English. If students were not assigned to treatment and control groups randomly, adequate statistical controls for this non-random assignment was defined as requiring controls for individual previous test scores as well as at least some of the individual demographic factors that influence test scores (e.g. family income, parental education, etc). Rossell and Baker identify 72 studies that they say meet these standards (although there are actually 75 citations listed under their heading for acceptable studies in a mimeo provided by Rossell).

Second, critics of Rossell and Baker's literature review have not offered additional studies that meet the above criteria. Stephen Krashen, a vocal proponent of bilingual education for example, has instead suggested that the standards are too strict and has proposed that Rossell and Baker include additional studies favorable to bilingual education even though they do not meet the criteria (Krashen 1996). Here I have to agree with Rossell and Baker that their standards are reasonable and reject considering Krashen's additional studies. The inability of others to advance the names of more studies that meet Rossell and Baker's criteria lends credence to the assumption that their list is a comprehensive pool from which to select acceptable studies for a meta-analysis.

Unfortunately, only 11 of the 75 studies identified as acceptable by Rossell and Baker actually meet their own criteria for an acceptable study. Fifteen of the studies duplicate the evaluations found in some of the remaining 60 studies. That is, 15 of the 75 are separately released reports of the same programs by the same authors that are already included in Rossell and Baker's list. Where appropriate I combine results so that each remaining observation represents an independent evaluation of a program. Despite our best efforts, an additional 5 studies in Rossell and Baker's list could not be found. While Christine Rossell was very helpful in locating some of the more difficult to find studies, she did not have these 5 nor were they available from the library at the University of Texas, which has one of the world's largest collections. (See the annotated bibliography for a list of studies and the reasons for their exclusion or inclusion in the meta-analysis).

Of the remaining 55 studies, 3 are excluded because they are not evaluations of bilingual programs. One is about "direct instruction"(Becker 1982) and makes no mention of foreign language learning. Another is a list of exemplary bilingual programs (Campeau 1975), not an evaluation of programs. And yet another is primarily about the effects of retention (being held back a grade) (Webb 1987).

An additional 14 studies are excluded because they do not have adequate control groups. In most of these studies both the treatment and control groups receive bilingual instruction, meaning that all students are taught in both their native language and in the target language in varying amounts. I only include in the meta-analysis studies that compare bilingual instruction (meaning the use of at least some native language in instruction) to "English-only" instruction. There are several reasons for this choice. First, comparing the use of some native language to English-only instruction is the clearest

division possible in the literature. Program labels, such as transitional bilingual education, English as a second language, immersion, submersion, and maintenance bilingual education, have no consistent meaning in the evaluations, nor are the detailed features of many programs fully described. The only division of programs that can accurately and consistently be applied is whether native languages are used in instruction or not.

Second, the most policy-relevant question and the issue raised by the initiative in California is whether it is desirable to ban the use of native language instruction in the education of younger students with limited English proficiency. The question is not whether it is better to use a modest amount of native language versus a large amount, nor is the issue whether it is better to have children in bilingual programs for a short versus long time. Thus only studies that speak to the policy-relevant issue of comparing bilingual to English-only instruction are included in this meta-analysis. In addition, it is not possible to extrapolate results from studies that compare different amounts or lengths of bilingual instruction to whether bilingual instruction is desirable at all. Similarly, if one wanted to know whether acetaminophen was effective in treating headaches, it would be incorrect to infer an answer from a study that gave different doses to a treatment and control group. Giving 500 mg of acetaminophen to one group may cure their headaches and giving 10,000 mg to another group may kill them. It would then be wrong to extrapolate from these results to the claim that acetaminophen is harmful in any dose. The only way to evaluate whether the use of any native language instruction is harmful or helpful is to compare students who receive any bilingual instruction to those who are taught only in English.

Of the remaining 38 studies, 2 are excluded because they measure the effects of bilingual programs after an unreasonably short period of time. One study evaluates a program after 7 weeks of bilingual instruction for 35 minutes a day (Barclay 1969). The other evaluates a program after 10 weeks (Layden 1972). Every study included in the meta-analysis measures effects after at least one academic year (about 40 weeks). While the requirement that studies evaluate the effects of bilingual programs after at least one academic year was not one of Rossell and Baker's original criteria for identifying acceptable studies, this is a reasonable standard to add. To make the analogy to headache cures again, measuring bilingual programs after 7 or 10 weeks is like measuring the effects of aspirin after 1 minute. No valuable information can be gained from evaluating such a short period of treatment.

An additional 25 studies are excluded because they inadequately control for the differences between students assigned to bilingual programs and students assigned to English-only control groups. If students are randomly assigned to these two groups, then no controls are necessary and one can place high confidence in the results. But when students are not randomly assigned, it is necessary to control statistically for the differences between the groups that may affect their future performance. Three of these 25 studies make no effort to control for the differences between bilingual and English-only students (Curiel 1979, Valladolid 1991, and Yap 1988). Some studies do not control for individual characteristics of students but instead match aggregate characteristics of students in a program with aggregate characteristics of a control group (see Stebbins 1977 for example). Without controlling for individual level factors these studies suffer from the "ecological fallacy" where the uncontrolled individual factors that contribute to improved performance seriously bias the aggregate results. Most of the other 25 studies excluded for inadequate background controls, however, only control for test scores taken earlier or IQ test scores when estimating the effects of bilingual instruction.

For these to be adequate controls for the differences between the groups, one would have to assume that the rate of test score gains, absent any treatment, would be the same for students with different initial test scores or different IQ's. Yet considerable evaluation

research (See Campbell and Erlebacher 1970) has shown that students who begin with different test scores often have different rates of growth in their test scores. For example, a student with low initial scores may have those scores in part because she is poor and does not have parents involved in her education. Those same factors that contributed to the low initial score may continue to reduce her educational progress in the future. Unless one controls for the differences in initial scores, as well as some of the important factors that produce those different scores, evaluations of educational progress are likely to be significantly biased.

The remaining 11 studies that are included in the meta-analysis consist of 5 studies in which students are randomly assigned and 6 in which there is non-random assignment but some effort to control for the individual background characteristics as well as test scores that separate those in bilingual and English-only programs. A single, average effect size was calculated for each study for each subject area and for all tests in English and Spanish. The effect sizes were standardized and adjusted for their sample size into corrected units of standard deviations known as Hedge's *g*. The mean of the 11 Hedge's *g*'s was then computed as the reported estimated effect of bilingual programs. A single, average *z*-score (a statistical measure of confidence in the estimated effect) was also calculated for each study for each subject area and for all tests in English and Spanish. The *z*-scores were combined by adding them and then dividing by the square root of the number of studies to compute a combined *z*-score. *P* values can then be calculated from the combined *z*-score. These techniques are described at greater length in Rosenthal 1991 and Cook, et al. 1992.

Differences between These Results and Rossell and Baker's Results

It is important to note that the positive estimated effects of bilingual education in this meta-analysis are not simply a product of the selection of these 11 acceptable studies. Of the 38 studies that evaluate bilingual versus English-only programs in Rossell and Baker's list, 21 have an average positive estimated effect and 17 have an average negative estimated effect. Simply counting positive and negative findings, however, is less precise than a meta-analysis because it does not consider the magnitude or confidence level of effects. In addition, once we include unacceptable studies from Rossell and Baker's list we would also have to consider the methodologically unacceptable studies advanced by Krashen and other supporters of bilingual education. Nevertheless, even when studies with inadequate background controls and short measurement periods only from Rossell and Baker's list are included, we still find that the scholarly literature favors the use of native language in instruction.

Rossell and Baker report a different number of positive and negative studies for a few of reasons. First, they include in their report studies that are redundant with other studies, not available, not evaluations of bilingual programs, and do not have English-only control groups. Second, they do not apply any consistent rule for classifying studies as positive or negative. For example, Ramirez 1991 is classified as showing "no difference" despite having significant, positive effects for bilingual instruction in reading. Similarly, Education Operation Concepts 1991 is classified as showing that bilingual education has a negative effect on reading scores despite having no statistically significant effects (and the average effect is actually positive, not negative). One of the advantages of meta-analysis is that it forces one to be consistent in summarizing other research. Third, there are some studies in their categories of positive and negative studies that are not found in their list of acceptable studies (such as Olesini 1971 and Elizondo 1972). It is clear that Rossell and Baker's review of studies is useful as a pool for a meta-analysis, but the lack of rigor and consistency in how they classify studies and summarize results prevent their conclusions from being reliable.

Conclusion

While it would be desirable to have a meta-analysis based on a greater number of studies, the unfortunate reality is that the vast majority of evaluations of bilingual programs are so methodologically flawed in their design that their results offer more noise than signal. Adding seriously flawed studies would bias the results of this meta-analysis in ways that are nearly impossible to predict or correct. In addition, including studies that do not meet minimal criteria would require identifying the entire universe of inadequate studies and including all or a random sample of those studies in a meta-analysis. The incredible amount of effort that would require is not justified given the low amount of information that could be gained. Focusing on studies that meet certain "bright-line" criteria, such as all studies that control for individual background characteristics as well as pretest scores or on the smaller group of studies based on random assignment, provides an unbiased sample of studies that can offer useful information on the effects of bilingual education. Despite the relatively small number of studies, the strength and consistency of these results, especially from the highest quality randomized experiments, increases confidence in the conclusion that bilingual programs are effective at increasing standardized test scores measured in English.

The limited number of useful studies, however, makes it difficult to address other important issues, such as the ideal length of time students should be in bilingual programs, the ideal amount of native language that should be used in instruction, and the age groups in which these techniques are most appropriate. It is possible that the individual needs of students are so varied that there may be no simple set of ideal policies. But if we want to learn more about how to develop public policy that is most effective at addressing the needs of students with limited English proficiency, we need to conduct a series of experiments in which students are randomly assigned to different types of programs. These randomized experiments yield the clearest and most precise information to help guide policymaking. The results from the 5 randomized experiments examined here clearly suggest that native language instruction is useful. We need additional randomized experiments to determine how best to design those bilingual programs.

Table 1: Results from the Meta-Analysis of the Effects of Bilingual Education

	All tests in English	Reading (in English)	Math (in English)	All tests in Spanish
Benefit of Bilingual Programs in Standard Deviations (Hedge's g)	.18	.21	.12	.74
z-score	2.41	2.46	1.65	3.53
p-value <	.05	.05	.10	.01

Table 2: Results from the Meta-Analysis of the Effects of Bilingual Education for Studies with Random Assignment to Bilingual and Control Programs

	All tests in English	Reading (in English)	Math (in English)	All tests in Spanish
Benefit of Bilingual Programs in Standard Deviations (Hedge's g)	.26	.41	.15	.92
z-score	2.71	3.47	1.25	5.21
p-value <	.01	.01	.21	.01

Table 3: Summary of Results from Studies Included in Meta-Analysis

Study	English		Reading		Spanish		Treatment	Control	Random Assignment
	ES	Z	ES	Z	ES	Z	N	N	Yes/No
Bacon, 1982	.79	2.39	.68	2.07	NA	NA	18	18	No
Covey, 1973	.34	2.94	.74	4.87	NA	NA	86	89	Yes
Danoff, 1977	-.03	-.39	-.12	-1.50	NA	NA	955	523	No
Huzar 1973	.18	.83	.18	.83	NA	NA	43	43	Yes
Kaufman, 1968	.20	.72	.20	.72	1.65	6.05	43	31	Yes
Plante, 1976	.52	1.34	.52	1.34	1.09	2.89	16	12	Yes
Powers, 1978	.001	.01	-.33	-1.53	NA	NA	44	43	No

Ramirez, 1991	.01	.08	.12	.73	NA	NA	88	160	No
Rossell, 1990	-.01	.03	-.05	-.20	NA	NA	174	173	No
Rothfarb, 1987	.05	.24	NA	NA	.01	.09	70	49	Yes
Skoczylas, 1972	-.05	-.18	.13	.46	.20	.68	25	25	No

ES = Average effect size measured in standard deviations (Hedge's g)

N = Largest number of subjects in any analysis in the study. For Huzar, 1973 and Rossell, 1990 the number of subjects in the treatment and control groups had to be estimated by halving the total reported sample.

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See A Note on Greene's Meta-Analysis of the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education, by Stephen Krashen, University of Southern California

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UC Linguistic Minority Research Institute Education Policy Center, UC Davis, 1997

**REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH ON INSTRUCTION OF
LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT STUDENTS**

A Report to the California Legislature

from

The UC Linguistic Minority Research Institute

Education Policy Center, UC Davis

Patricia Gándara, Director

April, 1997

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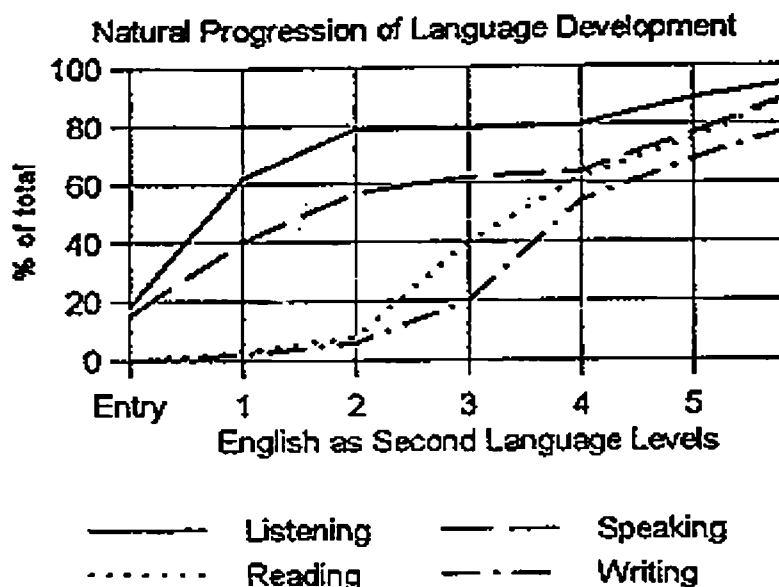
III. What Do We Know From the Research About How Limited English Proficient Students Learn?

A. Normal Acquisition of Second Language Skills

In a recent study by De Avila,⁽¹³⁾ incorporating data from a number of other studies, the author demonstrates expected levels of progression in acquiring English language skills for students entering school with no proficiency in English (See Figure 1).

Important to note from Figure 1 is the large discrepancy between oral second language skills and reading and writing second language skills in the early grades. For example, while listening skills are at 80% of native proficiency by level 3 (approximately 3rd grade), reading and writing skills remain below 50% of those expected for native speakers. It is not until after Level 5 (or approximately 5th grade) that the different sets of skills begin to merge. This suggests that while a

Figure 1.



student may be able to speak and understand English at fairly high levels of proficiency within the first three years of school, academic skills in English reading and writing take longer for students to develop. This finding has significant implications for LEP students: While some students may be sufficiently fluent in English to participate in many classroom activities, it would be unreasonable to expect these students to perform academic tasks involving reading and writing in English at the same level as native English speakers until they have had sufficient time to develop these skills. It is important to keep in mind that both developmental and instructional variables interact to produce academic outcomes; no amount of even high quality instruction can overcome developmental patterns⁽¹⁴⁾

B. Major Arguments Against Primary Language Instruction

Instruction in the primary language during this period of English language development can fill the gap between a students' English ability and their cognitive capacity to learn academic content. Arguments against such a strategy, however, commonly take two themes:⁽¹⁵⁾

- (1) Instruction in two languages overburdens the finite cognitive capacity of the student and competes for limited mental resources;
- (2) "Time on task" in English is the best predictor of English learning (Rossell & Baker, 1996)⁽¹⁶⁾

Both of these arguments have been discounted by cognitive research. A large body of research now demonstrates that the simultaneous learning of two languages in no way impedes cognitive development, and in fact, as the National Research Council (1997) notes,

"bilingualism shows no negative effects on the overall linguistic, cognitive, or social development of children, and may even provide general advantages in these areas of mental functioning (p.28)".⁽¹⁷⁾

With respect to "time on task," the argument that is often made suggests that the more time a student spends in English, the faster the child will learn the language.⁽¹⁸⁾ While seemingly logical, in fact, this is not the case. Numerous studies in cognitive and educational psychology have demonstrated two critical variables in the time and learning equation. First, only additional time devoted to **engaged** learning will result in increased achievement.⁽¹⁹⁾ That is, in order for instruction to be effective, students must be attending to and participating in the instruction, not simply being "exposed" to it. Second, learning is subject to a spacing effect, such that students learn best when instruction is chunked into meaningful units, spaced over longer periods, and when the instructional format is varied.⁽²⁰⁾ A recent study of vocabulary learning underscores this point--across various conditions, students were shown to learn more word meanings when the lessons were spaced than when they were presented in a continuous format.⁽²¹⁾ Hence, because learning in a second language requires intense concentration, extending the exposure to English over long periods at a single session does not result in increased English acquisition if the student is not engaged in the learning, and for LEP students it is difficult to remain engaged for any period of time in the absence of meaningful linguistic interaction. Extending such lessons over longer periods of time may result in just the opposite outcome --attention overload and subsequent failure to learn. In a review of research on second language acquisition, Courtney Cazden, Professor of Education at Harvard University notes, "the most obvious implication is that the amount of time spent using a second language in school can no longer be considered the most important influence on it."⁽²²⁾

C. Building on Children's Existing Linguistic Skills

The National Research Council (NRC) has just released the most comprehensive report to date on the state of research on language minority students. The report is entitled Improving Schooling for Language Minority Children.⁽²³⁾ A number of findings detailed in the report are relevant to the policy situation that California now faces. The NRC (1997) has also noted that the degree of children's native language proficiency is a strong predictor of their English language development. That is, students with a strong background in their home language are likely to develop higher levels of proficiency in English than those who do not have such a primary language advantage. This conclusion is based on important theoretical and empirical developments in the study of second language acquisition that the National Research Council, upon review, deemed a "cumulative progression" in our understanding of this phenomenon, and "worthy of praise on its scientific merits."

Given that children who have well developed language skills in *whatever language* are more apt to encounter academic success in English, this begs the question of the most appropriate early learning experiences for limited English proficient children. It is sometimes suggested that LEP students should be immersed in English as early as possible, in preschool and kindergarten, before undertaking formal instruction in school. The logic behind this suggestion is that the students could acquire a facility in English more rapidly and thereby not delay the introduction of English language instruction in academics. On its face, this suggestion has a decided appeal. However, research on early second language acquisition cautions against an overly zealous commitment to this approach.

The National Research Council (1997) concluded "that use of the child's native language does not impede the acquisition of English." Moreover, research by Genesee (1993) finds that awareness of the phonemic structure of one's native language is a significant and positive predictor of early reading acquisition in English. The implications are that children (and their parents) who speak languages other than English during the pre-school years should be encouraged to continue to develop their native language to the fullest extent possible to take advantage of positive transfer between first and second

language development. Parents who seek to "jump start" their children's acquisition of English by giving them an early exposure to it during the pre-school years may unwittingly short circuit these potential advantages; this is particularly likely in the case of parents who themselves are not fully proficient and literate in English. Thus, in contrast to the commonsense notion that parents of non-English speaking children should be encouraged to use English with their children in order to facilitate their acquisition of English, these findings indicate that parents of such children should be encouraged to develop their children's skills in reading and writing in the language they know best--their first language.⁽²⁴⁾

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Next Section: IV. What We Know About the Effectiveness of Instruction of LEP Students in the Classroom Context.

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IV. What We Know About the Effectiveness of Instruction of LEP Students in the Classroom Context

Unfortunately, an inordinate amount of attention has been focused on large scale studies that have sought to compare different program models (e.g., bilingual versus English-only programs) to determine which is best. Two studies conducted recently under the auspices of the National Research Council (Meyer & Fienberg, 1992 and August & Hakuta, 1997)⁽²⁵⁾ have concluded that "studies that compare the relative effectiveness of bilingual education with English-only programs are of very limited use in understanding the improvement of education of LEP students." Such studies typically suffer from the problem of focusing on the wrong things. While the researchers tabulate achievement scores over time for large groups of students, they miss what is actually going on in the classroom and in the school that produces the differences in student outcomes. Both NRC studies, however, conclude that, notwithstanding the serious methodological flaws in these studies, "there is a slight advantage to programs that use the native language."

The 1997 National Research Council report underscores the importance of a series of supportive schooling factors, in addition to primary language instruction, including:

- (1) a supportive school-wide environment and leadership that is sensitive to the needs of LEP students;
- (2) a "customized" learning environment that attends to the particular needs of LEP students;
- (3) coordination between and among schools;
- (4) a curriculum that incorporates both basic and higher order skills, and explicit skill instruction;
- (5) opportunities for student-directed learning;
- (6) systematic student assessment;
- (7) staff development that includes attention to the needs of LEP students;
- (8) home and parent involvement in students' education.

A. Small Scale Studies of LEP Program Effects

Most of what we know that is actually useful for policy and practice is derived from small scale, closely controlled studies in which "the treatment" (that is, what goes on in the classroom) is carefully documented. Below, we cite several studies which researchers agree yield meaningful data.

Lindholm, et al. (1991; 1995; 1996; 1997; in press)⁽²⁶⁾

Kathryn Lindholm of San Jose State University has amassed detailed data on bilingual immersion programs in 15 schools in California over a ten year period. The goal of these programs is to achieve bilingual proficiency for both native English and Spanish speakers while maintaining a high level of academic achievement. Overall, Lindholm and her colleagues found that the programs worked effectively for both groups of students, and the best results were found in programs that were most faithful in their implementation of the model. In the five studies reviewed here, both native English-speaking and native Spanish-speaking students attained oral fluency in the second language

within 3 to 4 years of being in the program. Likewise, both groups achieved at the national norms, or above, when tested in Spanish. Math, social studies, and science scores were at, or above, grade level for both the native-English and native-Spanish speakers. Only the English reading scores showed a significant discrepancy between the two groups, with the native English speakers outperforming the native Spanish speakers throughout the primary grades. However, the researchers note that English reading was not introduced until the 3rd grade, and children from Spanish-speaking homes, where English reading was less commonly modeled, were disadvantaged in these comparisons at this early stage. Unfortunately, because of attrition in samples into the higher grades, researchers have been unable to follow a significant number of children into the sixth grade and beyond. Nonetheless, given that other subject matter skills were actively being transferred between languages, researchers assumed that reading comprehension -- among the last skills acquired by both native and second language students (See Section V) would follow the pattern already established with other academic skills. Moreover, there is no consistent evidence that any type of instructional program has been able to eradicate these differences between native English speakers and LEP students in the primary grades.⁽²⁷⁾

Medina, et al. (1992, a & b.; 1993).⁽²⁸⁾

The series of studies conducted by Medina and his colleagues have compared the effectiveness of transitional programs -- those programs that provide minimal primary language support --and maintenance bilingual programs -- those that seek to maintain proficiency in the primary language while developing English--for both Spanish and Vietnamese speakers. They compared programs both in California and in Arizona. Medina's findings are similar to those of Lindholm, though he focuses on the development of oral language proficiency in two languages. As with Lindholm, he found that the attainment of oral language proficiency in English was comparable for students in programs that emphasized the primary language and those that did not. Consistent with the earlier discussion of time on task, the author notes the apparent paradox that "these 3 year [comparable] English proficiency outcomes were produced by much more instruction in English for TBE [transitional] subjects than for MBE [maintenance] participants (1992a, p.283.)" Medina also found, however, that the students in the TBE program were significantly more likely to suffer primary language loss and at the end of the three years, while the MBE program yielded significantly more fully bilingual students. Hence, with respect to oral language proficiency, Medina concluded that primary language instruction in a bilingual program does not impede the development of English oral skills, but does significantly increase the probability that a student will become skilled in the use of two languages.

