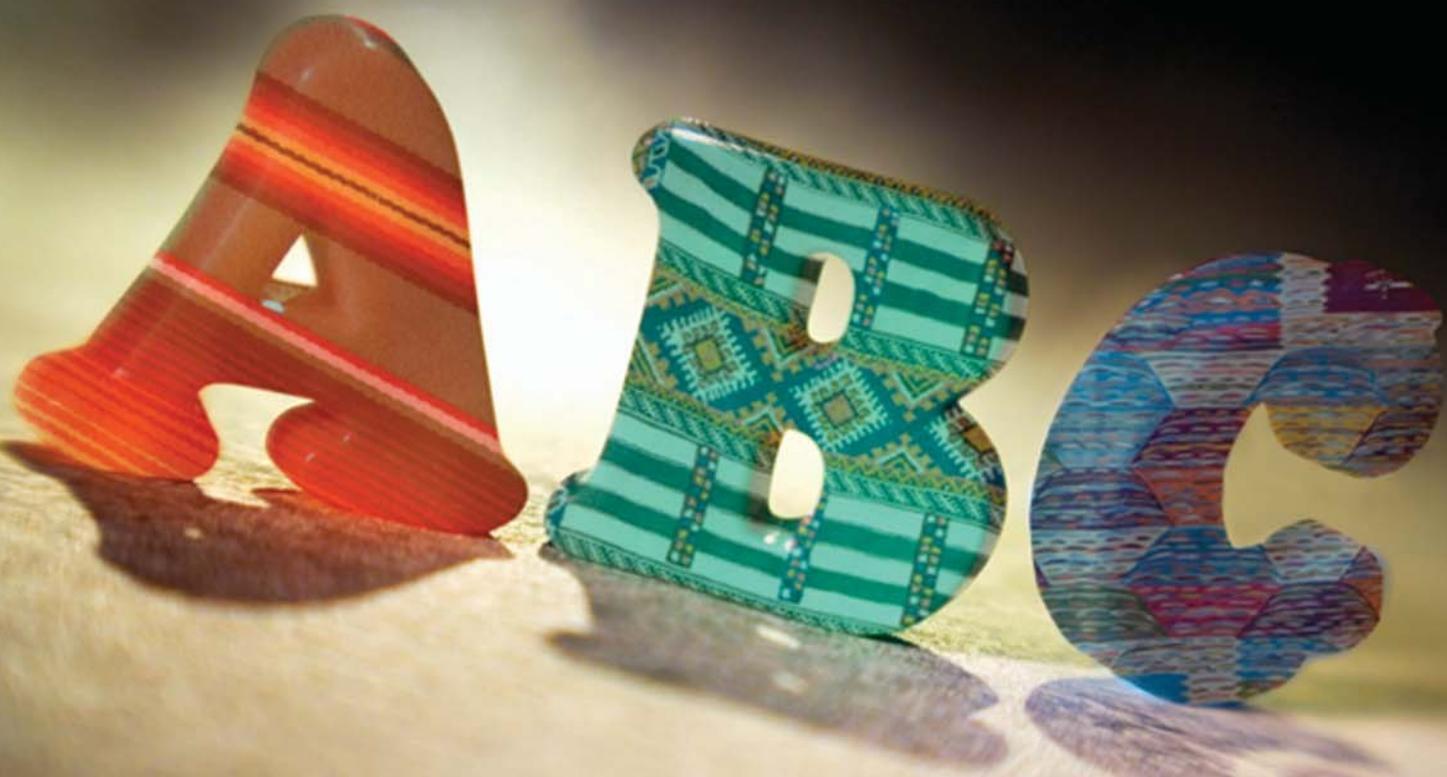


Encyclopedia of
**BILINGUAL
EDUCATION**



VOLUMES
**1
&
2**

JOSUÉ M. GONZÁLEZ
Editor

Encyclopedia of
BILINGUAL
EDUCATION

Editorial Board

Editor

Josué M. González
Arizona State University

Managing Editor

Silvia C. Nogueroñ
Arizona State University

Assistant Managing Editor

Pauline Stark
Arizona State University

Editorial Board

Gerda de Klerk
Arizona State University

Terrence G. Wiley
Arizona State University

Wayne E. Wright
University of Texas at San Antonio

Nancy F. Zelasko
George Washington University

Encyclopedia of
BILINGUAL
EDUCATION

1 & 2

JOSUÉ M. GONZÁLEZ

Arizona State University

Editor



Los Angeles • London • New Delhi • Singapore

A SAGE Reference Publication

Copyright © 2008 by SAGE Publications, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

For information:



SAGE Publications, Inc.
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320
E-mail: order@sagepub.com

SAGE Publications Ltd.
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London EC1Y 1SP
United Kingdom

SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road, New Delhi 110 044
India

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte. Ltd.
33 Pekin Street #02-01
Far East Square
Singapore 048763

Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Encyclopedia of bilingual education / editor, Josué M. González.
p. cm.

"A SAGE reference publication."

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4129-3720-7 (cloth)

1. Education, Bilingual--Encyclopedias. I. González, Josué M., 1941-

LC3707.E52 2008

370.117'503--dc22

2008001111

08 09 10 11 12 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

<i>Publisher:</i>	Rolf A. Janke
<i>Acquisitions Editor:</i>	Diane McDaniel
<i>Developmental Editors:</i>	Sanford Robinson, Sara Tauber
<i>Reference Systems Manager:</i>	Leticia Gutierrez
<i>Production Editor:</i>	Kate Schroeder
<i>Copyeditors:</i>	Carla Freeman, Robin Gold
<i>Typesetter:</i>	C&M Digital (P) Ltd.
<i>Proofreaders:</i>	Anne Rogers, Penny Sippel
<i>Indexer:</i>	Kathleen Paparchontis
<i>Cover Designer:</i>	Michelle Lee Kenny
<i>Marketing Manager:</i>	Amberlyn Erzinger

Contents

Volume 1

List of Entries	<i>vii</i>
Reader's Guide	<i>xiii</i>
About the Editors	<i>xvii</i>