Samaniego and Eubank (in press)⁽²⁹⁾

During the 1980's the California State Department of Education embarked on an interesting experiment in bilingual education. The Department oversaw what came to be known as the Case Studies Project. The program model that they sought to test out was a dual language program developed in Los Angeles City Schools. The curriculum and use of languages in the model was detailed and explicit at each grade level so that each teacher knew to what the students had been exposed at the previous grade level. The primary language was used extensively in the first three grades, with increasing use of English thereafter until students were fully mainstreamed in English in the 6th grade. However, even as English was increasingly emphasized as the language of instruction, Spanish language development continued. Students were pretested at the beginning of third grade and performance data were collected over the following three years.

The researchers found quite different outcomes at the four different sites studied. After three years in the program, students at Eastman Avenue fared extremely well --they significantly outperformed students from the same school who had been taught in a different program; they made statistically significant growth in their English reading percentile scores over the period; and they performed above the district average for all students. The results were mixed in other communities, however. The poorest results were found at Rockwood School. In this school, students did not evidence significant growth in English reading, although their scores in Spanish reading and math were high --at or above national norms. The researchers attempted to explain this discrepancy by looking at the distinctive characteristics of each community. Eastman is located in the urban center of Los Angeles. It is a stable school community with relatively low transiency and a high press for English language acquisition --it is economically important

to know English in this environment, and opportunities for exposure to English abound. Rockwood, on the other hand, is located near the Mexican border in a more transient area, and one in which economic opportunity does not depend on English language skills. There are few opportunities to encounter English outside of the classroom.

Samaniego and Eubank concluded, on the basis of several detailed statistical analyses of the data, that math skills had transferred across languages at a high level at all of the sites, and that most of the children were at or above national norms in math when assessed in English, in spite of the fact that most of their math instruction had occurred in the primary language. However, discrepancies in English reading scores between program sites were attributable to the interaction of the program with community variables. They surmised that to achieve higher English reading scores in Rockwood, the students would either have to be tested at a later point in their school careers, after longer exposure to intensive English instruction (a recommendation that was impossible because of the heavy attrition of students at the upper grades), or English instruction in reading would have to be introduced earlier.

The researchers concluded that while the study showed clear transfer of skills from the primary language to English in subjects such as math, English reading scores were more dependent upon the community context, the stability of the community, opportunities for exposure to English, and the economic pressure to acquire English language skills. As in other studies, high levels of Spanish reading proficiency continued to be a good predictor of English language reading --but in some sites this was likely to take longer to demonstrate.

Berman et al. (30)

A qualitative study conducted by Berman Weiler Associates at the request of the California Legislature between 1990 and 1992, reached similar conclusions with respect to community context. The BW study was charged with finding the effective elements in a range of programs serving LEP students, ranging from ESL to dual immersion bilingual programs. These researchers observed exemplary schools and classrooms serving language minority pupils and interviewed school and community personnel to assess the effectiveness of the programs within their own contexts. Using quality of staff as a partial proxy for the quality of a program, the BW study found that programs that incorporated the primary language of the students ranked highest in staff training. They "found the highest levels of teacher training across all teachers in this [bilingual] model."⁽³¹⁾ However, it was noted that not all communities had the same level of resources or interest in supporting primary language instruction, and some schools that had eschewed the use of primary language had nonetheless mounted thoughtful and articulated programs geared to the needs of their students. This was most likely to be the case, however, where schools had high numbers of multiple language groups, and often in communities with greater resources in the home to support children's learning outside of school. It must be emphasized, moreover, that these schools were culled from among hundreds that did NOT qualify as exemplary according to the inclusion criteria for the study. As such, all schools in the study were chosen because they had taken the needs of their LEP students very seriously and had invested considerable resources in seeking strategies to meet their needs.

Summary

The studies in this review were cited by several experts in the field (see names of consultants and contributors) as carefully conducted, small-scale examples of research that yielded meaningful results with clear policy implications. All of the studies scrupulously documented the nature of instruction in the classroom. Major conclusions are:

1. Primary language instruction allows LEP students to access complex academic instruction earlier than with other approaches, thereby saving valuable time and reducing the achievement gap between LEP and native English speakers;
2. When the curriculum is well taught, content presented in the primary language transfers to English as students develop their English language skills;

3. Primary language instruction offers certain benefits to students in terms of producing bilingual outcomes, and does not impede the acquisition of oral English;
4. English reading and writing skills are the last in a hierarchy of skills to be developed by LEP students and may require many years to reach native-like levels of English proficiency. In studies of fewer than 5 years duration, parity with native English students is not likely to be found. (However, there is a measurement issue here as well that is dealt with below in Section V);
5. Program effectiveness is dependent upon more than just the quality of instruction in the classroom. Other factors are also important, including characteristics of the community and school, economic opportunities in the region, transiency level of the students, and opportunities for exposure to English in the larger environment.

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Next Section: *V. Measurement Issues and the Problem of "Closing the gap."*

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Policy Implications of the Foregoing Review

A. We conclude from the review of existing research that California must redouble its efforts to recruit, train, and retain a sufficient corps of bilingual teachers to provide the option of primary language instruction for all students of major language groups who can benefit from the program.

A summary of the review of existing research on the education of English language learners shows that primary language instruction enjoys certain advantages on a variety of dimensions. Perhaps most important, it facilitates the early introduction of complex academic instruction for LEP students, closing the achievement gap between LEP and native English-speaking students. It also has the advantage of producing bilingual individuals who hold an economic advantage in the labor market--an advantage that is available to both native English-speaking and LEP students in dual immersion programs--, as well as in the development of the state's economy. Moreover, a recent report by the National Research Council confirms the contention of several researchers that bilingualism may confer certain cognitive advantages on individuals who speak more than one language. Given that maintenance of primary language proficiency may foster better child-family and school-family relations, and the costs of such programs are generally less than for most other models, it must be concluded that primary language instruction should be an option available to LEP students in California. However, this option will remain elusive unless there is a strong commitment on the part of the state to support the development of a well-trained teacher corps to deliver the instruction to students. Given the declining ratio of credentialed bilingual teachers to LEP students, primary language instruction and the benefits it confers are in serious jeopardy. Inasmuch as market forces have been demonstrated to significantly stimulate the pool of teachers qualified to work with LEP students in English-only settings, it would appear that an equally dramatic effect could be achieved for the pool of bilingual teachers if school districts were to send the signal that the hiring of bilingual teachers was their highest priority.

With a quarter of California's college-age students coming from homes in which a language other than English is spoken and a highly developed system of higher education, no other state in the nation, is as well positioned to recruit and train teachers adequate to the task of teaching English Language Learners. Suggestions which are offered for stimulating the pool of bilingual teachers include:

- Expansion of program models such as the Latino Teacher Project to tap into the pool of 29,000 bilingual paraprofessionals now working in our schools;
- Incentives in the form of stipends to encourage new bilingual college graduates to pursue a teaching credential through innovative summer and internship programs;
- Incentives to make it economically feasible for colleges and universities to provide summer intensive bilingual teacher training programs;
- Increase the pressure on the state's public colleges and universities to augment the numbers of bilingual teachers they are producing by at least 10% annually;
- Incentives to encourage credentialed bilingual teachers who have left the classroom to return. Such incentives could include both financial augmentations and increased opportunities for professional development and collaboration with other bilingual professionals.
- Identify bilingual and culturally diverse undergraduates who are interested in becoming teachers. Foster this interest and support their development through a variety of experiences including internships and school observations, throughout their college years.
- Convene a Working Group of researchers, policy makers, and practitioners who have studied the issues surrounding the development of the teacher corps for teaching LEP students under the auspices of the University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute and the California Policy Seminar.

B. This review leads us to conclude that LEP students should be included in the fabric of the state's assessment system for all students, and held to the same high standards as all students, and that this system should include the development of benchmarks for English language acquisition which are sensitive to the strategies used in LEP programs in the state as well as evidence of opportunity to learn the material on which students are tested.

The current piece-meal system of assessment that is being used in California has left the state with very little knowledge about how its LEP students are faring, or about which programs are serving these students best. Schools and districts lack the materials, testing knowledge, and resources to conduct useful assessment. They are hampered by demographic realities that are not addressed meaningfully by the state. Based on the review of existing research on both testing and conditions of LEP students, we recommend the following:

- The state move immediately to include LEP students at every level of the currently developing state academic standards, and in addition convene a group to develop standards for English language acquisition that are sensitive to the strategies being used in the LEP programs in the state.
- The state provide funding for the development of statewide assessments that are consistent with state standards and include methods for testing all LEP students to measure their progress in meeting all of the state's standards.
- New criteria be established for reclassifying students from LEP to FEP, based on specified standards, giving greater discretion to the teacher, and acknowledging that reclassification should not be tied to program exit.
- The new assessment system that is developed be tied to a systematic, ongoing staff development program that would assist teachers in improving instruction benchmarked to state standards and the developmental characteristics of LEP students.
- The state provide both funding and technical assistance to LEAs to support the collection and analysis of assessment data.
- That a coordinated database system be developed that will allow schools and districts to transfer student assessment data anywhere in the state, thereby allowing schools to better serve and track highly mobile students
- That the Legislature convene, with the help of the University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute and the California Policy Seminar, a working group of researchers, policy makers, and practitioners with expertise in the area of LEP testing to pursue the details of a plan for assessing California's English language learners.
- That new assessment strategies be developed in Spanish and possibly other languages.

C. Finally, this review leads us to conclude that there is a need for a unit within the California Department of Education to gather information, provide technical assistance, and act on behalf of the welfare of English Language Learners.

Given the complexity of the issues surrounding the education of English Language Learners, the large numbers of LEP students in the state, and the failure to effectively translate research on the instruction of LEP students into practice into many of California's classrooms, the Department of Education needs a special unit, adequately staffed, to address the numerous issues confronting the state and its school districts with respect to language minority pupils. Among the tasks that should be urgently addressed by such an office are:

- The inclusion of LEP students into the fabric of the standards now being developed for the state's K-12 schools, with additional standards specifying expected benchmarks for English language acquisition which are sensitive to the specific strategies of the state's LEP programs.
- Liaison with the Assessment unit in developing a comprehensive testing system that includes ELL students at every level, and across subject matter areas. Technical assistance to school districts in applying well-researched teaching strategies to the classroom.
- Technical assistance to school districts on the collection, use, and interpretation of data on LEP students.
- In conjunction with university researchers, coordination of small scale studies that will yield

important information on the host of questions that remain to be answered about the ideal learning conditions for LEP students from different language and cultural backgrounds.

- Dissemination of information on services for LEP students and their families, and advocacy for LEP students and their needs.
- Collection and analysis of data on all aspects of LEP students and learning in California.

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Executive Summary

Background

- 25% of California's K-12 is limited English proficient
- 80% of these students speak Spanish; 88% speak one of four languages

I. How LEP Students Are Served

- 30% are in a bilingual program, however this does not necessarily mean they have a bilingual teacher
- 70% receive no formal primary language instruction in academics
- Between 20 and 25% of LEP students receive no special services at all and low academic performance dropping out have been shown to be alarmingly high for LEP students who do not receive services

II. Status of the LEP Teaching Force

- In the decade since the sunset of the bilingual Education Act, the ratio of bilingual teachers to LEP students has slipped from 1:70 in 1986 to 1:98 in 1996.
- Market forces drove up the numbers of teachers qualified to work with LEP students in English-only settings a dramatic 30% between 1995 and 1996.

III. What is Known About How LEP Students Learn

- At about the 3rd grade, LEP listening skills in English are at about 80% of native proficiency, but reading and writing skills in English are still below 50% of native proficiency; not until after 5th grade do these skills begin to merge for most students
- Primary language instruction does not impede acquisition of English, and may even confer certain cognitive advantages
- Additional "time on task" in English instruction is only likely to increase learning of English when both of the following conditions are met: (1) the student is actively engaged in the learning; and (2) lessons are spaced and not continuous. (ELD instruction generally meets these criteria)
- Students with a strong background in their home language are more likely to develop high levels of English proficiency than those who do not have such an advantage
- Awareness of the phonemic structure of one's native language is a significant predictor of early reading acquisition in English
- Parents of LEP children can best develop their children's academic strengths by introducing them to reading and writing in the language the parents know best

IV. What is Known About the Effectiveness of Instruction for LEP Students

- Large scale evaluation studies are of limited usefulness in knowing how to instruct LEP students
- When curriculum is well-taught, content presented in the primary language transfers to English as students develop their English language skills
- Primary language instruction offers certain benefits to students in terms of producing bilingual outcomes, and does not impede the acquisition of oral English
- English reading and writing skills are the last in a hierarchy of skills to be developed by LEP students, and may require many years to reach native English levels of proficiency. In studies of fewer than 5 years, parity with native English speakers is not likely to be found

- A program's effectiveness is dependent on more than just the quality of instruction. Other important factors are: (1) economic opportunity in the region; (2) stability of the community; and (3) opportunities for exposure to English in the general environment.

V. Measurement Issues

- No program for LEP students has been shown to consistently close the gap between the performance of native English speakers and LEP students on tests of English reading in the primary grades. One major reason for this is that native English speakers begin school with such an advantage that LEP students must outperform the native English speakers for a period of several years in order to close the gap. Few programs for LEP students provide this opportunity for accelerated learning.
- Because the 50th percentile on tests of English reading is a commonly agreed upon objective, indicating "average" performance, LEP students, independent of their absolute performance on the test will find it almost impossible to achieve this percentile level --it would mean that they would have to perform better than half of all native English speaking children on whom the tests are normed. Establishing a high academic standard for LEP students is a more reasonable way to assess academic achievement than percentile measurement

VI. Cost of Instruction for LEP Students

- Two major studies have come to the same conclusion about the costs of educating LEP students: the most cost-effective method is the self-contained bilingual classroom because it does not require additional staffing resources

VII. Parent Involvement and Home Influence

- When children are required to too quickly transition to English-only, this commonly results in disruption of the parent-child relationship, loss of parental authority, and the parents' loss of ability to support schooling. This can result in increased delinquency and alienation.
- In California, and in the nation, immigrant students who maintain the native language academically outperform those immigrant students who are fluent English speakers.

VIII. The State of assessment of LEP Students

- Current assessment strategies are piecemeal and serve neither the purpose of accountability, nor the needs of teachers to know how their students are learning
- There are no good data on the academic performance of LEP students, at any level or in any subject area
- Schools serving LEP students typically lack the time and resources to collect consistent assessment data on LEP students
- Many school districts lack the infrastructure to collect, analyze, and interpret test data that are collected

IX. Policy Implications of the Research

A. California needs to redouble its efforts, and send the appropriate "market signals" to recruit, train, and retain a sufficient corps of bilingual teachers to provide the option of primary language instruction for all students of major language groups who can benefit from the program. specific recommendations are found in Policy Implications, Section A.

B. LEP students should be included in the fabric of the state's assessment system for all students and held to the same high standards as all students; this system should include the development of benchmarks for English language acquisition which are sensitive to the strategies used in LEP programs in the state as well as evidence of opportunity to learn the material on which students are tested. Specific recommendations are found in Policy Implications, Section B.

C. A unit should be established within the California Department of Education to gather information, provide technical assistance, and act on behalf of the welfare of English Language Learners. Specific recommendations are found in Policy Implications, Section C.

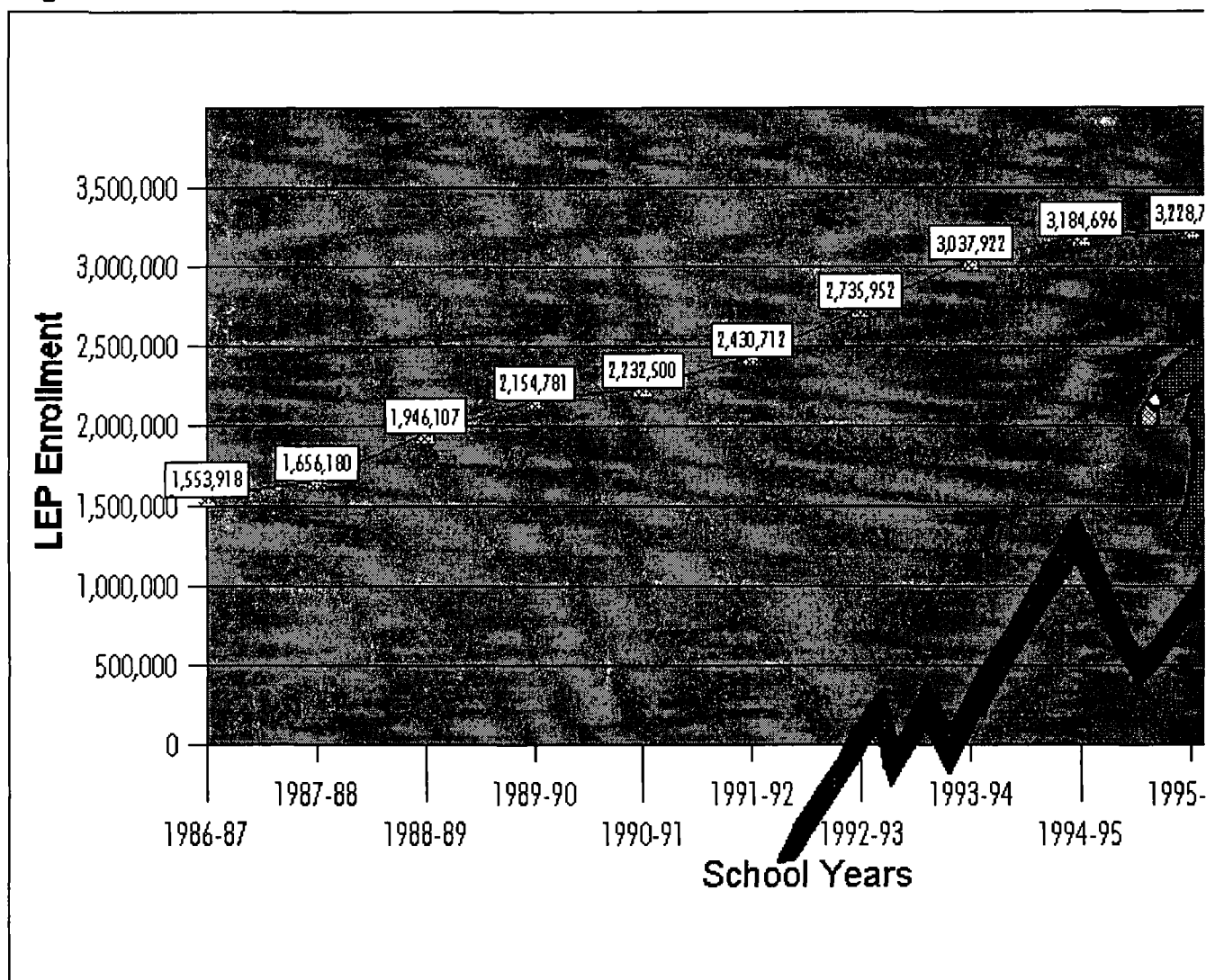
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(5/15/97, EG, UC LMRI)

Figure 1 LEP Enrollment Growth from 1986-87 to 1996-97**SOURCES**

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For the previous edition of this FAQ, see [AskNCBE 8 \(Feb. 96\)](#).


 ASKNCBE

***What are the characteristics of the bilingual¹ teacher shortage?
How do we best prepare teachers for linguistically and
culturally diverse settings?***

Veronica Fern
The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education

A Portrait of the National Teacher Shortage

In his fourth annual *State of American Education Address* (1997), Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley expresses concern about the preparation of teachers:

"The entire context of American education is changing. We need teachers skilled in using computers as a powerful teaching tool, and many more teachers well-versed in teaching English as a second language. Our teachers need to...be prepared to teach all of America's children---the gifted and the talented, our many new immigrants, the college-bound achiever, and the disabled child who is learning so much more because he or she is now included."

Secretary Riley estimates that about two million new teachers will be needed in the next ten years. However, he cites significant barriers to providing an adequate pool of qualified teachers. These include the failure to recruit sufficient numbers of talented minorities to the profession, and the failure to prepare teachers adequately in the subject areas. The Secretary also refers to The National Commission on Teaching & America's Future (1997) in his *Address*, which presents alarming information in their *Fact Sheet on Teaching in America*. This states "too few entering teachers have adequate preparation, too many current teachers are underqualified" and the "number of teachers has declined while non-teaching staff has risen." The following statistics are taken from the *Fact Sheet*:

- More than 12% of all newly hired teachers have no training at all, and 15% enter the classroom without having met state standards;
- Only 500 (42%) of the nation's 1,200 education schools meet common professional standards;
- 56% of secondary physical science teachers and 27% of mathematics teachers do not have backgrounds in those fields; the proportions are much higher in high-poverty schools and lower track classes;
- Teachers make up only 43% of school employment, which compares to 60-80% in other industrialized countries.

Impact of the Teacher Shortage on Bilingual Education

According to Diaz-Rico & Smith (1994), the U.S. needs **100,000 to 200,000** bilingual teachers. The disparity in the numbers is due to the wide range in estimates of limited English proficient (LEP) students (between 3.5 and 5 million, according to Macias, 1989) as well as the teacher to student ratio used. The shortage is already so serious that in California, 12,000 credentialed teachers are needed (Holt, 1990). These figures imply that many students are being taught by teachers not fully versed in bilingual education pedagogy who may additionally lack either English or native language² biliteracy and/or oral proficiency. For example, in California, two out of every five³ adults providing bilingual instruction are bilingual aides (Haselkorn, 1996). Although the fastest-growing groups of students are minorities, the pool of minority teachers is shrinking. It is projected that the 21% of teachers who are minorities today will have dwindled to merely 5% in the year 2000 (National Retired Teachers Association, 1987).

Roots of the Problem

The educational community is failing to both prepare and persuade Latinos and other language minorities to embrace teaching careers. Language minority populations are frequently concentrated in the most disadvantaged schools, where chances are greater that they may be poorly prepared for post-secondary opportunities. Various studies have reported on disproportionately-high national dropout rates for Hispanics.⁴

When students do go on to higher education, there is stiff competition from other "higher status" professions that often have incentive programs designed to attract minorities; cultural barriers also persist which make it difficult for minorities to obtain appropriate academic advising (Diaz-Rico & Smith, 1994). Many states and university schools of education have teacher certification examinations that frequently eliminate eligible minority teacher candidates. Whether the candidates' failure on these exams is due to test instruments that lack validity, or to school systems that fail to educate these students, is open to interpretation.

When students do opt to become bilingual educators, preparation programs often do not provide them with adequate opportunities to develop native-like fluency in the second language and in the appropriate academic and social registers. In some cases, teacher candidates may lack sufficient academic proficiency in both English and the other language. This is especially true for language minority candidates, who are typically not provided with opportunities to study their native languages formally. But the situation is comparably critical for language majority teacher candidates who are hard-pressed to find foreign language programs that adequately prepare them to teach academic concepts in a second language. Currently, language majority individuals are more likely to be teachers of language minorities, due to the aforementioned minority teacher shortage.

School districts often complain that newly-graduated teachers come to the schools unprepared for the reality of the classroom. From classroom management to effective methodologies and cultural diversity, they report, new teachers are not in possession of the knowledge they need to succeed with today's students. Thus it becomes necessary for school systems to retrain new teachers; but meanwhile, students suffer the consequences of poor instruction.

It should also be noted that certain researchers (for example, Ladson-Billings, 1994) do not view the recruitment of minority teachers as a solution for the academic problems of minority students per se; rather, these researchers see teacher-student dissonance as a function of differences in socioeconomic class.

Possible Solutions

- Link staffing procedures and policies to LEP student needs;
- Build close relationships between bilingual coordinating staff and community organizations;
- Implement well-orchestrated teacher recruitment activities that include inservice teachers as "ambassadors;"
- Design career ladders for the thousands of paraprofessionals already teaching LEP students in American classrooms;
- Institutionalize long-term professional development programs for inservice teachers and paraprofessionals;
- Consider both the cultural and socioeconomic dissonance between teachers and students, and develop strategies for preparing teachers to overcome these barriers;
- Encourage retention by responding to teachers' concerns and validating their importance in the school community;
- Provide emotional and practical support for teachers as they negotiate bureaucratic credentialing procedures and work towards streamlining these procedures;
- Revamp university academic counseling services to be "minority-friendly"; build bridges for articulation from community colleges and other potential sources of minority teachers;
- Examine the validity of teacher credentialing examinations and consider alternatives;

- Include training components in university teacher education programs that help teachers develop appropriate academic language fluency; and provide ongoing language training in school-based professional development efforts;
- Extend educational reform efforts to university schools of education; "retrain" the trainers. (Diaz-Rico & Smith, 1994; Gómez, 1998; & Haselkorn, 1996).

FOOTNOTES

¹A bilingual teacher is defined as one who has completed a formal course of study in an accredited, post-secondary teacher preparation program bilingual program and has received the appropriate bilingual education certification.

²That is, the native language of the students; both language minority teachers who are not proficient in English, and English-dominant teachers instructing students in a language they have not mastered, negatively affect LEP student outcomes.

³The California Department of Education (1993) reported 27,430 para-educators.

⁴Some examples of dropout figures: 30%, reported by the National Hispanic Dropout Project, 1996 (in Turnbaugh Lockwood, 1996); 33%, cited by Institute for Educational Leadership (in Archer, 1996); and as high as 43% in California (Highsmith, 1990).

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Teachers for Language Minority Students: Evaluating Professional Standards

Eugene Garcia
University of California, Santa Cruz

INTRODUCTION

The policy debate regarding the education of language minority students in the United States has centered on the instructional use of the native and/or the English language as a medium and/or target of instruction. For educational professionals and educational researchers, the more specific issue of concern has become the identification, implementation and evaluation of effective instruction of a growing population of ethnolinguistic minority students who do not speak English and, therefore, are considered candidates for special educational programming that takes into consideration this language and cultural difference. Research on this issue has involved representatives of psychology, linguistics, sociology, politics, and education in cross-disciplinary dialogue. For a thorough discussion of these issues see August and Garcia (1988), Baker and deKanter (1983), Cummins (1979), Garcia (1983), Garcia (1991), Hakuta and Garcia (1989), Hakuta and Gould (1987), Ramirez, Yuen and Ramey (1991), Rossell and Ross (1986), Toike (1981), Willig (1985). The central theme of the discussions is the specific instructional role of the native language. At one extreme of this discussion, it is recommended that the native language play a significant part in the non-English-speaking student's elementary school years, from 4-6 years, with a set of standard of native-language mastery prior to immersion into the English curriculum (Cummins, 1979). At the other extreme, immersion into an English curriculum is recommended early, as early as preschool, with minimal use of the native language and concern for English Language leveling by instructional staff to facilitate understanding by the limited-English-speaking student (Rossell and Ross, 1985).

Each of these disparate approaches argues that its implementation brings psychological, linguistic, social, political, and educational benefits. The *native-language* approach suggests that competencies in the native language, particularly as they relate to academic learning, provide important psychological and linguistic foundations for second-language learning and academic learning in general -- "you really only learn to read once." Native-language instruction builds on social and cultural experiences and serves to politically empower students from communities that have been historically limited in their meaningful participation in majority educational institutions. The *immersion* approach suggest that, the sooner a child receives instruction in English, the more likely he or she will be to acquire English proficiency -- "more time on task, better proficiency." English proficiency in turn mitigates against educational failure, social separation and segregation, and, ultimately, economic disparity. Such a debate has clearly affected the type of educational professional which should serve these students.

As this debate developed during the 1970s and 1980s, it became clear that the students who came to school speaking a language other than English received considerable attention in research, policy development, and practice. The Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services, as well as private foundations, supported specific demographic studies and instructional research related to this population of students, preschool through college. The United States Congress authorized legislation targeted directly at these students on five separate occasions (1968, 1974, 1978, 1984, and 1988), and numerous states enacted legislation and developed explicit program guidelines regarding both instructional alternatives and the requirements of educational professional who would be allowed to serve these students. Moreover, federal district courts and the U.S. Supreme Court concluded adjudication proceedings that directly influenced the educational treatment of language minority

students.

The intent of the present discussion is not to focus on the ongoing debate, but instead to utilize the data generated by that debate to assess our present understanding of who the students are that language minority teachers are serving, what types of instruction these students are presently receiving, and, most significantly what types of teachers are presently serving these students. A major presupposition of this discussion is that "who" does the teaching is of major significance regardless of the language minority education model which is being implemented. The discussion will also attempt to extend the data base by cautiously but directly addressing future directions with regard to the development of "effective" language minority teachers. Of particular concern will be credentialing policies and their political and empirical underpinnings. The overall purpose of this discussion is to suggest ways in which to enhance the educational plight of language minority students by focussing on the educational professionals who directly serve these students on a daily basis. A much more localized district level teacher evaluation/credentialing alternative is prepared for evaluating language minority teachers.

Defining Language Minority Students

The search for a comprehensive definition of the "language minority student" reveals a variety of attempts. At one end of the continuum are general definitions such as "students who come from homes in which a language other than English is spoken." At the other end are highly operational definitions such as, "students who scored in the first quartile on a standardized test of English language proficiency." Regardless of the definition adopted, it is apparent that students vary widely in linguistic abilities. The language minority population in the United States continues to be linguistically heterogeneous. Not inconsequential is the related cultural attributes of these populations of students, which are not only *linguistically* distinct but also *culturally* distinct. Describing the typical language minority student, therefore, is highly problematic. In simple terms, the language minority student is one who (a) is characterized by substantive participation in a non-English-speaking social environment, (b) has acquired the normal communicative abilities of that social environment, and (c) is exposed to a substantive English-speaking environment, more than likely for the first time, during the formal schooling process.

Estimates of the number of language minority students have been compiled by the federal government on several occasions (Development Associates, 1984; O'Malley, 1981). These estimates differ because of the definition adopted for identifying these students, the particular measure utilized to obtain the estimate, and the statistical treatment utilized to generalize beyond the actual sample obtained. For example, O'Malley defines the language minority student population by utilizing a specific cutoff score on an English language proficiency test administered to a stratified sample of students. Development Associates estimates the population by utilizing reports from a stratified sample of local school districts. Therefore, estimates of language minority students have ranged between 1,300,000 (Development Associates, 1984) and 3,600,000 (O'Malley, 1981).

In 1976, the total number of language minority children, aged 5-14 approximated 2.52 million, with a drop to 2.39 million in 1980 and a projected gradual increase to 3.40 million by the year 2000 (Waggoner, 1984). In 1983, this population was more conservatively estimated to be 1.29 million (Development Associates, 1984). In 1983, this population was more conservatively estimated to be 1.29 million (Development Associates, 1984). This divergence in estimates reflects the procedures used to obtain language minority counts and estimates. These children reside throughout the United States, but distinct geographical clustering can be identified. About 62 percent of language minority children are found in Arizona, Colorado, California, New Mexico, and Texas (Development Associates, 1984; O'Malley, 1981; Waggoner, 1984). Of the estimated number of language minority children in 1978, 72 percent were of Spanish Language background, 22 percent were of Asian background, and 1 percent were of American Indian background. However, such distributions will change, due to differential growth rates, and by the year 2000 the proportion of Spanish language background children is projected to be about 77 percent of the total (O'Malley, 1981). Estimates by Development Associates (1984) for students in grades K-6 indicate that 76 percent are of Spanish language background; 8 percent, Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong); 5 percent, other European; 5 percent, East Asian (e.g., Chinese, Korean); and 5 percent, other (e.g., Arabic, Navaho). For national school district sample in the

19 most highly impacted states utilized by Development Associates, 17 percent of the total K-6 student population was estimated to be language minority in these states.

Regardless of differing estimates, a significant number of students from language backgrounds other than English attend U.S. schools. As this population increases steadily in the future, the challenge these students present to U.S. educational institutions will increase concomitantly.

Educational Programs Serving These Students

For a school district staff with language minority students, there are many possible program options: e.g., Transitional Bilingual Education, Maintenance Bilingual Education, English-as-a-Second Language, Immersion, Sheltered English, and Submersion (General Accounting Office, 1987). Ultimately, school staffs reject program labels and focus instead on the following questions: (a) What are the native language (L1) and second language (L2) characteristics of the students, families, and communities to be served? (b) What model of instruction is desired? This involves the question of utilizing L1 and L2 as mediums for instruction as well as handling the actual instruction of L1 and L2. (c) What is the nature of the school and resources required to implement the desired instruction?

Programs for language minority students can be differentiated by the ways they utilize the native language and English during instruction. A report by Development Associates (1984) was based on a survey of 333 school districts in the 19 states serving over 80 percent of the language minority students in the United States. For grades K-5, they report the following salient features regarding the use of languages during instruction: (a) 93 percent of the schools reported that the use of English predominated in their programs, and conversely, 7 percent indicated that the use of the native language predominated; (b) 60 percent of the sampled schools reported that instruction was in the native language and English; (c) 30 percent of the sampled schools reported minimal or no use of the native language during instruction.

Two-thirds of these schools have chosen to utilize some form of bilingual curriculum to serve this population of students. However, about one-third of them minimized or altogether ignored native language use in their instruction of language minority students. Programs that serve Spanish-speaking background students have been characterized primarily as *Bilingual Transitional* education. These programs transition students from early grade, Spanish-emphasis instruction to later grade, *English-Emphasis* instruction and eventually to *English-Only* instruction.

Recent research in transition type programs suggests that language minority students can be served effectively. Effective schools organize and develop educational structures and processes that take into consideration both the broader aspects of effective schools reported for English-speaking students (Purkey & Smith, 1983). Of particular importance has been the positive effect of intensive instruction the native language that focuses on literacy development (Wong-Fillmore & Valdez, 1986). Hakuta and Gould (1987) and Hudelson (1987) maintain that skills and concepts learned in the native language provide a basis for acquisition of new knowledge in the second language.

For the one-third of the students receiving little or no instruction in the native language, two alternative types of instructional approaches, English as a Second Language and Immersion, predominate. Each of these program types depends on the primary utilization of English during instruction but does not ignore the fact that the student served is limited in English proficiency. These programs are used in classrooms in which there is not a substantial number of students from one non-English-speaking group. These programs have been particularly influenced by recent theoretical developments regarding second-language acquisition (Chamot & O'Malley, 1986; Krashen, 1982), and indicate that effective second-language learning is best accomplished under conditions that simulate natural communicative interactions.

It is important to note that the bulk of language minority students served in today's public schools are in elementary schools. The most comprehensive data is still that of Developmental Associates (1984). They report that the schools in their national sample identified three to four times as many Grade 1 students as Grade 5 students. Moreover, 20 percent of students in Grades 1 to 3 were transitioned into an English

curriculum in any one year. More recent is Olson's (1989) California data which indicates that some 73 percent of language minority students are in grades K-6. Those schools sampled by Developmental Associates (1984) and a similar national sample studied by Halcon (1981) provide some empirical data with regard to the instructional staff that serves these elementary students:

1. The schools serving language minority students in grades 1-5 had 4.0 teachers, 3.5 paraprofessionals and 1.1 resource or instructional support staff (Chapter aide, Migrant aide, etc.).
2. Teachers in these classrooms had a median 5.8 years of experience teaching language minority students. However, 50 percent of these teachers had less than 3 years of teaching experience with language minority students.
3. Less than 50 percent of teachers responsible for instruction of language minority students spoke a language other than English.
4. Less than 30 percent of these teachers had obtained language minority education related credentials.

This service and staffing data indicate that school district staff have been creative in developing a wide range of programs for language minority students. They have answered the previously listed questions differentially for (a) different language groups (Spanish, Vietnamese, Chinese, etc.), (b) different grade levels within a school, (c) different language subgroups of students within a classroom and even different levels of language proficiency. The result has been a broad and, at times, perplexing variety of program models. It is also clear that these programs are staffed extensively with paraprofessionals and with teachers who have limited teaching experience with the population of students they serve, with half not able to speak the student's native language, and with more than two-thirds not holding a specific professional credential related to language minority education.

Effective Teachers for Language Minority Students

Although it is difficult to identify specific attributes of teachers that have served language students effectively, recent efforts have attempted to do so. Unlike earlier reports which have identified and described effective programs, recent efforts have sought out effective programs and/or schools, then attempted to describe the specific instructional and attitudinal character of the teacher (Carter & Chatfield, 1986; Garcia, 1988; Garcia, 1991; Pease-Alvarez, Garcia and Espinosa, 1991; Tikenuff, 1983; Villegas, 1991). This new emphasis on the language minority education teacher is related to the broader interest in identifying "exemplary" teacher characteristics for teachers in general (Reynolds and Elias, 1991). Dwyer (1991) identifies four domains which "good" teachers excel in: (1) content knowledge; (2) teaching for student learning; (3) creating a classroom community for student learning; and (4) teacher professionalism. Villegas (1991) has extended these four domains when the student population served by the teacher is culturally and linguistically diverse. She suggests that "good" teachers in these classroom contexts are required to incorporate culturally responsive pedagogy. To go beyond these generalizations, the following section describes specific research which has attempted to document empirically the attributes of effective language minority teachers. These studies are few, but they begin to provide a set of practice standards which may be useful in training and evaluating language minority teachers.

A concern for the effectiveness of teachers is not new. From the earliest days of education program evaluation, the quality of the instructional staff has been considered a significant feature (Heath, 1982). Unfortunately, for programs serving language minority students, the evaluation of "effectiveness" has been consumed by an empirical concern regarding the significance of the use/non-use of the students' native language and the academic development of the English language (August and Garcia, 1988). Very little attention is given to the attributes of the professional and paraprofessional staff which implements the myriad of models and program types omnipresent in the service of language minority students. Typically, attention to the characteristics of such a staff is restricted only to the years of service and extent of formal educational training received (Olsen, 1988). Yet, most educational researchers will grant that the effect of any instructional intervention is directly related to the quality of that intervention's implementation by the instructors.

Attention to "exemplary" programs and "exemplary" teachers comes from the great dissatisfaction the field of language minority education has come to realize with regard to the limited conclusions and unproductive debates regarding the relative effectiveness of bilingual education (Hakuta, 1985; Hakuta and Garcia, 1989). This field has continually been subjected to national evaluations. The most recent is the Ramirez, Yuen, Ramey and Pasta (1991) study, which attempts to assess the academic effects of various bilingual, ESL, and other approaches. Such studies are continually criticized for their methodological flaws, and, have little effect on the field -- on what teachers do in classrooms (August and Garcia, 1988). Beginning with Tikunoff (1983), more in-depth studies of "good" language minority schools and classrooms addressed the specific organizational and instructional characteristics in programs which were "working" for language minority students. Such an emphasis suggests that there is much to learn from programs that are serving language minority students well. Instead of searching for the "best" model by doing large scale comparative studies, all which will likely be methodologically flawed, this new line of inquiry suggested that we search out effective programs and carefully document the attributes which make them effective. From such data, other programs seeking to better serve language minority students could at least compare themselves to these "exemplary and effective" organizational features, instructional practices and teacher attributes (Carter and Chatfield, 1986; Garcia, 1988; Pease-Alvarez, Garcia and Espinosa, 1991 and Garcia, 1991).

It is in this more "micro" spirit, that the present discussion attempts to specifically advance our understanding of what makes "good" language minority teachers. Such a discussion requires the reliable identification of the "exemplary" teacher, no small task, along with the interview and observation of these individuals. In addition, interviews of school administrators and parents should assist in a more comprehensive perspective of these significant individuals. It is not the purpose of this discussion to suggest that all "good" language minority teachers need to be like the ones described in the present literature. Instead, it is the intent of the discussion to carefully describe the attributes of these effective teachers in such a way that others may make use of this information to better serve language minority students.

Tikunoff (1983), in his report of the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) study, reports commonalties in the "exemplary" teacher's response to organization and instruction of classrooms. The 58 teachers observed in this study covered six sites and included a variety of non-English languages. All classes were considered effective on two criteria: First, teachers were nominated by members of four constituencies -- teachers, other school personnel, students, and parents -- as being effective. Second, teaching behaviors produced rates of academic learning time (a measure of student engagement in academic tasks) as high as or higher than reported in other effective teaching research.

An initial set of instructional features identified for the effective teachers pertains to the delivery and organization of instruction:

1. Successful teachers of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students specify task outcomes and what students must do to accomplish tasks. In addition, teachers communicate high expectations for LEP students in terms of learning and a sense of efficacy in terms of their own ability to teach.
2. Successful teachers of LEP students, not unlike effective teachers in general, exhibit use of active teaching behaviors found to be related to increased student performance on academic tests of achievement in reading and mathematics including: (a) communicating clearly when giving directions specifying tasks and presenting new information; (b) obtaining and maintaining students' engagement in instructional tasks by pacing instruction appropriately, promoting involvement, and communicating their expectations for students' success in completing instructional tasks; (c) monitoring students' progress; and (d) providing immediate feedback whenever required regarding students' success.
3. Successful teachers of LEP students mediated instruction for LEP students by using the students' native language and English for instruction, alternating between the two languages whenever necessary to ensure clarity of instruction. Although this type of language switching occurred, teachers did not translate directly from one language to another.

The SBIF study also reports that the teacher made use of information from the LEP students' home culture so as to promote engagement in instructional tasks and contribute to a feeling of trust between

children and their teachers. The SBIF researchers found three ways in which home and community culture was incorporated into classroom life: (a) Cultural referents in both verbal and nonverbal forms were used to communicate instructional and institutional demands; (b) instruction was organized to build upon rules of discourse from the Ll culture; and (c) values and norms of the Ll culture were respected equally with those of the school.

In more recent research which focused on Mexican-American elementary school children, Garcia (1988) has reported several related instructional strategies utilized by effective teachers. These teachers were nominated by language minority colleagues and served students who were scoring at or above the national average on Spanish and/or English standardized measures of academic achievement. Garcia's (1988) research characterized instruction in the effective classrooms as follows:

1. Students were instructed primarily in small groups and academic-related discourse was encouraged between students throughout the day. Teachers rarely utilized large group instruction or more individualized (mimeographed worksheets) instructional activities. The most common activity across classes involved small groups of students working on assigned academic tasks with intermittent assistance by the teacher;
2. The teacher tended to provide an instructional initiation often reported in the literature (Mehan, 1979; Morine-Dershimer, 1985). Teachers elicited student responses but did so at relatively non-higher-order cognitive and linguistic levels; and,
3. Once a lesson elicitation occurred, teachers encouraged students to take control of the discourse by inviting fellow student interaction, usually at higher-order cognitive and linguistic levels.

Teachers in the Garcia (1988) study fulfilled general expectations reported by Mehan (1979) for regular expectations and by Ramirez (1986) and Ramirez, Yuen, Ramey and Pasta (1991) for language minority teachers. Teachers did not invite instructional interaction in other than the most communicatively simple mode (factual and truncated "answer giving"). This type of elicitation style may be particularly problematic for Hispanic Language minority students in that these students may not be challenged by this style of instructional discourse to utilize either their native or second language to express complex language functions which reflect higher-order cognitive processes. However, teachers were clearly allowing student-to-student interaction in the child-reply component of the instructional discourse segment. Teachers encouraged and engineered general student participation once the instructional peer interaction was set in motion. This finding is particularly significant. Garcia (1983) suggests that such student-to-student interaction discourse strategies are important to enhanced linguistic development. Wong-Fillmore and Valadez (1986) report that peer interaction was particularly significant for enhancing second language oral acquisition in Hispanic children. Moreover, Kagan (1986) has suggested that schooling practices which focus on collaborative child-child instructional strategies are in line with developed social motives in Mexican American families. The interactional style documented in this study seems to be in concert with that which is most beneficial, both linguistically and culturally, to Mexican American students.

A recent study (Garcia, 1991) focused on three teachers, a first grade, third grade, and fifth grade teacher, in a highly regarded Spanish/English, bilingual school. These teachers were consistently identified at the school site level and at the district level as "effective" teachers. Approximately 50 percent to 70 percent of their students were Spanish dominant, the remainder were English dominant. The findings of this study with regard to teacher attributes were divided into four distinct but interlocking domains: (a) Knowledge, (b) Skills, (c) Dispositions, and, (d) Affect.

Knowledge

These teachers were all bilingual and biliterate in English and Spanish. They had the prerequisite state teacher credentials and had graduated from specific bilingual, teacher-training programs. They had an average of 7.1 years experience as bilingual teachers. Therefore, these were not novice teachers with little general teaching or language minority teaching experience. In addition, they reported that they routinely participated in staff development efforts, either taking courses or attending workshops on techniques that they wanted to implement in their classrooms. Some of the workshops, sponsored by the school or district, were mandatory. These teachers also participated in courses that they sought out and

financed on their own, some related to Spanish language development and others related to pedagogy and curriculum.