Contributors	<i>xix</i>
Introduction	<i>xxv</i>
Entries A–L	<i>1–538</i>

Volume 2

List of Entries	<i>vii</i>
Reader's Guide	<i>xiii</i>
Entries M–Z	<i>539–918</i>
Appendixes	<i>919–966</i>
Index	<i>967–1008</i>

List of Entries

- Academic English
Academic Language. *See* BICS/CALP Theory
Accents and Their Meaning
Accommodation Theory, Second-Language
Acculturation
Additive and Subtractive Programs
Affective Dimension of Bilingualism
Affective Filter
Affirmative Steps to English
African American Vernacular English. *See* Ebonics
Alatis, James E.
Amendment 31 (Colorado)
Americanization and Its Critics
Americanization by Schooling
Andersson, Theodore
Arizona Proposition 203.
 See Proposition 203 (Arizona)
Army Language School.
 See Defense Language Institute
Aspira Consent Decree
Assimilation
Attitudes Toward Language Diversity
Audio-Lingual Method
- Baby Talk
Baker, Colin
BCLAD. *See* Bilingual Teacher Licensure
Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages
Bennett, William J.
Bernal, Joe J.
Best English to Learn
“Better Chance to Learn.” *See* U.S. Commission
 on Civil Rights Report
BICS/CALP Theory
Biculturalism
Bilingual Charter Schools
Bilingual Education Act. *See* Title VII, Elementary
 and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical
 Marker; Appendix B
Bilingual Education as Language Policy
Bilingual Education in the Press
Bilingualism in Holistic Perspective
Bilingualism Stages
Bilingual Paraprofessionals
Bilingual Special Education
Bilingual Teacher Licensure
Black English. *See* Ebonics
Boarding Schools and Native Languages
Bourne, Randolph S.
Brain Research
- CAL. *See* Center for Applied Linguistics,
 Initial Focus; Center for Applied Linguistics,
 Recent Focus
California Proposition 227. *See* Proposition 227
 (California)
Canadian and U.S. Language Policies
Canadian Bilingual Study. *See* St. Lambert
 Immersion Study
Cárdenas, José A.
Castañeda Three-Part Test
Castro Feinberg, Rosa
Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus
Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus
Chacón-Moscone Legislation
Chávez, Linda
Chinese in the United States
Chinese Language Study, Prospects
Christian, Donna
Civil Rights Act of 1964
CLAD/BCLAD. *See* Bilingual Teacher Licensure
Classroom Discourse