These teachers were quite knowledgeable and articulate with regard to the instructional philosophies which guided them. They communicated these quite coherently in their interviews. They never hesitated in addressing "why" they were using specific instructional techniques and usually couched these explanations in terms of a theoretical position regarding their role with regard to teaching and "how" students learn. Principals and parents also commented on these teachers' ability to communicate effectively the rationales for their instructional techniques. One principal commented, "She's always able to defend her work with her students. When she first came here, I didn't agree with all that she was doing, and sometimes I still do not agree. But she always helps me understand why she is doing what she is doing. I respect her for that. She is not a 'recipe teacher'." A parent commented with regard to her children's journal writing: I didn't understand why she was letting _____ make all these spelling mistakes. It annoyed me. During the teacher-parent conference, she showed me the progress _____ was making. His spelling was getting better without taking a spelling test every week. I was surprised. She knows what she's doing. A parent concerned about his daughter, not competent in English in the third grade, indicated, "Me explico que aprendiendo en espanol le va a ayudar a mi hija hablar mejor el ingles. Dice bien, porque mi hijo que vino conmigo de Mexico, hablando y escribiendo en espanol, aprendio el ingles muy facil." Moreover, these teachers seemed to be quite competent in the content areas. The upper elementary teacher who was instructing students in fractions had a solid and confident understanding of fractions. She did not seem to be "one step ahead of the students."

Skills

Despite their differing perspectives, the teachers demonstrated specific instructional skills. They used English and Spanish in highly communicative ways, speaking to students with varying degrees of Spanish and English proficiency in a communicative style requiring significant language switching. Direct translation from one language to another was a rarity, but, utilization of language switching in contexts which required it was common.

Of course, variations existed among these exemplary teachers. However, each had developed a particular set of instructional skills which they indicated led to their own effectiveness:

1. Teachers had adopted an experiential stance toward instruction. Along with many of their colleagues, these exemplary teachers had abandoned a strictly skills-oriented approach to instruction. To varying degrees, they organized instruction in their classes so that children first focused on that which was meaningful to them. Early grade teachers used an approach to reading instruction that treated specific skills in the context of extended pieces of text (e.g., an entire book, passage, or paragraph). They initiated shared reading experiences by reading to and with children from an enlarged book, pointing to each word as they read. Because most of these books relied on a recurring pattern (e.g., a repeating syntactical construction, rhyming words, repetitions), children who could not read words in isolation were able to predict words and entire constructions when participating in choral reading activities. With time, teachers encouraged students to focus on individual words, sound-letter correspondences, and syntactic constructions. The teacher also encouraged children to rely on other cueing systems as they predicted and confirmed what they had read as a group or individually.

These teachers also utilized a thematic curriculum. Science and social studies themes were often integrated across a variety of subject areas. Once a theme was determined, usually in consultation with students, the teachers planned instruction around a series of activities that focus on that theme. For example, a unit on dinosaurs included reading books about dinosaurs, categorizing and graphing different kinds of dinosaurs, a trip to a museum featuring dinosaur exhibits, writing stories or poems about a favorite dinosaur, and speculating on the events that led to the dinosaurs' disappearance. In the third grade classroom, a student suggested that the theme address "the stuff in the field that makes my little brother sick": pesticides. The teacher developed a four week theme which engaged students in understanding the particular circumstances in which many of them reside with regard to pesticide use.

Despite the use of instructional strategies that depart from traditional skills-based approaches to curriculum and instruction, these teachers did sometimes structure learning around individual skills or discrete components. For example, the teachers devoted a week or two to preparing students for standardized tests. During this time they taught skills that would be tested and administered practice tests: "I don't like testing. But we have to do it. I teach my kids how to mark the bubbles and I make sure that they take their time. We practice test taking, but we don't take it seriously."

2. Teachers provided opportunities for active learning. These teachers organized a good portion of class time around a series of learning activities that children pursued either independently or with others. During science and math, children worked in small groups doing a variety of hands-on activities designed to support their understanding of a particular concept (e.g., classification, estimation, place value) or subject area (e.g., oceanography, dinosaurs).

Teachers' commitments to active learning were revealed in their commitments to a studio or workshop format for literacy instruction. Instead of teaching students about reading and writing, teachers organized their program so that students actively read and wrote. Real reading and writing took place in the context of a literature-based reading program and during regularly scheduled times when students wrote in their journals on topics of their own choosing and teachers responded to their entries. There was also time for students to engage in writers' workshops. During this time students generated their own topics, wrote, revised, edited, and published their finished writings for a larger audience. As with adult published authors, they shared their writing with others and often received input that helped them revise and improve upon what they had written. For example, one teacher commented, "These kids produce their own reading material and they take it home to share it with their parents. It's real good stuff. I help a little, but its the kids that help each other the most."

3. Teachers encouraged collaborative/cooperative interactions among students. These teachers organized instruction so that students spent time working together on a wide range of instructional activities. The two primary grade teachers structured their day so that students worked on group and individual activities (e.g., graphing, journal writing, science projects) in small heterogeneously, organized groups. Students who worked in small groups on their own art project, journal, or experiment did not necessarily interact with other members of their group. Teachers explained that students, particularly those who did not share the same dominant language, often ignored one another during these kinds of group activities. They felt that cross-cultural interactions was much more likely to take place when students were obliged to work together to complete a single task.

Dispositions

The following descriptions of teacher attributes were considered "dispositions" because no other category seems relevant. They are individual characteristics which these teachers possessed. They are likely to be relevant to their success more as professionals than as teachers. For instance, these teachers were highly dedicated. They reported working very hard, getting to school first and being the last to leave, working weekends, and sometimes feeling completely overworked. They reported spending close to \$2,000 of their own resources in modifying their room and obtaining the materials their students needed. They indicated that they saw themselves as "creative," "resourceful," "committed," "energetic," "persistent," and "collaborative." They sought out assistance from their colleagues and were ready to provide as much assistance as they received.

Although these teachers felt that they were effective, they were not complacent. They continued to change their instructional practices and in some cases their instructional philosophies over the years. These teachers reported experiencing great change in their approach to learning and instruction, having shifted "paradigms." These teachers, who once advocated skills-based and authoritarian modes of instruction such as "DISTAR," are now considering and experimenting with child-centered approaches. Teachers felt that they enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy in their school. They felt free to implement the changes that they wanted. In recent years, when they have wanted to implement something new in

their classroom, they have gone to their principal with a carefully thought-out rationale and have eventually enlisted her/his support. These teachers have been involved in change that has had an impact on other classrooms as well as their own. Along with other teachers, they have obtained support to eliminate teaming and ability grouping across subject areas in the first grade. In addition, they were actively involved in the district-wide teacher-initiated movement to eliminate kindergarten testing. These teachers were involved in individual and group efforts to improve the quality of education at the school and district level. In short, these teachers were highly committed to improving themselves and the services to students in general.

Above all, they were highly confident, even a bit "cocky" regarding their instructional abilities: "I have changed my own view on how students learn -- we need to understand learning does not occur in bits and pieces. Why do teachers still insist on teaching that way?" "I know what I am doing is good for kids. Some of my colleagues say I work too hard -- I say they do not work hard enough. Not that they are lazy, they just don't seem to understand how important it is to do this job right"; "I know my kids are doing well, all of them. I would rather keep them with me all day then send them to someone who is supposed to help them in their 'special' needs but doesn't help them at all."

Affect

These teachers had strong feelings that classroom practices that reflect the cultural and linguistic background of minority students are important ways of enhancing student self-esteem. These teachers felt that part of their job was to provide the kind of cultural and linguistic validation that is missing in the local community known for deprecating the Latino culture and Spanish language. According to these teachers, learning Spanish and learning about Latino culture benefits Anglo students as well as Latino students. In their eyes, people who learn a second language tend to be more sensitive to other cultures. Like other teachers, these teachers felt that being bilingual and bicultural enriched their students' lives.

Latino culture is reflected in the content of the curriculum in various ways. The two primary grade teachers, who organized their curriculum around a variety of student-generated themes, addressed cultural experiences of Latino students within the themes. For example, in a unit on monsters, they highlighted Mexican legends and folktales that deal with the supernatural (e.g., "La Llorona"). In addition, these teachers emphasized the importance of reading and making available literature that reflects the culture of their Latino students. They also encouraged students to share favorite stories, poems, and sayings that they learned at home.

These teachers had high expectations for all their students: "No 'pobrecito' syndrome here -- I want all my students to learn and I know they can learn even though they may come from very poor families and may live Under 'tough' conditions. I can have them do their homework here and I can even get them a tutor -- an older student -- if they need it. I understand that their parents may not be able to help them at home. That's no excuse for them not learning." In many respects, these teachers portrayed themselves as quite demanding, taking no excuses from students for not accomplishing assigned work and willing to be "tough" on those students who were "messing around."

Most significant was the teachers' affinity toward their students: "These students are like my very own children"; "I love these children like my own. I know that parents expect me to look after their kids and to let them know if they are in trouble"; "When I walk into that classroom I know we are a family and we're going to be together a whole year I try to emphasize first that we are a family here I tell my students, 'You're like brothers and sisters' and some students even call me Mom or Tia. It's just like being at home here." Each teacher spoke of the importance of strong and caring relationships among class members and particularly between the teacher and the students. They felt that this provided students with a safe environment that was conducive to learning.

Parents also reported a similar feeling. They directly referred to the teachers in the interviews as extended family members, someone to be trusted, respected, and honored for their service to their children. These teachers were often invited to "bautismos," "bodas," and "fiestas de cumpleaños," and also to soccer games and family barbecues. And they attended such occasions, reporting that such participation was inherently rewarding and instructive with regard to their own personal and professional

lives. Parents commented during interviews: "La senorita _____, le tengo mucha confianza, quiero que mi nino la respete como a mi"; "Nunca se larga mi nina de ella, se porta como mi hermana, siempre le puedo hablar y me gusta mucho ayudarle"; "I know my son is well cared for in her class, I never worry -- she even calls me when he does something good."

This discussion has focused on attributes of teachers who are considered "effective" for language-minority students. These teachers are highly experienced, not novices in teaching or in the instruction of language minority students. They are highly skilled in communication with students, parents, and their administrative supervisors. They think about and communicate their own instructional philosophies. They work hard to understand the community, families, and students which they serve and incorporate into the curriculum attributes of the local culture. They have adopted instructional methods which are student centered, collaborative and process oriented -- no "worksheet" curriculum here. They are highly dedicated, work hard, collaborate with colleagues and continue to be involved in personal and professional growth activities. Most significantly, these teachers care for their students. They are advocates, having "adopted" their students they watch out for their students' welfare while at the same time challenging students with high expectations, not accepting the "pobrecito" syndrome.

Implications for Professional Training and Credentialing

The preceding analysis has provided an overview of research, policy, and practice as they relate to the education of linguistic minority students of the United States and those educational professionals who also teach them. It is clear that a variety of programmatic efforts have been developed in response to this growing body of students. It has also become evident that professional education training, particularly for teachers, has not kept pace with the demand for specifically trained educational personnel with expertise in these new programmatic endeavors. However, it is not the case that training and credentialing of such individuals has been completely ignored. The following discussion will provide an overview of activities in this domain. Although not exhaustive, the discussion should provide a foundation for understanding the types of issues relevant to training and credentialing a competent linguistic minority teacher. It is appropriate to indicate that other views, some more detailed, are available (see Ada, 1986; Chu & Levy, 1984, 1988; Collier, 1985).

Linguistic Minority Education: An Instructional Innovation

In any discussion of professional training for linguistic minority education, it is important to note that such training is a relatively new enterprise. Not until the mid 1960s did substantial educational initiatives exist in this specialized arena. It was not until 1974 that the U.S. Congress authorized resources for training activities by institutions of higher education in this area of education (August and Garcia, 1988). The recent nature of this innovation, much like similar developments in the field of special education, has spawned many new training programs that are still struggling to establish themselves as legitimate areas of training alongside longer standing programs in elementary and secondary education. This newness is complicated by the nature of the training-program content; that is, this new program just takes a more multidisciplinary perspective. It must be concerned not only with subject matter and pedagogy but also much more directly with language (native language and/or second language) and instruction for populations that are culturally diverse.

The 1980-82 Teachers Language Skills Survey identified the need for 100,000 bilingual teachers if bilingual programs were implemented in schools in which LEP students from one language background were sufficiently concentrated to make such programs feasible. In 1982, there were an estimated 27,000 to 32,000 trained bilingual teachers, leaving 68,000 to 73,000 yet to be trained. Since 168 institutions of higher education graduate approximately 2,000 to 2,600 trained bilingual teachers each year (Blatchford, 1982), the shortage will continue. The Teachers Language Skills Survey reported that, of 103,000 teachers assigned to teach ESL, only 40 percent had received any training in the methods of doing so. It is estimated that at least 350,000 teachers currently need such specialized training (O'Malley, 1981; Waggoner, 1984). Most unfortunate, is the near "study-state" production of language in minority credentialed teachers. In California, for example, a state experiencing record increases in language

minority students, the number of teachers credentialed per year in areas related to language minority education, 1982-89, increased by only 5 percent. During this same period, overall yearly teacher credentialing increased by 48 percent (California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, 1990). During this same period there was a general student population increase of 13 percent, but a 45 percent increase in language minority students (Olsen, 1988).

Halcon (1981) and Development Associates (1984) report on the types of training that linguistic minority teachers working in the field have actually experienced. Less than 25 percent of such teachers report graduating from a specific program designed to meet their needs. Instead, most teachers in linguistic minority classrooms have participated in a variety of unsystematic university coursework, district workshops, and federally or state supported in-service training activities. Moreover, the average formal instructional experience of a teacher assigned major instructional responsibilities related to language minority students is less than 3.5 years. Recall that less than 33 percent of instructors in linguistic minority classrooms or in related support roles hold the requisite state credentials (in those states where such credentials are available and in the majority of cases actually mandatory). Such data continue to suggest that linguistic minority education programs are staffed by professionals not directly trained for such programs who might be acquiring their expertise on the job. This situation indicates that the education of language minority students continues to be viewed as a temporary innovation. By their very nature, educational innovations do not have well-developed training strategies or institutional recognition; they must go through a developmental process to achieve the desired goals of status and permanence. Teacher credentialing related to language minority students is still in its "innovation" phase.

Specific Professional Training Issues

On the basis of the foregoing foundation of linguistic minority teacher training, it is proper to consider briefly the actual content of such preparation prior to any discussion of teacher evaluation or credentialing. As with all training endeavors, it has always been incumbent upon the trainers to identify the desired end product of their efforts in some form of performance competencies. The literature abounds with numerous listings of such competencies (Collier, 1985). The most recent and most detailed is presented by Chu and Levy (1988). This list of competencies is derived from a review of federally and non-federally supported linguistic minority training programs presently operating within United States universities. It focuses on some 34 intercultural competencies, no small number, that serve as a foundation for anticipated instructional success of a well-prepared linguistic minority educator. These competencies are organized into knowledge regarding theory, society, and classroom.

The most widely distributed cited list of credential related competencies was developed and published in 1984 by the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification. That list, presented in an abbreviated format in Table 2, was a result of combining previous competency lists developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1974 and the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages association in 1975. The list, although not as comprehensive as the Chu and Levy (1988) list, has served as a cornerstone of teacher-training programs and credentialing analysis in the United States. (See Table 1.)

Table 1
NASDTEC Certification Standards*

Content Standards in Bilingual/Multicultural Education (B/M ED)	Possible IHE Course Offerings
1. Proficiency in L1 and L2 for effective teaching.	Foreign language and English department courses.
2. Knowledge of history and cultures of L1 and L2 speakers.	Cross-cultural studies, multicultural education (ME), history and civilization, literature, ethnic studies.
3. Historical, philosophical, and legal bases ED and related research.	Foundations of BE (or introduction to BE).
4. Organizational models for programs and classrooms in B/M ED.	Foundations of BE.
5. L2 methods of teaching (including ESL methodology).	Methods of teaching a second language.
6. Communication with students, parents, and others in culturally and linguistically different.	Cross-cultural studies, school/community relations communities.
7. Differences between L1 and L2; language and dialect differences across geographic regions, ethnic groups, social levels.	Sociolinguistics, bilingualism.
Content Standards in English for Speakers of Other Languages	Possible IHE Course Offerings
1. Nature of language, language varieties, structure of English language morphology.	General linguistics; English phonology and syntax.
2. Demonstrated proficiency in spoken and written English.	English department courses.
3. Demonstrated proficiency in a second language L1 and L2 acquisition process.	Foreign language courses, Language acquisition.
4. L2 and L2 acquisition process.	Language acquisition.
5. Effects of socio-cultural variables on learning.	Language acquisition, ME, cross-cultural studies, sociolinguistics.
6. Language assessment, program development, implementation, and evaluation.	Language assessment, program development and evaluation.

**These are supplemental standards to the NASDTEC professional education standards required of all teachers.*

Recently states and school districts have begun to articulate the actual expected roles and responsibilities

of language minority teachers. New Jersey, for example, identifies its expectations in a New Jersey State Board of Education handbook (1991):

Role of Bilingual Teachers

The following responsibilities should be considered by the district when defining the role of bilingual teachers. The bilingual teacher should:

- help identify limited English proficient students;
- participate with administrators in designing a bilingual program that meets the needs of eligible students;
- communicate with ESL and other teachers in planning for the bilingual program students in ESL and special subject areas;
- provide input in areas covered by pupil personnel services;
- apply current research findings regarding the education of children from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds;
- develop language proficiency in the native language of the students enrolled in the program and in English;
- have knowledge of techniques, strategies, and materials that aid teaching in two languages;
- structure the use of two languages to systematically make the transition from the native language to English;
- select activities and materials for classroom use which indicate an understanding of the developmental level of the students;
- help students to identify similarities and differences for successful interaction in a cross-cultural setting;
- provide experiences that encourage positive student self-concept; and
- promote and understand the supportive role and responsibilities of parent/guardians and explain the bilingual program to them.

Role of ESL Teachers

The following responsibilities should be considered by the district when defining the role of ESL teachers. The ESL teacher should:

- help identify limited English proficiency students;
- participate with administrators in designing ESL program that meets the needs of eligible students;
- communicate with other teachers in planning for the teaching of the ESL program student in the bilingual or English-only classroom;
- demonstrate awareness of current trends in ESL and bilingual education;
- demonstrate proficiency in English commensurate with the role of a language model;
- use English as the principal medium of instruction in the areas of pronunciation, listening comprehension, speaking, structure, reading, and writing;
- select activities and materials for ESL use which indicate an understanding of the language proficiency level of the students;
- express interest in, and have an understanding for the native culture of the students;
- provide experiences that encourage positive student self-concept; and
- promote and understand the supportive role and responsibilities of parents/guardians and explain the ESL program to them.

*Source: Guidelines for Development of Program Plan and Evaluation Summary.
Bilingual/ESL Programs and English Language Services, Fiscal Year 1991. New Jersey
State Department of Education.*

Credentialing and Professional Assessment of Language Minority Teachers

The professional assessment of language minority teachers is a substantially problematic, complex,

cumbersome and area "ripe" for criticism. Even more so than the art of teacher assessment in general. It is important to note in this regard that professions are characterized by two broad features (Friedson, 1986): (a) acquisition of knowledge obtained through formal education endeavors, (b) an orientation toward serving needs of the public, with particular emphasis on an ethical and altruistic concern for the client. Therefore, teaching in this country's public schools, and teaching language minority students clearly qualifies as a profession. Given the "professional" nature of this enterprise, a concern for assessment of the professional should not come as a surprise. Assessing professional competence is as old as professionals. According to McGahie (1991), Moses and Jesus Christ set out direct guidelines for assessing religious professionals; Confucius argued that "No man is a good doctor who has never been sick himself"; and, Shakespeare, in the Henry VII soliloquy regarding lawyers, wrote, "Heaven is above all, yet: there sits a Judge, that no king can corrupt." Society or its representatives have been judging the competence of professionals for quite some time. However, it is important to note that like professional themselves, judgments of professional competence are embedded in a local time and place, in line with the professions' "Zeitgeist." That is, these assessments are in concert with the general intellectual and ethical climate and needs of the time (McGahie, 1991).

The assessment of teachers, and language minority teachers is no different. Our present concerns with regard to professional assessment are driven by the ethical considerations of our time and the pressing needs for such professionals. Very specifically, we have relegated the 'job' of professional assessment in this country to the states or to professional societies, or, some combination of these institutional representatives. In addition, we have chosen to either focus on assessing the individual as a preprofessional before allowing that individual to enter the profession (usually through examination, the National Teaching Exam is an example), or, we have focused our attention on the assessment of the preprofessional institutions/programs which produce teaching professionals the NCATE reviews are an examples of "association" reviews while the California Commission on Teaching Credentialing program reviews are examples of state authorized reviews). In some cases, both individual and program review is required.

As is the case for teacher assessment and credentialing of "regular" teachers, the credentialing of language minority teachers is quite variable. Table 2 provides a summary of teacher certification requirements and/or opportunities for specific professional teaching services directed at language minority students. The table identifies the type of teaching credential which are available in all 50 states and U.S. territories along with information regarding that state's or territory's legislative stance regarding such credentialing. These data indicate that 25 states presently do not offer professional credentialing in this domain of the teaching profession. That is, half of the country does not attend to this professional sub-category. These states are not formally interested in any special professional teaching competences related to language minority students. It is not coincidental that those states least impacted by language minority students are those same states which do not address the professional assessment of teachers serving these students. Keep in mind that all states require certification of their public school, teaching professionals.

Table 2
Teaching for Language Minority Students:
Evaluating Professional Standards

Teaching Credentials: 1991 State Profiles						
State or Territory	Legislation 1*				Teacher Cert 2**	
	Mandates	Permits	Prohibits BE	No Statutes	BIL Education	ESL or Other
Alabama				*		
Alaska	*					
Arizona	*				**	**
Arkansas				*		
California		*			**	**
Colorado		*				
Connecticut	*					
Delaware				*	**	
D.C.				*	**	**
Florida				*	**	**
Georgia				*		
Hawaii				*		**
Idaho				*		
Illinois	*				**	**
Indiana		*				
Iowa	*					
Kansas		*				
Kentucky				*		**
Louisiana				*		**
Maine		*				
Maryland				*		
Massachusetts	*				**	**
Michigan	*				**	
Minnesota		*			**	**
Mississippi				*		*
Missouri				*		
Montana				*		

(continued)

State or Territory	Legislation 1*				Teacher Cert 2**	
	Mandates	Permits	Prohibits BE	No Statutes	BIL Education	ESL or Other
Nebraska				*	**	**
Nevada				*		*
New Hampshire		*			**	**
New Jersey	*				**	**
New Mexico		*			**	**
New York		*			**	**
North Carolina				*		**
North Dakota				*		
Ohio				*	**	**
Oklahoma				*		
Oregon		*				
Pennsylvania				*		
Rhode Island		*			**	**
South Carolina				*		
South Dakota		*				
Tennessee				*		**
Texas	*				**	**
Utah		*				
Vermont				*	**	
Virginia				*		**
Washington	*				**	**
West Virginia			*			
Wisconsin	*				**	**
Wyoming				*		
Amer Samoa		*				
Guam	*				**	
N. Marianas				*		
Puerto Rico				*		**
Tr. Terr of Pacific				*		
Virgin Islands		*				

1* Whether state legislation mandates, permits, or prohibits special educational services for limited-English-proficiency (LEP) students, e.g., transitional bilingual education (TBE). English as a second language (ESL), immersion and maintenance programs.

2** Whether state offers teaching certification in Bilingual Education, ESL, or other related areas.

Source: U.S. Department of Education,
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (1986).
Forum, IX, 3; Updated by each SEA Listed (1991).

Of particular interest is a subset of states which when taken together are home to almost two-thirds of this nation's language minority students: California, Florida, Illinois, New York, New Jersey and Texas. In these states, bilingual credentialing and ESL or some other related credential/endorsement is available. However, in only three of the six states is such credentialing mandated. Therefore, even in states which are highly "impacted" by language minority students, there is no the direct concern for the specific mandating of professional standards. Valencia (1991) has suggested that with the segregation of language minority students, particularly Chicano students in the Southwest, state school systems are not equally affected by these students. Chicano students tend to be concentrated in a few school districts within the state, and even though their academic presence is felt strongly by these individual districts, they do not exert this same pressure statewide. I will return to this important observation, since it identifies a possible alternative forum for professional assessment of significance to enhancing services to language minority students.

Even for those states (a total of 28 states) which address the specific need to assess the professional competence of language minority teachers, the present modes of assessment are highly problematic. Unfortunately, the data is quite clear on the problems of individual assessment of teacher professional competence. Present professional assessment can be criticized on several levels (McGahie, 1991; Sternberg and Wagner, 1986; Shimberg, 1983):

1. Professional competence evaluations usually address only a narrow range of practice situations. Professionals engage in very complex planning, development, implementation, problem solving and crisis management. These endeavors do not usually require technical skills and knowledge which are easily measured. The earlier discussion of "effective" language minority teachers (Garcia, 1991) exemplifies this complexity.
2. Professional competence evaluations are biased toward assessing formally acquired knowledge, likely due to the preponderance of similar assessment of student academic achievement. We assess teachers like we assess students, even though we have differing expectations regarding these populations.
3. Despite the presumed importance of "practice" skills, professional competence assessments devote little attention to the assessment of enunciated practice skills. With regard to language minority teachers, we do have some understanding of specific skills that "might" be necessary. Although due to the lack of specific research in this domain, I would be hard pressed to articulate the exact skills which I would recommend in need of assessment.
4. Almost no attention is given to what has earlier been identified as the "disposition" and "affective" domains of the language minority teacher. Yet, in recent "effective" teacher analysis, these teacher attributes were identified as significant as content knowledge and practice skills (Pease-Alvarez, Garcia and Espinosa, 1991).

In addition to the above concerns, professional assessment instruments are subject to severe violations of reliability and validity. Feldt and Brennan (1989) have demonstrated that components of measurement error are highly inconsistent in the arena of professional assessment. Similarly, test validity is a fundamental problem for professional assessment (Berk, 1986). Keep in mind that inference about professional competence or ability to practice are actually inferences about specific constructs. This is the old and dangerous "chicken-and-egg-problem." We construct an assessment and soon we are willing to say that whomever scores at "such-and-such" on that assessment is competent. At the base of this assessment however, is the legitimacy of the constructs which generated the assessment. We presently

lack any definitive body of research and knowledge regarding the constructs which embody good teachers, in general, and good language minority teachers, specifically. That knowledge base is developing, but it is presently not substantive in nature (Garcia, 1991).

What are we left with? According to McGahie (1991), teacher professional assessment actually is operating within the "connoisseur" model of professional assessment. This model carries certain presuppositions which are relevant to language minority education:

1. Not all features of professional practice can be quantified.
2. There is no "one best answer" to a professional problem or question.
3. Connoisseurs are unbiased, fair in rendering decisions, and due to their demonstrated competence and commitment to the profession and students are the most effective evaluators of teaching professionals.

The connoisseur model is routinely used in a number of professional assessment endeavors like the performing arts and theatre. We would never imagine using a "test" to determine motion picture academy awards. In fact, to determine "Teacher of the Year" honors within local districts, at the state level, and even at the national level, connoisseurs are called upon to serve as judges. They are asked to use their varying experience and expertise to identify the "best." In our own research on "effective" language minority schools, classrooms and teachers, we rely heavily on nominations from connoisseurs -- teachers, administrators, parents and students (Garcia, 1991).

Closer examination of the present mode of teacher training program evaluations indicate that the connoisseur model is the primary model in operations. "Experts" are sent to any program to evaluate the effectiveness of that program. In turn, those local program experts, acting in a connoisseur role evaluate individual teacher candidates.

Is this presently an acceptable model for evaluating language minority teaching professionals? Unfortunately, due to the innovative nature of language minority education -- we are learning how "best" to do it at the same time that we are doing it --, the limited number of experts/connoisseurs available, and the diversity of students and therefore programs which serve these students, evaluation of language minority teachers is highly problematic. Over time, as we develop a large corp of connoisseurs, it will be possible to utilize this model, and, it is likely the only and best model appropriate. At present, however, it is not possible to implement this model on any large scale with any hope that it will be either reliable or valid.

District Level Credentialing

If the connoisseur model is not possible on a grand scale, it may not be impossible to do well on a smaller scale. Recognizing that the university programs were not, in the short term, able to meet the growing demand for linguistic minority teachers, extensive in-service training initiatives have become the typical vehicle for meeting these growing professional needs. In 1974 federal resources were dedicated to the in-service enterprise, and those resources have continued. Bilingual Education Service Centers conducted needs assessments on a regional basis and implemented regular in-service training activities from 1975 through 1982. In the late 1980s a smaller federally funded effort located in regional Multifunctional Resource Centers continued this activity. In addition, state offices of education in states highly affected by linguistic minority students have developed their own resources for in-service training programs.

Significantly, local school districts have implemented extensive in-service programs to meet their particular needs in substantively increasing the linguistic minority expertise of their teaching personnel. One such program, in Denver, Colorado, exemplifies this in-service training activity. This urban district, highly affected by linguistic minority students, determined that its needs could be partially met by the professional development of its existent teaching staff. Several training presuppositions guided the development and implementation of the in-service training; (a) teachers needed theoretical grounding and practical application of instruction reflecting that theory, (b) external consultants with linguistic minority expertise would work collaboratively over an extended period of time (4-6 years) with a cadre

of local teachers, (e) a local teacher group demonstrating enhanced expertise would provide mentor support to their district colleagues, (d) development of new mentor groups at individual school sites would ensure the systematic augmentation of linguistic minority expertise throughout the district. The district also developed its own "credentialing" requirements, feeling that the state requirements were considerably too generous and left significant holes in requirements. A recent analysis of this in-service strategy indicates that over 500 district teachers participated in this training from the mid 1980s to the late 1980s. Significant gains in service delivery to Denver's growing population of linguistic minority students have been documented. A corps of 100 linguistic minority mentors now exists in support of the over 500 linguistic minority teachers. This mentor corps continues to provide formal training experiences, classroom demonstrations, local site networking, and curricular leadership. These experts or connoisseurs also serve to evaluate new teaching professionals.

What was born out of great necessity in Denver, Colorado, may serve to instruct us regarding the development of language minority teaching professionals and their evaluation. First, professional training takes on a localized characteristic. Such a local emphasis realizes the diversity of students and programs which are present in the local district. Over time, it develops a corps of connoisseurs, and utilizes those locally developed connoisseurs to serve in an evaluative capacity. Therefore, highly relevant local knowledge with regard to language minority education needs is transformed into locally developed experts who in turn evaluate, using local norms, the professional expertise of their colleagues. This is the connoisseur model at its best with regard to the innovative and complex nature of language minority education.

This alternative form of teacher training and district level "credentialing" was born of immediate needs that could not be met through normal teacher training or state level credentialing standards. It demonstrates a useful and highly responsive solution to a problem many school districts face with respect to linguistic minority populations. This alternative form of local training and "credentialing" training could be appropriate for enhancing the effectiveness of most educational professionals, but is worthy of particular attention to the field of language minority education.

Conclusion

It seems clear that language minority students can be served effectively by schools and educational professionals. They can be served by schools organized to develop educational structures and processes that take into consideration both the broader attributes of effective schooling practices and specific attributes relevant to language minority teachers (Carter & Chatfield, 1986; Garcia, 1988; Garcia, 1991; Tikenoff, 1983).

Although the training of language minority education teachers is in a developmental period and in need of further clarifying research, it is clearly not in its infancy. A serious body of literature addressing instructional practices, organization, and their effects is emerging. The training of professional innovators is a challenge for university and federal, state, and local educational agencies. The needs are great, and the production of competent professionals has lagged. However, professional organizations, credentialing bodies, and universities have responded with competencies, guidelines, and professional evaluation tools. These evaluation tools are problematic with regard to their reliability and validity. The most often utilized professional evaluation model is the "connoisseur" model. At the state level, this model is problematic. However, local school districts have also had to engage in substantial training endeavors and they have or can develop professional evaluation models, locally derived credentials, with locally developed connoisseurs. This alternative, district level credentialing process is worthy of serious consideration. The challenge for all those engaged in such an enterprise is to consider the rapidly expanding literature regarding linguistic minority teachers, to evaluate its implications critically and to apply it to local language minority education contexts, with a dependency on locally developed connoisseurs.

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Issues in U.S. Language Policy

Language Legislation in the U.S.A.

May 19: Clinton Administration Unveils Its Education Proposals for the Reauthorization of Title VII and Title I; Legislation and Section-by Section Analysis

March 3: Judge Puts Alaska English-Only Law on Hold

January 11: Appeal in Arizona's English-Only Case Denied by U.S. Supreme Court

January 6: Unz Launches Anti-Bilingual Initiative in Arizona

State Language Legislation, 1999 Session 

1998

English Only legislation first appeared in 1981 as a constitutional English Language Amendment. This proposal, if approved by a two-thirds vote of the House and Senate and ratified by three-quarters of state legislatures, would have banned virtually all uses of languages other than English by federal, state, and local governments. But the measure has never come to a Congressional vote, even in committee.

Meanwhile, 20 states have adopted various forms of Official English legislation (in addition to four that had already done so). This year such bills were considered in at least 14 states. These measures are unrelated, however, to the process of amending the U.S. Constitution.

In 1991, English Only advocates changed their strategy. Recognizing the long odds against ratifying a constitutional amendment, they began to promote a statutory form of Official English. Such a bill would apply to the federal government alone and would require only a simple majority vote in Congress (as well as the President's signature) to become law. Several versions of so-called "Language of Government" legislation

have appeared since that time. One of these bills, H.R. 123, passed the House of Representatives – but not the Senate – in 1996. So the measure failed to become law.

Similar legislation is pending in the 106th Congress. If enacted, it would amend the U.S. Code in the following ways:

- English would be designated the official language of the U.S. government – indeed, the **only** language that federal employees and officials, including members of Congress, would be permitted to use for most government business.
- The English Only mandate would extend to federal "actions, documents, policies ... publications, income tax forms, informational materials," records, proceedings, letters to citizens – indeed, to any form of written communication on behalf of the U.S. government.
- Exceptions to the ban on federal use of other languages would be permitted for purposes that include national security, international trade and diplomacy, public health and safety, criminal proceedings, language teaching, certain handicapped programs, and the preservation of Native American languages.
- An "entitlement" would be created, ensuring the "right" of every person to communicate with the federal government in English – in effect, a guarantee of language rights, but for English speakers only.
- Civil lawsuits to enforce the law would be permitted by persons claiming to have been "injured by a violation" of it – a "right of action" that could give virtually any taxpayer the standing to sue in federal court.
- Naturalization ceremonies would be specifically restricted to English only.
- Bilingual provisions of the Voting Rights Act, which guarantee minority-language voting materials in certain jurisdictions, would be repealed.

Much uncertainty remains about the practical impact of H.R. 123 on a spectrum of language services, from bilingual education to Social Security pamphlets to sign-language interpreting. If passed, its interpretation would almost certainly be determined by the courts. The House floor debate on the bill offers various views on its pros, cons, and potential effects. A letter from the

Justice Department sums up the Clinton Administration's opposition to the Senate version of the legislation – even though, as governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton signed an English Only measure into law.

 Complete archive of Congressional statements on Official English legislation, 1981-1996

For an excellent and comprehensive critique of Official English, see the testimony of Edward Chen, a language rights litigator for the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California. Further analysis may be found in English Only Updates.

Meanwhile, opponents have proposed a legislative alternative known as English Plus, in the form of nonbinding resolutions sponsored by Rep. José Serrano (D-N.Y.).

To make members of Congress aware of your views on language legislation (or any other matter), you may contact your Senator or Representative by email or fax – at no charge – by clicking here. You may also want to contact members of the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs and the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, which have jurisdiction over English Only bills.

106th Congress (1999-2000)

- **H. R. 123 (Barr)** – "Bill Emerson English Language Empowerment Act"; the lead version of English Only legislation; referred to Education & Workforce Committee
- **H.J. Res. 21 (Doolittle)** – Constitutional English Language Amendment; referred to Judiciary Committee
- **H.R. 50 (Stump)** – "Declaration of Official Language Act of 1999"; would also repeal the Bilingual Education Act; referred to Education & Workforce Committee
- **H.R. 1005 (King)** – "National Language Act of 1999"; would also repeal the Bilingual Education Act; referred to Education & Workforce Committee
- **H. Con. Res. 4 (Serrano)** – English Plus resolution; a nonbinding policy statement in opposition to English Only measures;

referred to Education & Workforce Committee

- **S. 667 (McCain)** – English Plus policy statement as part of a private-school "choice" bill; would also authorize a study of Americans' multilingual proficiencies; referred to Finance Committee

105th Congress (1997-98)

104th Congress (1995-96)

102nd Congress (1991-92)

97th Congress (1981-82)

State Language Legislation – 1999

- **Arizona** – Bilingual education reform; anti-bilingual initiative
- **Connecticut** – Official English
- **Iowa** – Official English; DEFEATED
- **Maine** – Official English
- **Massachusetts** – Official English
- **New York** – Official English
- **Ohio** – Official English
- **Utah** – Official English; English Plus

State Language Legislation – 1997-98

State Official English Laws

- **Alabama** (1990) – constitutional amendment adopted by voter initiative
- **Alaska** (1998) – initiative statute; stayed by injunction ~~NEW~~
- **Arizona** (1988) – constitutional amendment adopted by voter initiative; ruled unconstitutional by federal **district** and **appellate** courts, decisions vacated on March 3, 1997 by the **U.S. Supreme Court**; then overturned as unconstitutional by the **Arizona Supreme Court** on April 28, 1998; U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear English-only proponents' final appeal on January 11, 1999
- **Arkansas** (1987) – statute
- **California** (1986) – constitutional amendment adopted by voter initiative
- **Colorado** (1988) – constitutional amendment adopted by voter initiative
- **Florida** (1988) – constitutional amendment adopted by voter initiative

- **Georgia** (1996) – statute
- **Hawai'i** (1978) – constitutional amendment declaring the state **officially bilingual** – recognizing English and Native Hawaiian as official languages
- **Illinois** (1969) – statute repealing a 1923 declaration of "American" as the official state language and adopting English
- **Indiana** (1984) – statute
- **Kentucky** (1984) – statute
- **Mississippi** (1987) – statute
- **Missouri** (1998) – statute **NEW**
- **Montana** (1995) – statute
- **Nebraska** (1923) – constitutional amendment
- **New Hampshire** (1995) – statute
- **North Carolina** (1987) – statute
- **North Dakota** (1987) – statute
- **South Carolina** (1987) – statute
- **South Dakota** (1995) – statute
- **Tennessee** (1984) – statute
- **Virginia** (1981) – statute, revised in 1996
- **Wyoming** (1996) – statute

English Plus Resolutions

- **New Mexico** (1989)
- **Oregon** (1989)
- **Rhode Island** (1992)
- **Washington** (1989)

NOTE: Thanks to email correspondents who have alerted me to late developments in several states. If anyone else has information on pending language legislation not listed here, I would appreciate hearing from you at jwcrawford@compuserve.com.

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Last updated on 26 May 1999

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ACLU BRIEFING PAPER

"ENGLISH ONLY"

From its inception, the United States has been a multilingual nation.

At the time of the nation's founding, it was commonplace to hear as many as 20 languages spoken in daily life, including Dutch, French, German and numerous Native American languages. Even the Articles of Confederation were printed in German, as well as English. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the nation's linguistic diversity grew as successive waves of Europeans immigrated to these shores and U.S. territory expanded to include Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines.

Just as languages other than English have always been a part of our history and culture, debate over establishing a national language dates back to the country's beginnings. John Adams proposed to the Continental Congress in 1780 that an official academy be created to "purify, develop, and dictate usage of," English. His proposal was rejected as undemocratic and a threat to individual liberty.

Nonetheless, restrictive language laws have been enacted periodically since the late 19th century, usually in response to new waves of immigration. These laws, in practice if not in intent, have punished immigrants for their foreignness and violated their rights.

In the early 1980s, again during a period of concern about new immigration, a movement arose that seeks the establishment of English as the nation's official language. The "English Only" movement promotes the enactment of legislation that restricts or prohibits the use of languages other than English by government agencies and, in some cases, by private businesses. The movement has met with some success, "English Only" laws having been passed in several states. And, for the first time in the nation's history, an English Language Amendment to the Constitution has been proposed.

The ACLU opposes "English Only" laws because they can abridge the rights of individuals who are not proficient in English, and because they perpetuate false stereotypes of immigrants and non-English speakers. We believe, further, that such laws are contrary to the spirit of tolerance and diversity embodied in our Constitution. An English Language Amendment to the Constitution would transform that document from being a charter of liberties and individual freedom into a charter of restrictions that limits, rather than protects, individual rights.

Here are the ACLU's answers to some questions frequently posed by the public about "English Only" issues.

Q: What is an "English Only" law?

A: "English Only" laws vary. Some state statutes simply declare English as the "official" language of the state. Other state and local edicts limit or bar government's provision of non-English language assistance and services. For example, some restrict bilingual

education programs, prohibit multilingual ballots, or forbid non-English government services in general -- including such services as courtroom translation or multilingual emergency police lines.

Q: Where have such laws been enacted?

A: Sixteen states have "English Only" laws, and many others are considering such laws. In some states, the laws were passed decades ago during upsurges of nativism, but most were passed within the last few years. The "English Only" states are Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Q: What are the consequences of "English Only" laws?

A: Some versions of the proposed English Language Amendment would void almost all state and federal laws that require the government to provide services in languages other than English. The services affected would include: health, education and social welfare services, job training, translation assistance to crime victims and witnesses in court and administrative proceedings; voting assistance and ballots, drivers' licensing exams, and AIDS-prevention education.

Passage of an "English Only" ordinance by Florida's Dade County in 1980, barring public funding of activities that involved the use of languages other than English, resulted in the cancellation of all multicultural events and bilingual services, ranging from directional signs in the public transit system to medical services at the county hospital.

Where basic human needs are met by bilingual or multilingual services, the consequences of their elimination could be dire. For example, the Washington Times reported in 1987 that a 911 emergency dispatcher was able to save the life of a Salvadoran woman's baby son, who had stopped breathing, by coaching the mother in Spanish over the telephone to administer mouth-to-mouth and cardio-pulmonary resuscitation until the paramedics arrived.

Q: Do "English Only" laws affect only government services and programs?

A: "English Only" laws apply primarily to government programs. However, such laws can also affect private businesses. For example, several Southern California cities have passed ordinances that forbid or restrict the use of foreign languages on private business signs.

Some "English Only" advocates have opposed a telephone company's use of multilingual operators and multilingual directories, Federal Communications Commission licensing of Spanish-language radio stations, and bilingual menus at fast food restaurants.

Q: Who is affected by "English Only" laws?

A: "English Only" campaigns target primarily Latinos and Asians, who make up the majority of recent immigrants. Most language minority residents are Spanish-speaking, a result of the sharp rise in immigration from Latin America during the mid-1960s.

While the overwhelming majority of U.S. residents -- 96 percent -- are fluent, approximately ten million residents are not fluent in English, according to the most recent census.

Q: How do "English Only" laws deprive people of their rights?

A: The ACLU believes that "English Only" laws are inconsistent with the Equal Protection

Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. For example, laws that have the effect of eliminating courtroom translation severely jeopardize the ability of people on trial to follow and comprehend the proceedings. "English Only" laws interfere with the right to vote by banning bilingual ballots, or with a child's right to education by restricting bilingual instruction. Such laws also interfere with the right of workers to be free of discrimination in workplaces where employers have imposed "speak English only" rules.

In 1987, the ACLU adopted a national policy opposing "English Only" laws or laws that would "characterize English as the official language in the United States...to the extent that [they] would mandate or encourage the erosion" of the rights of language minority persons.

Q: What kinds of language policies were adopted with regard to past generations of immigrants?

A: Our nation was tolerant of linguistic diversity up until the late 1800s, when an influx of Eastern and Southern Europeans, as well as Asians, aroused nativist sentiments and prompted the enactment of restrictive language laws. A 1911 Federal Immigration Commission report falsely argued that the "old" Scandinavian and German immigrants had assimilated quickly, while the "new" Italian and Eastern European immigrants were inferior to their predecessors, less willing to learn English, and more prone to political subversion.

In order to "Americanize" the immigrants and exclude people thought to be of the lower classes and undesirable, English literacy requirements were established for public employment, naturalization, immigration and suffrage. The New York State Constitution was amended to disfranchise over one million Yiddish-speaking citizens. The California Constitution was similarly amended to disfranchise Chinese, who were seen as a threat to the "purity of the ballot box."

Ironically, during the same period, the government sought to "Americanize" Native American Indian children by taking them from their families and forcing them to attend English-language boarding schools, where they were punished for speaking their indigenous languages.

The intense anti-German sentiment that accompanied the outbreak of World War I prompted several states, where bilingual schools had been commonplace, to enact extreme language laws. For example, Nebraska passed a law in 1919 prohibiting the use of any other language than English through the eighth grade. The Supreme Court subsequently declared the law an unconstitutional violation of due process.

Today, as in the past, "English Only" laws in the U.S. are founded on false stereotypes of immigrant groups. Such laws do not simply disparage the immigrants' native languages but assault the rights of the people who speak the languages.

Q: Why are bilingual ballots needed since citizenship is required to vote, English literacy is required for citizenship, and political campaigns are largely conducted in English?

A: Naturalization for U. S. citizenship does not require English literacy for people over 50, and/or who have been in the U. S. for 20 years or more. Thus, there are many elderly immigrant citizens whose ability to read English is limited, and who cannot exercise their right to vote without bilingual ballots and other voter materials. Moreover, bilingual campaign materials and ballots foster a better informed electorate by increasing the information available to people who lack English proficiency.

Q: Doesn't bilingual education slow immigrant children's learning of English, in contrast to the "sink or swim" method that was used in the

past?