- Classroom Language. *See* BICS/CALP Theory
Code Switching
Cognates, True and False
Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism
Collier, Virginia P.
Communicative Approach
Communities of Practice
Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism
Comprehensible Input
Concurrent Translation Method
Container Theory of Language
Continua of Biliteracy
Contrastive Analysis
Costs of Bilingual Education
Crawford, James
Credentialing Foreign-Trained Teachers
Critical Languages for the United States
Critical Literacy
Critical Period Hypothesis
Cultural Capital
Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories
Culturally Competent Teaching
Culture Shock
Cummins, James
- Deaf Bilingual Education
De Avila, Edward
Decoding. *See* Phonics in Bilingual Education
Defense Language Institute
Deficit-Based Education Theory
Designation and Redesignation of
 English Language Learners
Diglossia. *See* Social Bilingualism
Discourse Analysis
Dual-Language Programs
- Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s
Early Immigrants and English Language Learning
Easy and Difficult Languages
Ebonics
ELL Identification Processes. *See* Designation and
 Redesignation of English Language Learners
Enculturation
English, First World Language
English, How Long to Learn
English as a Second Language (ESL) Approaches
English for the Children Campaign
- English Immersion
English in the World
English-Only Organizations
English or Content Instruction
Epstein, Noel
Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974
Equity Struggles and Educational Reform
Error Analysis
Escamilla, Kathy
Escobedo, Deborah
Ethnocentrism
Exceptional Students. *See* Gifted and Talented
 Bilinguals
Exit Criteria for English Language Learner Programs
- Federal Court Decisions and Legislation
Fernández, Ricardo
First-Language Acquisition
Fishman, Joshua A.
Flores v. State of Arizona
Fluency. *See* Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery
Foreign Teachers, Importing. *See* Credentialing
 Foreign-Trained Teachers
Four-Skills Language Learning Theory
- García, Eugene E.
German Language Education
German Language in U.S. History
Gifted and Talented Bilinguals
Gómez, Joel
Gómez, Severo
González, Henry B.
González, Josué M.
Grammar-Translation Method
Guerrero, Adalberto
- Hakuta, Kenji
Haugen, Einar
Hayakawa, S. I.
Heritage Language Education
Heritage Languages in Families
Hidden Curriculum
High-Stakes Testing
Hispanic Population Growth
Hogan, Timothy M.
Home Language and Self-Esteem
Home Language Survey