A: The primary purpose of bilingual programs in elementary and secondary schools, which use both English and a child's native language to teach all subjects, is to develop proficiency in English and, thus, facilitate the child's transition to all-English instruction. Although debate about this approach continues, the latest studies show that bilingual education definitely enhances a child's ability to acquire the second language. Some studies even show that the more extensive the native language instruction, the better students perform all around, and that the bilingual method engenders a positive self-image and self-respect by validating the child's native language and culture.

The "sink or swim" experience of past immigrants left more of them underwater than not. In 1911, the U. S. Immigration Service found that 77 percent of Italian, 60 percent of Russian, and 51 percent of German immigrant children were one or more grade levels behind in school compared to 28 percent of American-born white children. Moreover, those immigrants who did manage to "swim" unaided in the past, when agricultural and factory jobs were plentiful, might not do so well in today's "high-tech" economy, with its more rigorous educational requirements.

Q: But won't "English Only" laws speed up the assimilation of today's immigrants into our society and prevent their isolation?

A: In fact, contrary to what "English Only" advocates assume, the vast majority of today's Asian and Latino immigrants are acquiring English proficiency and assimilating as fast as did earlier generations of Italian, Russian and German immigrants. For example, research studies show that over 95 percent of first generation Mexican Americans are English proficient, and that more than 50 percent of second generation Mexican Americans have lost their native tongue entirely.

In addition, census data reveal that nearly 90 percent of Latinos five years old or older speak English in their households. And 98 percent of Latinos surveyed said they felt it is "essential" that their children learn to read and write English "perfectly ." Unfortunately, not enough educational resources are available for immigrants -- over 40,000 are on the waiting list for over-enrolled adult English classes in Los Angeles. "English Only" laws do not increase resources to meet these needs.

The best insurance against social isolation of those who immigrate to our nation is acceptance -- and celebration -- of the differences that exist within our ethnically diverse citizenry. The bond that unites our nation is not linguistic or ethnic homogeneity but a shared commitment to democracy, liberty, and equality.

A C L U American Civil Liberties Union, 132 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

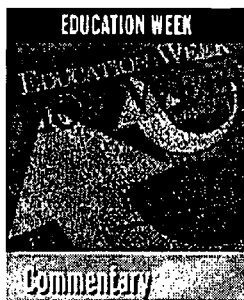
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What's Wrong With Bilingual Education? Is It 'Lingual,' or Is It 'Education'?

By Raul Yzaguirre

If someone had only read news coverage of the Ron Unz initiative that passed resoundingly on June 2 of this year (the so-called "English for the Children" California ballot proposition which all but mandates the end of bilingual education), one would think that bilingual education was an educationally unsound concept doomed to failure. Yet just in the last few months, three well-regarded reports were released that give a resounding educationally based endorsement of bilingual education.

Is it 'lingual' or is it 'education'?

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Read a related Commentary, "What's Wrong With Bilingual Education? Repair It, Don't Replace It," by Jerry Jesness, in This Week's News.

The first was "Preventing Reading Difficulties in Young Children" by the National Research Council, a respected organization with unassailable research standards that is not given to unfounded pronouncements. In the section on literacy, the NRC's carefully worded finding on bilingual education states:

"Schools have the responsibility to accommodate the linguistic needs of students with limited proficiency in English. ... These children should be taught how to read in their native language while acquiring proficiency in spoken English, and then subsequently taught to extend their skills to reading in English."

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Read related stories, "Barriers to Education Exist Long Before High School Among Latinos, Report Says," and "Hispanic Children Outnumber Young Blacks for 1st Time," in This Week's News.

Another recently released NRC study, "Educating Language-Minority Children," conducted in conjunction with the National Institute of Medicine, found:

"Bilingualism, far from impeding the child's overall cognitive or linguistic development, leads to positive growth in these areas. Programs whose goals are to promote bilingualism should do so without fear of negative consequences. English-language learners who develop their native-language proficiency do not compromise their acquisition of English."

Even more dramatic was the report from Jay P. Greene of the University of Texas at Austin, who did a meta-analysis of all the research done on bilingual education. Mr. Greene is not an educator and therefore has neither a predetermined agenda nor any claims to expertise on the subject. He is, however, an expert in the field of ensuring statistical and methodological validity in research. Using rigorous standards, Mr. Greene found that the research evidence was overwhelmingly in favor of bilingual education as the best way to educate limited-English-proficient, or LEP, children.

These three reports, taken together, should end any question about the effectiveness and worth of bilingual education, both as an educational

For background, previous stories, and Web links, see our Issues Page on [Bilingual Education](#).

effectiveness and worth of bilingual education, both as an educational strategy and as the best way to make sure that proficiency in English is achieved. But anybody who believes that this will end the debate is either uninformed, naive, or both.

Although I have been an observer of and a participant in this debate for years, it took me a long time to understand why there is so much passion and so little rational discussion on this issue. What I realized is that while I and other proponents of bilingual education were talking about education, others were really talking about language policy.

And while education philosophy is hardly emotion-free, language policy and practice affects us in a very personal way. It gets at the core of the kind of society we want or are likely to have. And since the debate on bilingual *education* should now be over, let us then have a discussion on *language*.

The debate over language has at least three aspects to it: language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource and/or a reality. For many years, educators saw language--or rather any language other than English as the primary or only language spoken by children attending school--as a problem. I use the term "problem" rather than challenge deliberately. It was not simply a question of the practicality of adding English to whatever language the child brought to the class to assure a common means of communication. Rather, it was a question of instilling in immigrant children, so far as it can be done, the objective of "absolute forgetfulness of all obligations, or connections with other countries because of descent or birth," as the superintendent of schools in New York City noted in 1918.

Contradiction exists because the debate over bilingualism has been about language policy and not about education.

Therefore, any language other than English was neither positive nor benign. It was a "problem" to be washed away, and led to a process which obliterated that other language because it represented a threat to the nation, or at least, to those who did not understand that language. And if the child failed to keep up with his or her peers, so be it; there were always factory and field jobs that did not require literacy but only the ability to understand the verbal commands of their bosses. At a time when universal literacy was only a dream even for native-born Americans and when there were a plentiful number of union factory jobs that allowed a

hard-working person with drive and determination the opportunity to work, buy a home, and send his and her kids to college, this might have made some sense. It was the process by which millions of what we now call "white ethnics" assimilated into this society, and the process became a source of pride to them.

For others, particularly Native Americans and Hispanics whose roots in this country predated the British, the trade-off was not perceived to be so equitable. To those who had not gone through the psychological experience of crossing an ocean and leaving family and other ties behind them for greater opportunities, the idea of having to give up something so personal and so defining as language and culture for a society that did not

accept them even when they did speak English, the trade-off was fraudulent and demeaning. Thus, intellectuals, activists, and other leaders from these groups and others reacted by raising the issue of language rights.

There are many ethnic Americans who lament that their ancestors were put through this pressure cooker that passed for a melting pot and that deprived them of their heritage. More vocal and more prominent, however, are Americans, particularly some white ethnic Americans, who are incensed with the idea of language as a "right," particularly if the notion is that this right should be paid for by their taxes. How many times have we heard, "My grandfather came to America not knowing a word of English and nobody helped him," or, "We were taught to learn English and nothing but English was spoken in front of us." Even some Hispanics, who had been forced to give up some of their birth language and heritage, became the staunchest supporters of this notion. Indeed, "contrarians" like the commentators Richard Rodriguez and Linda Chavez have been given far more publicity and coverage than mainstream Latino leaders for embracing this "philosophy." Mr. Rodriguez once went so far as to argue that it is great for non-Latinos to learn and speak Spanish but not Hispanics.

It is precisely folks who equate bilingual education with an effort to preserve, or worse, demand the right to, their own language that are most rabidly against bilingual education. Language as a right, or more precisely a minority language as a right, conjures up images of a Quebec-style divisiveness and the possible Balkanization of the country.

That, of course, is precisely the issue--the tendency to draw analogies that are familiar to us, which in the case of language are overwhelmingly about problems, controversies, and feuds. Even if the analogy does not apply, too many of us believe that it does. After talking to dozens of Canadians familiar with the Quebec separatist movement, I have yet to find one who believes that Hispanics in the United States are remotely like French-speaking Quebecers. For one thing, the Francophone separatists and the hard-line Anglo opponents of French-language rights are both opposed to bilingual education. It is the "One Canada" leadership that promotes bilingualism in the name of unity. But how often do you hear about countries where people speak different languages and enjoy peace and prosperity, as is the case in Switzerland and other countries? Peace and comity do not make the evening news.

Which brings us to a third way of understanding language: language as a powerful national resource. During World War II, America profited enormously from U.S. citizens who spoke other languages well. German-Americans, Italian-Americans, and even Japanese-Americans from our own internment camps served our country honorably and gallantly and were an asset in helping American forces understand the Axis powers. Navajo Indians known as the "code talkers" were assigned to different units to facilitate communications without fear of the enemy breaking the code. In fact, it was the only code not deciphered by the Axis powers.

There exists an enormous contradiction in this country. On the one hand, the National Governors' Association unanimously agreed last year that the

United States should make foreign-language acquisition a priority in our schools, given the fact that we are the industrialized world's most linguistically ignorant nation. On the other hand, as a recent *Washington Post* headline summed it up: "California Rejection a Big Blow to Bilingualism." I believe this contradiction exists because the debate over bilingualism has been about language policy and not about education.

Let me be clear: I believe learning English is a must for every American. If anyone doubts my word, I would ask them to visit any of the 100 or so National Council of La Raza affiliates that provide English-language training to tens of thousands of Latinos each year. But it is equally unconscionable to allow the debate over bilingual education to lead our country into wasting such a valuable natural resource as a population that already speaks a multitude of languages. It is also wrong not to use the best method available to teach LEP children English, which research shows is bilingual education.

Raul Yzaguirre is the president of the Washington-based National Council of La Raza, the nation's largest Hispanic civil rights organization. Education policy analyst Raul Gonzalez assisted in the preparation of this essay.

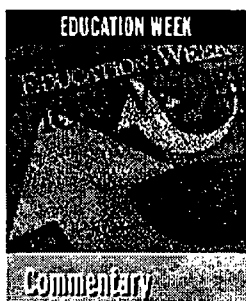
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Read Raul Yzaguirre's biography, from the National Council of La Raza.

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AUGUST 5, 1998

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What's Wrong With Bilingual Education? Repair It, Don't Replace It

By Jerry Jesness

If bilingual education has been a failure in the United States, it is not because of its bilingual nature. A number of foreign countries have done well with bilingual or multilingual education. The Friesians of Holland receive their elementary education in both Friesian and Flemish. That simply means that by the end of high school they will be expected to have mastered four languages instead of three (Flemish, English, and German) like other Netherlands. Citizens of Luxembourg are educated in their native language, plus French and German. Lebanese schools prepare many students to speak, read, write, and do business in both Arabic and French. Even the supposedly homogeneous Japanese have a form of bilingual education in which dialect-speaking Japanese children receive their earliest years of education from teachers who understand their dialect.

Repair it, don't
replace it.

The political right has blamed the bilingual education establishment for poor academic performance by Hispanic students. The political left has blamed prejudice and poverty. While there may be some truth in both allegations, there are other important factors that have not been adequately addressed. Part of the problem both with bilingual education and English-as-a-second-language instruction in the United States lies in our unwillingness to treat English for nonspeakers as an academic subject. Although truly limited-English-proficient, or LEP, students are children in need of instruction in the English language, schools often treat them as members of a social caste, a group of helpless individuals in need of a warm, fuzzy environment created by caring but undemanding teachers. The polyglot Dutch see Friesian children as students who need early instruction in two languages. In addition, their polyglot school administrators and policymakers understand the process of second-language learning. Monolingual American educators, however, are likely to see immigrant children merely as a disadvantaged group that must be held to a lesser standard.

Placement in bilingual or ESL classes is not always strictly according to language ability. In some schools on the U.S.-Mexican border, bilingualism is the norm. Bilingual students are not, however, necessarily limited-English-proficient. Many are English dominant, and others are fully proficient in both languages. In some such schools, bright, well-behaved bilingual students get placed in regular education, while their slower or more troublesome peers find their ways into bilingual classes. Farther from the border, even monolingual English-speaking students with Hispanic surnames may find themselves with the LEP label. I have taught a number of students who were suddenly found to be limited-English-proficient after failing a semester or creating a major disruption in a regular education class.

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disruption in a regular education class.

Schools have benefited by artificially inflating their numbers of limited-English-proficient students. Low test scores can be explained away by pointing to a high number of LEP students, so applying the LEP label to low-performing students, even those who are English dominant, can make a school appear statistically better than it really is. In some places, LEP students can even be exempted from standardized testing. There are supposedly safeguards to prevent students from being mislabeled as limited-English-proficient, but, unfortunately, these safeguards are weakly enforced and many students are not appropriately placed. Because of this abuse of the system, bilingual classes sometimes become holding pens for poorly performing students.

American schools aren't particularly good places to learn languages. Few American students of foreign languages (other than English) actually master them, at least not in school. Immigrant children tend to pick up English eventually, but not at a speed that would impress European educators. ESL and immersion programs have not necessarily been more successful than bilingual education. There have been pockets of success for each method, but none stands head and shoulders above the others. It is unfortunate that so many educators and politicians glorify one approach while demonizing the others. In reality, all three are valid and can work if, and only if, they are well implemented.

Immersion, the solution being touted by conservative educators, will not solve all of the problems of LEP students. The American public schools of years past, when non-English-speaking children sank or swam, yielded mixed results. Although some immersed students did quite well, others, unable to speak English and forbidden to speak anything else, went mute daily from 8 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. Teachers would "modify" for these students by allowing them to mindlessly copy phrases from textbook to worksheet or to review for tests with "study sheets" that were in reality copies of upcoming tests with the answers filled in. They eventually absorbed enough English to communicate, but missed out on academics. Thanks to grade adjustment and social promotion, such students managed to get through school conversant in English but barely literate in any language. It was the failings of immersion education that gave rise to bilingual education.

Schools have benefited by artificially inflating their numbers of limited-English-proficient students

Immersion works well for some students, and needs to be at least a large part of the program for all. Older students with a grasp of basic English and the willingness to pore over their homework with dictionaries and grammar books benefit from such an approach, especially if they have access to someone who can explain and clarify difficult English concepts. The greater the ratio of native speakers to nonspeakers, the more appropriate

immersion becomes. One teacher cannot truly immerse 30 students. When a tiny handful of nonspeakers is spread throughout a sea of English speakers, every activity becomes an English lesson. However, in communities in which most people speak the child's native language,

opportunities to practice English in true one-on-one conversations are few.

Younger students respond to immersion better than older ones, especially if a large number of native speakers surround the LEP child, but immersion of very young students can create a problem with reading. Children cannot read beyond their vocabularies, so those who are taught to read a language that they do not speak will not progress well.

If there is true immersion, the trade-off, more oral English but less reading, may be reasonable as long as the schools understand the situation and allow for more intensive reading instruction when the student is ready. Unfortunately, this is often not the case, and students whose reading has been delayed because of language problems may end up being labeled slow learners or learning-disabled. A major advantage of bilingual education is that it permits students to learn to read at a developmentally appropriate age. These early literacy skills will transfer over to English.

Worse than sink-or-swim, however, is stay-out-of-the-water-until-you-know-you-can-swim. Bilingual education at its worst allows students only very limited contact with spoken English. I once had a beginning ESL class made up of recent immigrants mixed with students from a bilingual program like the one described above. The bilingual students had been in American schools from two to four years, but none had more than a rudimentary command of English. By Christmas, some of the recent immigrants were outperforming the ex-bilingual education students in both oral English and academics. Obviously, these students had been cheated out of both contact with and instruction in English. A good bilingual teacher realizes that a student needs thousands of hours of contact with a second language in order to become fluent. Bilingual programs that do not recognize this deserve to be eliminated.

It is never a good idea for educators to stand on dogma. Bilingual education and immersion need not be mutually exclusive. If an immersion approach is to be used, schools could still provide students with access to out-of-class tutors who could give explanations in the students' native language, or we could imitate the Japanese and allow beginning students to speak to their teachers in their native languages while requiring the teachers to respond in English. One daily period of native-language reading instruction could be offered to 1st and 2nd graders even if the rest of the day is spent in total English immersion.

Bilingual programs would do well to provide long periods of total English immersion as well as opportunities to interact with native speakers. Both bilingual and immersion programs should be held to accountability standards. Bilingual education needs to be repaired, but not necessarily replaced. Let us not replace the status quo with less effective programs.

Jerry Jesness is a special education teacher working with bilingual students in Los Fresnos, Texas. He taught English as a second language for 15 years before switching to special education.

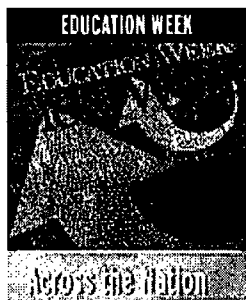
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Highlights of Proposition 227

Language-minority students would be educated through "sheltered English immersion," usually for no more than a year. Nearly all classroom instruction would be in English, but with curricula designed for students who are learning the language.

Schools could mix in the same classroom children of different ages and native languages, but with similar English-proficiency levels. Once students had acquired a good working knowledge of English, they would transfer to mainstream classrooms.

Parents who wanted their children in a bilingual education program or any program other than the one-year sheltered immersion would have to visit the school and be presented with all the program options first. A school with 20 students or more in a given grade who received waivers from the sheltered-immersion requirement would be required to offer alternatives such as bilingual education. Otherwise, the school would have to allow the students to transfer to a school where such a program was offered.

Parents could be granted waivers for:

1. Children who already know English and can demonstrate on standardized tests that their English skills are at or above the statewide average for their grade level or at or above the 5th grade average, whichever is lower.
2. Children age 10 or older who school officials believe would learn English more rapidly in an alternative program.
3. Children with documented special needs whose overall development school officials believe would be better served in an alternative program.

School board members, other elected officials, teachers, and administrators who "willfully and repeatedly refuse" to provide English programs could be held personally liable for fees and damages.

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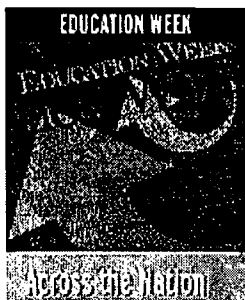
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Return to the main story, "What Price English?" in This Week's News.

Read an accompanying story, "In Battle Over Prop. 227, Both Sides Command Armies of Statistics," in This Week's News.

JUNE 2, 1999

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Calif.'s Year on the Bilingual Battleground

By Lynn Schnaiberg

Los Angeles

At Humphreys Avenue Elementary School in East Los Angeles, bilingual kindergarten teacher Rosa helps 5-year-old Yoni count seashells on a felt board. Yoni's lips move, counting silently in Spanish as he touches each shell.

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"Cuantos son?" Ms. León asks Yoni for his tally when it's time to write a sentence, in Spanish, about what he's found. When Yoni falters, Ms. León pulls over a metal tray filled with alphabet letters--among them are a, b, and c, and the Spanish characters ñ, ch, and rr.

About 80 miles south of here, at Ditmar Elementary School in Oceanside, bilingual kindergarten teacher Pam Arias directs her class in English for an art lesson. "Remember, you follow me," she says, pointing to herself and then her class as she draws a fish on the blackboard. "I do it, then you do it. I do it, then you do it. Good job."

Both schools ran bilingual education programs last school year. And both are charged with educating a student population that is overwhelmingly Latino, poor, and Spanish-speaking.

One year ago this week, California voters went to the polls--and over the heads of their elected state legislators--to pass Proposition 227, a ballot initiative that called on voters to "help end bilingual education in California." The law, which took effect in the fall, requires schools in most cases to teach limited-English-proficient students almost entirely in English.

The reality has turned out to be far more varied and complex, in large part because of a clause in the law that offers parents the option of returning their children to bilingual education.

For example, Humphreys Elementary now has more students in bilingual classes than it did last year; Ditmar has none.

Before Proposition 227 passed June 2, 1998, roughly one-third of the state's 1.4 million LEP students were enrolled in bilingual education. Although it may be months before the state knows exactly how many students are enrolled in what kinds of programs, policymakers and educators say this much is clear: Bilingual education continues to flourish in pockets across the Golden State, but overall, far fewer students are enrolled in such programs than in the past.

But the way the broadly worded new law has been interpreted and carried out from district to district has produced a dizzying array of responses at the local level: Humphreys Elementary in Los Angeles and Ditmar Elementary in San Diego County illustrate the extremes.

Read a related story,
"Arizona Looks to Its
Neighbor in Crafting
Plan To Take to
Voters," in This
Week's News.

"Parents Ask for
Waivers To Put
Students Back in
Bilingual Ed.," Nov.
11, 1998.

For background,

For background, previous stories, and Web links, see our Issues Page on Bilingual Education.

Everything from how a school or district has defined and presented parents their options under the law, to prevailing local politics, to the reputation of the school's or district's programs for LEP students before Proposition 227 has shaped the way the law has played out at the local level.

Managing Waivers

The law calls for students to be placed in "sheltered" or "structured" English-immersion classes where "nearly all" instruction is in English. The state has granted districts considerable leeway in crafting their programs and in defining "nearly all." And the state has extended similar flexibility to districts in the way they manage waivers that enable parents to opt into bilingual classes for their children.

Supporters of bilingual education say such classes, which span a wide range of models but generally teach students at least part of the day in their native languages, allow students to keep pace academically while gradually learning English. Critics say students too often are left without adequate English skills or take too long to acquire them.

The school board for the roughly 700,000-student Los Angeles Unified School District went on record opposing the ballot initiative before it passed last year. Slightly more than a third--107,000--of the district's 310,000 LEP students were in bilingual education last year.

The vast majority of the district's LEP students are now in English immersion, but 22,000 students are in bilingual education programs because of waivers requested by their parents. That's roughly 20 percent of last year's bilingual education count.

But waiver rates vary tremendously from school to school within the sprawling system.

Humphreys Elementary--whose bilingual program is considered a district model--falls at the high end. Last year, 637 Humphreys students enrolled in bilingual classes; this year, with the student population at the pre-K-5 school growing, the number is 674. Both this year and last, roughly 78 percent of Humphreys' LEP students were in bilingual education.

Longtime Principal Lydia Canales held eight parent meetings starting early last August to inform parents of their options under the new law. Waiver forms were handed out to all parents; those who wanted to sign them did. For the most part, Ms. Canales said, parents who requested a waiver received it, a trend mirrored in many district schools.

"Good bilingual programs are surviving here. This was not a hard sell with my community," Ms. Canales said. "Prop 227 brought no revolution here."

The same cannot be said for Ditmar Elementary.

Last year, virtually all LEP students at the pre-K-5 school enrolled in the bilingual program. This year, all 450 LEP students are taught in sheltered-English-immersion programs, where English is the language of instruction, and Spanish is used minimally for clarification when needed. Districtwide last year, more than half the 4,500 LEP students were in

bilingual programs; this year, there are no bilingual classes.

The school board of the 21,300-student Oceanside Unified School District never took a formal position on Proposition 227 before the balloting last June because members knew they would not get a unanimous vote to support or oppose the measure, according to Emily Ortiz Wichmann, the board's only Hispanic member. Both Ms. Wichmann and Superintendent Kenneth A. Noonan say they had concerns about bilingual education in their district long before the statewide vote.

Oceanside officials describe their coastal community of 154,000 as traditional, with a population mix that includes active and retired military personnel (the Camp Pendleton Marine base sits in the city's back yard) and newly arrived immigrants from rural areas of Mexico. Unlike in Los Angeles, registered Republicans outnumber Democrats.

Following the initiative's passage, the district opted for a "literal" interpretation of the new law, Mr. Noonan said. While the state school board's regulations on Proposition 227 generally are viewed as giving districts more flexibility to grant waivers than the law itself does, Mr. Noonan said the legal advice his district received was that if push came to shove, it was the law--not the regulations--the district would have to stand on. While Mr. Noonan said he opposed the ballot initiative, the former bilingual teacher said the district was bound by voters to carry out the law's intent. And, he added, the district was willing to try a new approach as part of an overall back-to-basics push.

In October, the Oceanside district made waiver forms available to schools to pass on to interested parents, and Ditmar Elementary held a parents' meeting to go over the options. In December, the district sent out letters in Spanish to all parents of LEP students with a waiver form attached.

Of the 159 waiver requests received districtwide, just five have been approved by a team of teachers and administrators that evaluates each applicant, using district-approved criteria. Under the law, schools don't have to offer an alternative to English immersion unless at least 20 students in a given grade level receive waivers, but they must allow students to transfer to another school where an alternative is offered.

Ditmar Principal Sherry Freeman de Leyva said that despite the bilingual program's popularity at her school, she wasn't surprised that just 20 parents requested waivers for pupils there. Many, she said, didn't want to risk the possibility that their children would have to transfer from the neighborhood school.

And many Ditmar teachers say parents quickly realized that in Oceanside--in contrast to neighboring districts where bilingual education is still offered--waivers would be the exception to the rule. The district has come under fire for its waiver policy from some Latino parents, who say they are not being given a true choice.

Bilingual Education Survives

Although Proposition 227 created something far short of a revolution at Humphreys Elementary, Principal Canales says, it has still made its presence felt. While most of the school's LEP students are in the bilingual program, which enjoys strong community support, more than

200 have enrolled in English-immersion models the Los Angeles district crafted under the new law.

Humphreys' LEP students spent their first 30 days last fall in an English classroom before parents could request waivers--a requirement under the law. Ms. León said those first few weeks in her kindergarten class were a challenge.

"I saw a lot of blank stares," the 28-year-old bilingual teacher said. And the task of teaching students to read and write in Spanish had to wait.

For 3rd grade teacher Jorge Rios, those initial weeks forced him to assess his students' English skills early on; many students in Humphreys' bilingual program move into all-English instruction by the end of 3rd grade. Mr. Rios said he was "pleasantly surprised" to see that many had stronger skills than he first thought.

There was also widespread fear among school staff members in the fall, Ms. Canales said. Under the law, teachers who "willfully and repeatedly" refuse to implement Proposition 227 can be held personally liable in a lawsuit. To allay her faculty's concerns of being accused of trying to sway parents to enroll their students in bilingual programs, the principal became the point person for parent questions on programs for their children.

For parents like Gloria Meza, the choice was easy. Ms. Meza said she's seen her 11-year-old daughter, Brenda, flourish academically and in English through the school's bilingual program. Ms. Meza, a native of Tijuana, Mexico, said she wanted her 7-year-old son, Erick, who had been in Humphreys' bilingual program since preschool, to continue.

As a parent volunteer, Ms. Meza had helped canvass her East Los Angeles neighborhood to urge residents to vote against Proposition 227; in the aftermath of its passage, she helped explain program options to parents.

"For us, the real fear was that we wouldn't have choices," Ms. Meza said.

A Sea Change

From 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. one day a week, classrooms at Ditmar Elementary School in Oceanside are reserved for English-as-a-second-language classes for more than 100 parents from Ditmar and nearby schools. Even many educators who opposed Proposition 227 say those classes--paid for out of a \$50 million fund created by the new law--are a step in the right direction.

Many of the parents gathered in a class taught by Principal Freeman de Leyva hail from the state of Oaxaca in southern Mexico. They've found work in the strawberry, tomato, and flower fields that dot the local landscape or in service or factory jobs. The ESL classes are intended to help such parents learn English so that they can in turn help their children, whose homework is in English.

But for now, Ditmar teachers say so many parents have limited English skills that it's nearly impossible for them to support their children's learning at home.

It's been a frustrating year for parents like Socorro Dolores, who arrived

nine years ago with a 6th grade education from a Oaxacan village. Ms. Dolores said she's glad her 5-year-old daughter, Griselda, is learning English. But, she said, Griselda would have learned the language anyway as did her older sisters, who went through Ditmar's bilingual program.

"I know she'll learn because this is a good school," Ms. Dolores said in Spanish during a break from the ESL class. "But I don't think everything had to change like this."

So far, Ditmar teachers and test scores report rapid gains in students' oral English skills this year. Some see students choosing to write in their journals in English rather than Spanish. More children are requesting books to read in English in the school library. And many teachers say they've been surprised by their LEP students' overall academic progress in English immersion.

On the flip side is a lingering concern about students' true proficiency in reading and writing in English. Teachers have said some students tune out as the day wears on because they can't keep up in English. And some teachers have slowed the academic pace because it takes much longer to convey information.

Ms. Arias said far fewer children in her class are ready to read compared with last year because their English vocabulary is much more limited than in Spanish, the language spoken at home and in the neighborhoods where her students live. Some teachers in higher grades say they periodically pull students out of subjects such as science to do extra work in English so they can read the textbooks they're expected to study.

Proposition 227 clearly represents a sea change for Ditmar's bilingual teachers, especially those teaching before the 3rd grade, when many LEP students at Ditmar used to move from Spanish to English. The changes the new law brought happened so fast that teachers received no specific training in how to teach through sheltered English immersion; many received new materials just before the start of school in September.

"This has been the hardest year of my life," said Lynn Gonzalez, a 2nd grade bilingual teacher. She said she feels "enormous pressure" to make the district look successful by producing English-proficient students by year's end, adding that her training taught her it takes at least three years.

"I'm implementing something that goes totally against my beliefs," she said.

While the Oceanside district's policy calls for instruction in English with Spanish as a clarification only when needed, Spanish has not been wiped away from Ditmar Elementary's daily existence. Parents and school staff members converse in Spanish, students speak to each other in Spanish in classrooms and on the playground, books for free reading are in Spanish and English, and teachers use both languages on their own time to tutor students struggling to keep up.

Ms. Freeman de Leyva, a former bilingual teacher and bilingual-program coordinator for the district, said she's reserving judgment on the effects of Proposition 227. She wants to know what it will mean in the long run for Latino student achievement.

"We'll see," she said. "It's been a long, long year."

On the Web

The National Association for Bilingual Education, an association dedicated to promoting equity through bilingual education, provides updated information on bilingual education policy initiatives and maintains a list of news articles about bilingual education and language minority Americans. Also includes: "[Why It Works](#)," an explanation of the merits of bilingual education, through NABE's eyes.

Last year's campaign to dismantle bilingual education through Proposition 227 was spearheaded by the efforts of the [English for the Children](#) initiative. Read their [list](#) of news stories.

PHOTO: A California law approved last June means kindergarten teachers Pam Arias, left, and Rosa Rojano use English to teach their students at Ditmar Elementary School in Oceanside. But some schools still use bilingual methods.

Lynn Gonzalez, above, reads to her 2nd grade students at Ditmar Elementary School. Principal Sherry Freeman de Leyva, at left, discusses eating utensils during an evening class she conducts to teach parents English in the hope that they in turn can help their children with homework.

--J.T. MacMillian

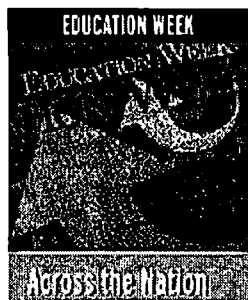
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Interpretations of Prop. 227 Vary Widely, Experts Say

By Lynn Schnaiberg

Sacramento, Calif.

The implementation of Proposition 227 can be likened to a tornado, according to many of the researchers and state policy experts who gathered here recently to talk about the 1-year-old California law.

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"In some cases when it touches down, it's making radical changes. And in some places, it's almost like it never happened," said Maria N. Trejo, a manager in the state education department's office of language policy and leadership.

The two-day conference last month, sponsored by the University of California's Linguistic Minority Research Institute and the California Policy Research Center, drew researchers who had examined the responses to Proposition 227 at the state and local levels and the factors that had helped shape those responses.

Some common denominators quickly emerged from the researchers' early findings:

For background, previous stories, and Web links, see our Issues Page on [Bilingual Education](#).

Districts supportive of bilingual education before Proposition 227 have found ways in the new law to keep at least some bilingual classrooms; districts without such support, or those critical of bilingual education, have found ways in the law to get rid of it or severely restrict it.

The meaning of "structured English immersion," the program called for under Proposition 227, varies enormously from district to district and school to school.

Regardless of what array of programs a district offered before the ballot initiative passed, the new law has forced many to take a critical look at all their programs for limited-English-proficient students.

"Yes, Proposition 227 has weeded out some of the weaker bilingual programs, those that never had full commitment or resources to begin with," said Kris D. Gutierrez, an associate education professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, who is studying three districts in Southern California. "But it's also weeded out some really good ones."

Teaching to the Test

Such varying interpretations of the law by districts and schools come against a backdrop of division among state policymakers, too, over the measure and its blueprint for LEP students.

For example, Proposition 227 is silent on how students are to be identified as LEP and how they drop that label once they reach English proficiency.

The state school board is in the midst of revamping long-standing rules governing such procedures, changes that board officials say will be less prescriptive and more in keeping with the spirit of the law.

But education department officials and bilingual education supporters say the board's proposed changes veer too far toward local control and would gut the state's uniform and objective standards for determining who has limited English proficiency and who is ready to move into mainstream classes.

Meanwhile, the authors of Proposition 227 are fighting two bills they argue undermine the initiative.

The law calls for LEP students who have acquired a "good working knowledge of English," in most cases within one year, to move from a sheltered-English-immersion program to the mainstream, where students are native English-speakers or have acquired "reasonable fluency" in English.

One measure, Assembly Bill 1026, attempts to further define such terms and to require a plan for each student moving into the mainstream. It also would apply the law's call for a 30-day minimum placement in English immersion at the beginning of each year to only the first year parents obtained a waiver for their child to enroll in bilingual education.

Another bill, AB 144, would reverse a policy set by former Gov. Pete Wilson that requires all children in grades 2-11 to take the statewide achievement tests in English.

The bill calls for LEP students to receive at least two years of instruction primarily in English before being required to take the state-mandated tests in English. Instead, schools would have to offer tests in the major primary languages spoken by the state's LEP students.

Though Proposition 227 says nothing about assessment, the initiative's sponsors say testing LEP students in English gives the law teeth: If teachers know they will be held accountable for students' performance on a test given in English, they are more likely to want to teach in English to better prepare the students for the test.

But many experts say testing lep students in a language they don't understand means that the tests don't accurately gauge their academic skills.

Regardless, when scores are released this summer, Proposition 227 opponents and proponents alike are expected to comb the data looking for evidence that students perform better in English immersion or in bilingual programs. But experts caution such conclusions would be premature at best and severely flawed at worst.

On the Web

Read a report, *A Review of the Research on the Instruction of Limited English Proficient Students*, from the University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute.

The California Association for Bilingual Education offers information on bilingual resources and follows legislative action that affects language-minority students.

The Immersion Project supports a number of coordinated programs of research, training, and development related to second language teaching, learning and assessment. Sponsored by the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition at the University of Minnesota.

Read updates on the implementation of Proposition 227, featuring "Voices from the Classroom," from California Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

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Vol. 18, number 38, page 11

EDUCATION WEEK on the WEB

EDUCATION WEEK

IN CONTEXT

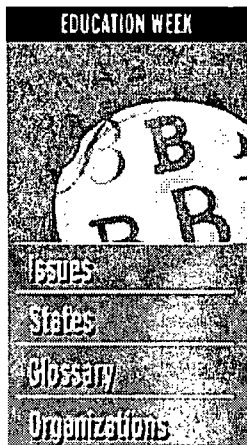
THE ARCHIVES

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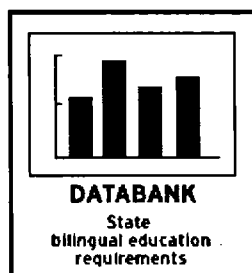


Bilingual Education

Students with a native language other than English have two goals in school: learning English and mastering content. But the debate over how students can best reach those goals has become a divisive political battle in the education arena.

While some educators believe students who use English as a second language should be educated in their native language as well, critics insist such an approach doesn't work. As a result, the concept of bilingual education is in growing jeopardy, as first California and now Arizona threaten language programs. On June 5, 1998, California voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 227, the initiative that largely eliminates bilingual education from the state's public schools. Now sentiment is building in Arizona for a similar citizen initiative, which may be placed on Arizona's ballot in 2000. The current bilingual program has received failing grades from state overseers, but Arizona legislators and education officials have so far not been able to agree on reforms.

In both states, and others as well, the critics believe the best path to academic achievement for language-minority students in most cases is to learn English and learn it quickly. Too many bilingual programs, they say, shunt those students into slower learning tracks where they rarely learn sufficient English and from which they may never emerge. And, they argue, their measure will place the key decisions in the hands of parents instead of educators. But bilingual education's supporters argue that students can best keep up academically with their English-speaking peers if they are taught at least partly in their native languages while learning English.



Part of the confusion around bilingual education programs is its different meanings in different states. Add to that the fact that there is no consensus as to what kind of bilingual education is most successful.

What follows is a breakdown of several ways bilingual education is currently taught:

- **Immersion** means simply that students learn everything in English. The extreme case of this is called "sink or swim," but teachers using immersion programs generally strive to deliver lessons in simple and understandable language that allows students to internalize English while learning academic subjects. Sometimes students are pulled out for "English as a Second Language" programs, which provide them with instruction--again in English--geared for language acquisition.
- **Transitional bilingual education** provides intensive English-language instruction, but students get some portion of their academic instruction in their native language. The goal is to prepare students for mainstream classes in English without letting them fall behind in subject areas. In theory, students transition out of these programs within a few years.

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- **Maintenance, or developmental, bilingual education**, aims to preserve and build on the students' native-language skills as they continue to acquire English as a second language.

In the early 1970s, when services for limited-English speakers were virtually nonexistent in many schools, language-minority speakers and their advocates fought for bilingual education as their right. Their argument was: If schools were not teaching students in a language they understood, the students were being deprived of an education. But more recently, even some Hispanic parents--who historically have been bilingual education's strongest supporters--are expressing doubts. Civil-rights and cultural issues are giving way to concerns that non-native English speakers are just not sufficiently mastering the English language.

Critics argue that many non-native English speakers are coming out of the school system with poor reading skills in both English and their native language--and low test scores seem to prove their point.

But advocates say it is not fair to blame bilingual education for the slow progress some students are making. They cite research that indicates that instruction in the native language concurrent with English instruction actually enhances the acquisition of English. The problem is not bilingual education, they say, it's that becoming proficient in any second language takes longer than just one or two years. And they point out that there is a shortage of well-qualified, fully bilingual teachers--so that in many cases the problem with bilingual classes is not the curriculum, it's the instruction.

Supporters of bilingual education say poor teaching is often the problem--not poor curriculum.

Further complicating the issue of bilingual education is the controversial "English Only" movement. The idea that English should be the only language taught and spoken in the United States has become an election-year staple. Its proponents argue that the government could make an important statement--and save valuable resources--by mandating an official language. Opponents call the movement unnecessary, and perhaps xenophobic.

Bilingual education advocates acknowledge that there are plenty of ways bilingual programs could be improved--by hiring more teachers who are qualified and fully bilingual, for instance, and by ensuring that students don't languish in special programs forever. But the issue is emotionally charged, and pedagogical concerns often become secondary to political ones.

Glossary Terms

- language-minority students
- limited-English-proficient students

From Education Week's Archives

"A Way With Words," April 7, 1999. In recent years, much debate has

centered on how schools should teach students who speak a foreign language. But what's almost never debated, and is little understood, is dialect. A 75-student K-12 school on an island on the outer banks of North Carolina is playing a role in helping young residents understand the history of their unique dialect and, possibly, keep remnants of the "Ocracoke brogue" alive.

"Denver Board Hopes Bilingual Ed. Plan Ends Dispute," Feb. 10, 1999. The Denver school board late last week unanimously approved a new bilingual education plan that members hope will settle a long-running dispute with members of the Hispanic community and satisfy a federal judge. The plan requires that teachers in the district's English-language-acquisition program be "fully qualified" and allows parents to choose whether they want their children to receive services.

"Rural N.C. To Get Aid for LEP-Student Influx," Jan. 27, 1999. After four years of pleas from the state school board for assistance and an explosion in the population of non-English-speaking residents, lawmakers answered in the state's fiscal 1999 budget approved last fall. It lays out statewide standards for serving LEP students and provides \$5 million to help districts meet them.

"Report: Agency Pushes Use of Bilingual Ed.," Dec. 2, 1998. The office charged with enforcing civil rights laws for the Department of Education has overstepped its mandate and pressured schools to use or expand bilingual education, says a report from a Washington-based think tank that opposes such classes.

"Parents Ask for Waivers To Put Students Back in Bilingual Ed.," Nov. 11, 1998. Parents of thousands of California students are asking that their children be returned to bilingual education, invoking a waiver option in the new state law that aims to get rid of most such programs.

"Some Calif. Schools Finding Ways Around Prop. 227," Sept. 30, 1998. While most California schools are wrestling with the state's new restrictions on bilingual education, some are looking for a way out. The state has signed off on five districts' plans to convert their existing dual-immersion or two-way bilingual programs into charter schools.

"Bilingual Ed. Legislation Passes House," Sept. 16, 1998. The House late last week approved a controversial Republican-backed bill that would overhaul federal bilingual education programs.

"Calif. Awaits School Board's Action on Prop. 227 Waivers," Sept. 9, 1998. The California's state school board is to respond this week to a recent court order by considering requests from 18 districts to be exempted from the state's new restrictions on bilingual education.

"Will Calif.'s Bellwether Reputation Ring True?," June 17, 1998. California's vote to virtually eliminate bilingual education is on the lips of educators and policymakers in other states with large immigrant populations. But whether that talk translates into action to retool such education remains to be seen.

"Uncertainty Follows Vote on Prop. 227," June 10, 1998. California's educators and its 1.4 million limited-English-proficient students are in limbo.

"What Price English?" April 29, 1998. Bilingual education has become a charged issue in California, reaching beyond pedagogy into politics. Statewide polls show the Hispanic community itself divided on the issue, with those surveyed leaning toward supporting Proposition 227, a measure that would greatly reduce the amount of time students spend in bilingual education classes. Includes: "In Battle Over Prop. 227, Both Sides Command Armies of Statistics," and "Highlights of Proposition 227."

"Chicago Board Approves Plan To Limit Student Time in Bilingual Ed. to 3 Years," March 4, 1998. Starting next fall, Chicago schools will be expected to move most students out of bilingual education and into mainstream classes after no more than three years, under a hotly debated policy the school board approved last week.

"Bilingual Education Critic Makes Run for State Superintendency," Feb. 18, 1998. Gloria Matta Tuchman, an Orange County, Calif., teacher who is the co-sponsor of a controversial initiative that would sharply curtail bilingual education programs in California public schools is running for state superintendent of public instruction.

"School Need U.S. Guidance on Civil Rights, Panel Says," Jan. 28, 1998. The Department of Education's civil rights enforcement doesn't offer schools the models and guidance they need to best teach limited-English proficient students, a report from an independent federal panel says.

"The Power of Language," Nov. 19, 1997. In Puerto Rico's schools, English and Spanish are tied up with cultural identity, politics, and the island's relationship with the U.S. mainland.

"Plan To Curb Bilingual Ed. Progresses in Calif.," Oct. 15, 1997. California's initiative that would severely curtail bilingual education in the state's public school seems almost certain to go before voters in June.

"Bilingual Battle Divides Suburban Calif. District," Sept. 24, 1997. Officials in the Orange Unified School District are pushing ahead with a plan to replace the bilingual education program with an English-immersion approach.

"Federal Officials Take Denver to Task Over Bilingual Ed. Program," Sept. 3, 1997. The federal government and the Denver school district are at odds over the direction of bilingual education in the city's schools.

"Title I Dollars to LEP Pupils on the Increase," June 11, 1997. School districts across the country are dedicating more Title I money than ever to non-English-speaking children, federal officials say.

"Denver Hispanics Assail Bilingual Ed. Plan," April 30, 1997. A plan to overhaul Denver's bilingual education program has divided school officials and Hispanic community activists.

"The Politics of Language," March 5, 1997. America's schools need good, solid research on bilingual education and language-minority students. Too often, they're not getting it.

On the Web

The California Department of Education Web site hosts the Bilingual Education Network, or BiEN, which contains announcements about bilingual education in the state and links to national resources for bilingual education.

✶ National Clearinghouse on Bilingual Education. A well-kept clearinghouse of information on the education of culturally and linguistically diverse populations. See in particular Exemplary Schooling for Language Minority Students, a report examining eight schools that qualify as "success stories."

"English First," the anti-bilingual education organization, advocates making English America's official language. It offers support for its arguments against bilingual education in "Evaluations of Current Bilingual Programs," an issue brief from April 27, 1997.

Ron Unz's pro-Proposition 227 group, "English for the Children," maintains documents related to passage of the initiative.

U.S. Department of Education Report: Model Strategies in Bilingual Education: Professional Development. This report is a compilation of 12 ongoing projects in bilingual education, chosen for the breadth of instructional strategies their work represents.

Linguistic Minority Research Institute. The University of California's LMRI provides information on issues of language, education, and public policy, especially as they relate to linguistic minorities. This information includes LMRI newsletters, abstracts of LMRI reports, funding opportunities, job opportunities, and listserves.

The Debate Over English Only. The National Education Association explains its opposition to "English Only" policies.

Background Reading

- *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory, and Practice*, James Crawford, Bilingual Education Services, Inc., 1991. Describes and compares the different models currently in use in bilingual school populations. Includes findings from studies done to find most effective modes of instruction.
- *The English-Only Question: An Official Language for Americans*, Dennis Baron, Yale University Press, 1990. Traces the development and attitudes of grammar experts, books, educators, and special movements in the United States since the 18th century.
- *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education*, Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Basic Books, 1990. A scathing attack on bilingual education programs from the director of the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development.

Related Organizations

American Civil Liberties Union
Center for Applied Linguistics
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
National Association for Bilingual Education
National Council of La Raza
Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages Inc.

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HRC Involvement/
Columns and Events

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IMMIGRANTS IN EDUCATION

I. Administration Position

-Accomplishments Document

II. Department of Education/ Programs and Policies

-Grant Announcement/ Emergency Immigrant Education Program

III. ESEA/FY2000

-Title IC/ Education of Migratory Children

IV. NEA/AFT

V. Studies

-ERIC/ Qualities of Effective Programs for Immigrant Adolescents with Limited Schooling (98)
-ERIC/ Immigrants and their Educational Attainment: Facts and Findings (11/96)
-ERIC/ Secondary Newcomer Programs: Helping Recent Immigrants Prepare for School Success (3/98)
-IDRA/ Immigrant Education Policy: Why Attempt to Fix What's Not Broken (3/96)
-IDRA/ Dispelling Myths about Immigrant Students (5/96)
-RAND/How Immigrants Fare in US Ed (96)
-Public Policy Institute of CA/ Have Inflows of Immigrants Diminished Natives' Educational Attainment? A Review (99)
-Urban Indicator Highlights (9/95)
-ERIC/ The Education of Immigrant Children in NYC (11/96)
-NAS Summary/ Immigrations' Influence on America

VI. General News Articles

-*"Immigrants: Providing a Lesson in How To Adapt"* (1/27/99)
-*"Rural NC to get Aid For LEP Student Influx"* (1/27/99)
-*"Immigrations Final Frontier"* (2/23/94)
-*"Immigration Laws and Education Laws Too"* (3/94)

VII. HRC Involvement/ Events and Columns

Administration Position

CLINTON/GORE ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN EDUCATION IMMIGRANTS/ EDUCATION

PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS/Budget Wins as updated 5/99

***Help for LEP Children-** in 1994, the Administration reformed Title I to clear away barriers preventing LEP children from getting help. The FY99 budget provided a \$301million boost Title I.

***Protecting Bilingual and Immigrant Education-** the Clinton administration fought for and won a 35% increase in bilingual and immigrant education in the 1997 budget deal. Bilingual funding helps school districts teach English and other academic subjects to more than a million children. **The Immigrant Education program** helps more than a thousand school districts provide supplemental instructional services to 875,000 recent immigrant students.

***Teacher Training-** FY99 doubled the investment in bilingual teacher training-- \$23 million in Teacher and Personnel grants support preservice programs and inservice professional development, \$17.3 million in Bilingual Education Career Ladder Program grants upgrade qualifications and skills of existing educational personnel to meet certification requirement [ie paras], \$6 million in Graduation Fellowships support research in the study of bilingual education.

***Opposing English Only-** the Administration strongly opposes legislation to make English the official language – to do so would jeopardize services and programs for LEP students.

***Ensuring Fairness/Removing Barriers-** the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Education is working to eliminate discriminatory educational practices within schools that contribute to deficiencies in minority student achievement. These practices include placement of minority students in special education, limited access to challenging curriculum and lack of comparable resources.

***Opposed California Proposition 187-** which would have made illegal immigrants ineligible for public school education at all levels

CURRENT INITIATIVES

FY2000 Budget Initiatives

***Bilingual and Immigrant Education-** the budget provides \$35million, for a total of \$415million, for Bilingual and Immigrant Education; \$25million, for a total of \$75million, for Professional Development; and \$10million, for a total of \$170million, for Instructional Services to support programs for limited English Proficient students.

ESEA

Title I/Supporting Academic Excellence in High Poverty Schools- supports teacher professional development, requires annual assessment of LEP students, requires assessment reports to parents, strengthens provisions for including LEP students in state assessments and holds schools accountable for ensuring LEP students achieve to high standards.

Title I/Part C: Education of Migratory Children- holds States accountable for helping migratory students meet challenging academic standards; simplifies allocation formulas; increases parent involvement; increases support for coordination activities including records transfer.

Title VII/Bilingual Education Proposal- helps ensure all teachers are well trained to teach LEP students [pre-service and in-service]; emphasizes the importance of challenging standards for LEP students; requires annual assessment; gives priority to districts experiencing rapidly expanding LEP student numbers; requires clear program information for parents; and gives priority to districts with proven track records, requires more data on grant applications and requires annual progress reports, all in the name of accountability.

Department of Education
Programs and Policies

[Go To Guide to Education Home Page](#)[Go To Guide to Education Home Page](#)[Close](#)**Basic Information****Topical Heading** Immigrant Education**Administering Office** Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs
(OBEMLA)**CFDA #**84.162A**Program Title** Emergency Immigrant Education Program**Who May Apply**(Categories) State Education Agencies**Current Competitions** Closes March 16, 1999**Type of Assistance**(Specify) Formula grants to States**Appropriations****Fiscal Year 1997** \$100,000,000**Fiscal Year 1998** \$150,000,000**Fiscal Year 1999** \$150,000,000**Awards Information****Number of New Awards Anticipated** 46**Average Award** \$3,300,000**Range of Awards** \$37,000 - \$39,000,000**Note:** The Department is not bound by any estimates in this notice.**Program Details****Legislative Citation** Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title VII, Part C, as amended, 20 U.S.C. 7541-7549**Program Regulations** None**Program Description** The program provides formula grants to state education agencies to assist local education agencies that experience large increases in their student population due to immigration. Eligible students are those born outside the U.S. who have been enrolled in U.S. schools for less than 3 academic years. Eligible local educational agencies are those that enroll at least 500 students or where these students represent 3 percent of total enrollment. States may make subgrants to school districts based on the number of eligible students or may make awards on a discretionary basis. Grants are to be used to provide high-quality instruction to immigrant children and youth to help them make the transition into American society and meet the same challenging state performance standards expected of all children and youth. Under the law, the term "immigrant children and youth" means individuals age 3 through 21 who were not born in the United States and who have not been attending one or more schools in the United States for more than three full academic years.**Education Level** K-12**Subject Index** Bilingual Education, English (Second Language), Language Proficiency, Limited English Speaking**Contact Information**

Name Harpreet Sandhu
Internet Address Harpreet_Sandhu@ed.gov
Mailing Address U.S. Department of Education
OBEMLA
330 C Street, SW, Room 5603
Washington, DC 20202-6510
Fax (202) 401-6168
Telephone (202) 205-9808

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ESEA

*The Educational Excellence for All Children Act of 1999***Title I, Part C — Education of Migratory Children****What's New**

The Educational Excellence for All Children Act of 1999:

- Holds states accountable for helping migratory students meet challenging state academic standards;
- Simplifies the formula that allocates funds among states and better targets migratory students;
- Limits annual changes in state program allocations to prevent disruptive fluctuations in funding and establishes funding minimums to ensure that states with small migrant populations can afford effective programs;
- Streamlines planning by no longer requiring states to develop both a comprehensive plan for service delivery and an application for program funds;
- Increases parental involvement;
- Increases support for coordination activities, including interstate records transfer; and
- Simplifies the state incentive grants program.

Overcoming the poverty, mobility, and limited English proficiency characteristic of migrant children requires a high degree of program flexibility and attention to educational and support services far beyond those traditionally funded by state and local governments. For this reason, Congress authorized the Migrant Education Program (MEP) in 1966.

The MEP is a formula grant program that helps states offer services specifically for children of migrant agricultural workers and fishers. These services differ from state to state, depending on the needs of each state's migrant children and the time of the year when they are present.

Unlike most educational programs, MEP services often take place outside the regular school day, in the summer or through distance learning and correspondence programs. MEP services are geared to meet the needs of out-of-school, working youths. The MEP also provides support services that link migrant children and their families to community resources.

What We've Learned

In 1996-97, states reported approximately 580,000 MEP participants, including 475,000 served in the regular term and 285,000 in the summer term. Most migratory students are concentrated in California (210,000) and Texas (115,000). Five other states — Florida, Washington, Oregon, Kansas, and Kentucky — each reported more than 20,000 students eligible for funding.⁵⁰

Over the last decade, summer projects have grown faster than the regular program. They increased from serving approximately 100,000 student in 1984-85 to 285,000 students in 1996-97,⁵¹ and now serve approximately 60 percent of the number of students served during the regular term.⁵² In a study of schoolwide programs that serve migrant students, over 70 percent of the schools offered summer or

intersession programs.⁵³ Eighty percent of the summer or intersession programs were available to all students in the school.⁵⁴

The state consortium arrangement reduces administrative costs and helps states share information. In FY 1998, the Department approved eight consortia arrangements involving a total of 32 states, an increase from five consortia serving 15 states in FY 1995.⁵⁵ Several of the consortia were formed to facilitate the transfer of records. Others share resource materials, model practices, and provide greater access to technology to improve the education of migrant students. State MEPs that participate in consortia are eligible to receive small incentive grant awards above their state MEP formula grant awards to provide direct services to migrant children.

Technology-based information management is an invaluable tool for coordinating among schools and states and for connecting students to continuous educational resources. Several projects across the country have received federal grants to use technology to improve educational access and continuity for migrant students and to transfer student records and information.

Two years after the elimination of the Migrant Student Records Transfer System (MSRTS) in 1994, most States and school districts relied on mail, telephone, and fax to transfer records for migrant students.⁵⁶ Nineteen states have some type of electronic system in place, although many of these systems are used for maintaining, rather than transferring, student records.

Some program participants believe that the current formula for making the annual state MEP allocations is overly complex and likely to cause large year-to-year variations in funding. These funding variations can disrupt the continuity of even basic program services, especially in states receiving small program allocations.

The current formula relies on data that are burdensome to collect. The current statutory references to "estimates" and to "full-time equivalents (FTE)" are ambiguous. Moreover, they require either a burdensome collection of data on the number of days of residency for each migrant child in each state or the use of increasingly dated FTE adjustment factors calculated with 1994 data.

Because the program is operated and administered by states, states that receive small program allocations have had difficulty in both establishing adequate MEP programs for migrant children and paying the costs of needed state administration.

These difficulties are exacerbated by the annual fluctuations in some states' need for agricultural workers (e.g., due to droughts, floods, employer closings, and relocations) which sometimes result in abrupt drops in certain states' MEP allocations. Even states that have maintained stable numbers of migrant children from one year to the next have seen allocations fall as other states identify additional migrant children and require more of the overall MEP allocation. While the instability of state funding levels reflects the dynamic reality of a mobile population, it has also severely impaired the ability of states with relatively few migrant children to maintain an effective migrant education program.

When a state's federal funding drops but the number of migrant children does not, the state must cut back on efforts to identify and reach out to migrant children, as well as on the services provided to them. As a result, the state is likely to report even fewer migrant children the following year, beginning a downward spiral in the quality and availability of services.

In fiscal 1998, 29 of the 51 states participating in the MEP received grants of less than 1 percent of the total formula grants pool. Eighteen states received grants of less than \$1 million, and four received less than \$200,000.

What We Propose

Our proposal for the Migrant Education Program will clarify and simplify the program's statutory provisions, enabling states to provide much-needed services to migrant children.

The Educational Excellence for All Children Act of 1999 would:

- Hold states accountable for student performance. Consistent with our emphasis on high standards for all children, our proposal would require applications by the states to describe how they will include migrant students in state assessments required under Title I, Part A.
- Simplify the state funding formula. Our proposal would base a state's allocation on the number of eligible children between the ages of 3 and 21 who resided in that state during the previous year, plus the number of those children who received MEP-funded services in summer or intersession programs. This proposed approach is simpler to understand and administer, minimizes states' data-collection burden, and encourages the identification and recruitment of eligible children. Counting children served in summer or intersession programs twice would reflect the greater cost of those programs and would encourage states to provide them.
- Limit annual changes in state program allocations and establish funding minimums. No state would receive an allocation greater than 120 percent or less than 80 percent of its allocation for the previous year, except that each state would receive, at a minimum, \$200,000. This provision would limit the disruptive impact of significant changes in migrant child populations from year to year. The \$200,000 minimum would ensure that each participating state receives funds necessary to carry out an effective program, including the costs of identifying eligible children.
- No longer require states to develop both a comprehensive service-delivery plan and a program application. The most important elements of the plan, which discusses the integration of services and joint planning across all programs, would be incorporated into the application requirements.
- Increase the maximum amount that the Secretary could reserve each year from the program appropriation to support coordination grants. This increase is consistent with the Department's recent appropriations acts and would increase the amount of funds available to help states and school districts transfer the educational and health records of migrant children.
- Simplify the state incentive grants program. First, our proposal would allow the Secretary to determine whether incentive grant funds should be devoted to other coordination activities. Second, our proposal would delete the requirement that these awards be made competitively. The competitive grant requirement has created a needlessly restrictive and complicated process for evaluating applications when all applications merit approval and sufficient funds are available. Finally, our proposal would award future incentive grants on the basis of the state's participation in multistate consortia arrangements that improve the delivery of services to migrant children whose education is interrupted. Current law awards grants to states whose participation in a multistate consortium reduces their MEP administrative funds.
- Strengthen parental involvement by clearly requiring state and local MEP consultation with parental advisory councils and clarifying that the MEP is subject to the Title I, Part A, provisions to increase the involvement of individual parents.

Notes

⁵⁰ Henderson, A., Daft, J., & Fong, P. (1998). *State Title I migrant participation information: 1996-1997*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Pp. 1-2, 1-3, 1-23, 1-24.

⁵¹ Henderson, A., Daft, J., & Fong, P. (1998). *State Title I migrant participation information: 1996-1997*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Pp. 1-20.

⁵² Henderson, A., Daft, J., & Fong, P. (1998). *State Title I migrant participation information:*

1996-1997. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Pp. 1-3.

⁵³ Siler, A., Stolzberg, S., von Glatz, A., & Strang, W. (1999). *Meeting the needs of migrant students in schoolwide programs: Technical report of the congressionally mandated study of migrant student participation in schoolwide programs*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. P. 52.

⁵⁴ Siler, A., Stolzberg, S., von Glatz, A., & Strang, W. (1999). *Meeting the needs of migrant students in schoolwide programs: Technical report of the congressionally mandated study of migrant student participation in schoolwide programs*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. P. 52.

⁵⁵ U.S. Department of Education. (1998, August 3). *Memorandum to state directors of migrant education on consortium incentive grant awards, 1995-1999*. Washington, DC: Author.

⁵⁶ U.S. Department of Education. (1999). *Promising results, continuing challenges: The final report of the national assessment of Title I*. Washington, DC: Author. Ch. 10, pp. 6-7.
-###-

[Title I, Part B — Even Start Family Literacy]
Who Are Neglected or Delinquent]



[Title I, Part D — Children and Youth

This page last modified May 19, 1999 (mhm)

NEA/AFT

Studies

ED423667 98 Qualities of Effective Programs for Immigrant Adolescents with Limited Schooling.
ERIC Digest.

Author:

ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Washington, DC.

THIS DIGEST WAS CREATED BY ERIC, THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER. FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT ERIC, CONTACT ACCESS ERIC 1-800-LET-ERIC

Over the past decade, U.S. public schools have seen an increase of almost 1 million immigrant students, approximately 5.5% of the public school population. Providing appropriate instruction to immigrant students who are English language learners has become an issue of particular concern to educators across the country. This concern is especially acute at the secondary level. A growing number of recent immigrant students are entering U.S. middle and high schools with little or no prior formal schooling and low literacy skills. Often referred to as "late-entrant" or "low-literacy" students, they may be 3 or more years below their age-appropriate grade level in school-related knowledge and skills. For these students to succeed in school, they must learn to read, write, understand, and speak English; develop academic literacy in English to make the transition to the labor force or into other educational programs; and become socialized into American society during adolescence, a time of major emotional, physical, and psychological change. This digest discusses essential features of effective programs for these students, drawn from a study of four successful programs designed to encourage immigrant adolescents to stay in school, complete their high school education, and pursue additional education after high school.

PROGRAM DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

The following factors are essential in designing a program for immigrant adolescents with limited schooling.

"Program Location." A common strategy is to place immigrant English language learners in a specialized learning environment--an all-day or half-day newcomer school or program, a special wing of a mainstream school, a separate school, separate classes taught in the native language, or classes in which content is taught in English but is adapted and sheltered. Programs vary in the types of specialized classes offered, the ways in which students are integrated with students from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds and of other ages, and the length of time students attend special programs or classes before making the transition to mainstream classes.

Some controversy surrounds the question of where to locate these programs. Separate site programs have the advantage of consolidating staff and resources, and they can serve a large geographical area while focusing on the special needs of newcomer students. In addition, because all students in the program are immigrants, no one stands out as a foreigner.

Opponents of separate-site programs believe that they deprive immigrant students of interaction with English-speaking peers and limit access to courses and activities open to students in regular schools. Opponents also argue that the transition from a separate-site school is harder than the transition from a special program within a mainstream school. To decide which option is better, local needs and resources must be considered and prior experiences with newcomer students examined.

"Program Structure." The ultimate educational goal for all immigrant students is to perform well in regular content and elective classes. To prepare for academic success, these students need access to courses that focus on literacy and study skills, content courses that are taught through the native language, and sheltered content courses that are taught in English and adapted to make the content more accessible. "Registration and Placement Procedures." Intake centers should be conveniently located, appropriately staffed, and provide essential services. For example, interpreters should be available to interview students and their families in their native languages if necessary. Programs that serve students from one particular language group should provide registration materials in that language. Information

obtained from registration procedures should be used to make up a student profile, which will serve as an objective basis for determining the student's educational program. To identify students' needs, it is essential to assess both native language skills and English proficiency and to evaluate prior school experience. In addition, learning about the students' home environments, such as the educational levels of parents and siblings, can help determine the academic support the student has at home.

"Transitions to Other Programs." Some programs for recent immigrants have come under scrutiny because of their haphazard exit policies (Collier, 1992). For example, depending on test scores and teacher evaluations, students at newcomer schools in California may be allowed to enter mainstream classes after 8 weeks, 3 semesters, or never. Students who finally are placed in mainstream classes may not receive appropriate support or monitoring (L. Olsen, personal communication, October 1995). The majority of students move through the newcomer courses in a timely fashion, but few students complete high school in the traditional 8 semesters.

To promote successful transitions, one literacy program in Fairfax County, Virginia allows students to complete English as a second language (ESL) and sheltered courses at a transitional high school in 1 or 2 years, then proceed to a partial or full mainstream program to earn their diploma. This progression can be made within 5-6 years of initial registration. Students unable to finish high school by age 22 can fulfill state graduation requirements in adult education courses. Some students in these courses prepare for the General Equivalency Diploma (GED), but most choose to work toward their high school diploma.

"Comprehensive Services and Family Involvement." To reach out to parents, schools must find ways to establish regular channels of communication. Effective communication with parents may be hindered by language barriers, parents' lack of familiarity with American schools, and different expectations concerning the appropriate roles of parents and school personnel. To break down such barriers, a program in Spring Branch, Texas, employs bilingual caseworkers who set up meetings with parents and make home visits.

Schools are increasingly coordinating community services and establishing links with the business community and other educational institutions to provide students with a variety of post-secondary opportunities.

"Staff Background and Professional Development." Educators who work with immigrant adolescents must maintain academic standards and have high expectations of their students. At the same time, they must teach with sensitivity and compassion and be knowledgeable about their students' language and cultural backgrounds, their personal circumstances and strengths, and their language, literacy, and academic needs (Wink et al., 1994). It is important that both ESL and content teachers be familiar with the basic concepts and theories underlying ESL instruction. Schools should make every effort to hire teachers and classroom aides who share the language and cultural backgrounds of the students or staff with cross-cultural experience and understanding. Mentoring programs can be set up for teachers and students, and immigrant adults and students who have adjusted to life in the United States can inform teachers about the culture and language of the newcomer students.

Traditionally, professional development activities for teachers of immigrant students have been designed for teachers with ESL or bilingual certification. In recent years, however, teachers of mainstream content courses have been included as well. Often, content teachers who have received additional training to work effectively with English language learners teach sheltered content courses.

COMPONENTS OF EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

Although little research has been done on the necessary components of secondary school programs specifically for students with limited prior schooling, two studies outline features of successful high school programs for nonnative English speakers in general. Based on a study of six high schools in California and Arizona, Lucas, Henze, and Donato (1990) identified characteristics of schools that promote success among students whose first language is Spanish. These characteristics can be extended to apply to programs serving immigrant students of all backgrounds.

"Affective factors." School staff are committed to the educational success of immigrant students, have high expectations for them, and publicly recognize their achievements. Students' native languages and cultures are valued throughout the school, and some of the staff have backgrounds similar to those of the students.

* "Instruction." A wide variety of courses are offered in the students' native languages and in English. This includes advanced content courses made available through instruction in the native language or through sheltered content instruction in English. Teachers are proficient in bilingual and ESL teaching strategies for secondary school students.

* "Comprehensive services." Counselors speak the students' native languages, have the same or similar cultural backgrounds, and are knowledgeable about post-secondary educational opportunities for immigrant students. In addition, school staff work well with parents and involve them in decisions about their children's education.

* "Professional development." School administrators provide leadership by being knowledgeable about recent research and practice in bilingual and ESL education at the secondary school level and by developing structures to strengthen curriculum and instruction. High priority is placed on professional development for all school staff, and training is designed to help teachers and counselors serve immigrant students more effectively.

Walsh (1991) suggests that a well-designed program for immigrant adolescents with limited prior schooling and low literacy includes these components: (1) an ungraded course structure that allows students to learn at their own pace and avoid the stigma of over-age grade placements; (2) small classes that allow individualized attention from teachers; (3) literacy and content courses taught in students' native languages that are thematically coordinated and encourage transfer of learning across content areas; (4) follow-up on thematic content and skill development, provided by double-period ESL classes; (5) common planning periods that give bilingual and ESL teachers an opportunity to coordinate their work; and (6) well-defined exit criteria that measure students' readiness for bilingual or mainstream classes.

In addition, Walsh makes the following recommendations:

* Individual learning plans, set jointly by teacher and student, should lead to either a regular or alternative high school diploma. Literacy and content courses should be appropriately designed and taught to enable students to earn full credit toward their diploma. Alternative means of gaining credit (e.g., independent study) and an occupational, career-awareness component that includes hands-on experience should be provided.

* Flexible scheduling should be available, as it enables students to combine academic study and work or work-related experience. Students aged 18 or older can earn a high school diploma by completing at least 2 years in a high school-based program, then transferring to a GED program.

* Access to a range of services should be offered, including regular, individual meetings with guidance and adjustment counselors who speak the students' native languages, group counseling, peer tutoring, mentoring by sympathetic adults, frequent meetings of counselors with teachers and parents, home-school liaisons, and links with community-based agencies.

CONCLUSION

Immigrant secondary school students who are learning English and have limited formal schooling need comprehensive services to accommodate a range of needs that include schooling, socialization, and language development. An effective program must incorporate instruction, parental and family involvement, support services, and professional development. Each of these components should include features targeted specifically to the needs of students with limited prior schooling.

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