- Home/School Relations
Hornberger, Nancy
- Immigrant ELL Education
Immigration and Language Policy
Improving America's Schools Act of 1994
Indigenous Language Revitalization
Indigenous Languages, Current Status
Indigenous Languages as Second Languages
Indo-European Languages
Interlanguage
- Japanese Language in Hawai'i
- Kloss, Heinz
Krashen, Stephen D.
- Labeling Bilingual Education Clients:
LESA, LEP, and ELL
LaFontaine, Hernán
Language Acquisition Device
Language and Identity
Language and Thought
Language Brokering
Language Defined
Language Dominance
Language Education Policy in Global Perspective
Language Experience Approach to Reading
Language Learning in Children and Adults
Language Loyalty
Language Persistence
Language Policy and Social Control
Language Registers
Language Restrictionism
Language Restrictionism in Education. *See* English for the Children Campaign
Language Revival and Renewal
Language Rights in Education
Languages, Learned or Acquired
Languages and Power
Language Shift and Language Loss
Languages in Colonial Schools, Eastern
Languages in Colonial Schools, Western
Language Socialization
Language Socialization of Indigenous Children
Language Study Today
Latino Attitudes Toward English
- Latino Civil Rights Movement
Lau v. Nichols, Enforcement Documents
Lau v. Nichols, San Francisco Unified School District's Response
Lau v. Nichols, the Ruling
Lau v. Nichols and Related Documents. *See* Appendix C.
Learning a Language, Best Age
Linguistic Maturity Theory. *See* Learning a Language, Best Age
Linguistics, an Overview
Literacy and Biliteracy
Literacy Instruction, First and Second Language
Lyons, James J.
- Maintenance Model. *See* Dual-Language Programs
Maintenance Policy Denied
Measuring Language Proficiency
Melting-Pot Theory
Méndez v. Westminster
Mental Flexibility. *See* Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism
META. *See* Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META)
Metalinguistic Awareness
Mexican Teachers, Importing. *See* Credentialing Foreign-Trained Teachers
Modern Languages in Schools and Colleges
Moll, Luis
Monitor Model
Multicultural Education
Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META)
- National Association for Bilingual Education
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
National Defense Education Act of 1958
National Education Association Tucson Symposium
Nationality–Culture Myth
Nationalization of Languages
National Literacy Panel
Native American Languages, Legal Support for
Native English Speakers Redefined
Native Language Support. *See* Primary-Language Support
Nativism. *See* Ethnocentrism
Natural Approach

- Navajo Code Talkers
- NCLB. *See* No Child Left Behind Act of 2001
(*all entries*)
- Newcomer Programs
- Nieto, Sonia
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing Requirements
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title I
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III
- OBEMLA. *See* Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs
- OCR Memorandum of May 25, 1970.
See Affirmative Steps to English; Appendix C
- Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education
- Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs
- Official English Legislation, Favored
- Official English Legislation, Opposed. *See* Appendix E
- Official English Legislation, Position of English Teachers on
- Official Language Designation
- Ogbu, John
- One Person-One Language (OPOL)
- Oyama, Henry
- Oyster Bilingual School
- Paradox of Bilingualism
- Paraeducators. *See* Bilingual Paraprofessionals
- Peer Pressure and Language Learning
- Peña, Álbarr Antonio
- Pérez-Hogan, Carmen
- PHLOTE. *See* Home Language Survey
- Phonics in Bilingual Education
- Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax
- Playground Language. *See* BICS/CALP Theory
- Porter, Rosalie Pedalino
- Pragmatics
- President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies
- Primary-Language Support
- Professional Development
- Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery
- Program Effectiveness Research
- Program Goals, Purpose of
- Program Quality Indicators
- Proposition 203 (Arizona)
- Proposition 203 (Arizona), Impact of
- Proposition 227 (California)
- Proposition 227 (California), Impact of
- P.S. 25, New York City's First Bilingual School
- Puerto Rico, School Language Policies
- Pull-Out ESL Instruction
- Québec and Language Conflict. *See* Canadian and U.S. Language Policies
- Question 2 (Massachusetts)
- Raising Bilingual Children
- Remedial-Compensatory Education.
See Deficit-Based Education Theory
- Rodríguez, Armando
- Rodríguez, Richard
- Roos, Peter D.
- Roybal, Edward R.
- Ruiz, Richard
- Saville-Troike, Muriel
- School Leader's Role
- Second-Language Acquisition
- Seidner, María M.
- Semilingualism
- SFUSD *Lau* Plan. *See* *Lau v. Nichols*, San Francisco Unified School District's Response
- Sheltered English Immersion. *See* English Immersion
- Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol. *See* SIOP
- Simon, Paul M.
- SIOP
- Situated Learning
- Skills Transfer Theory
- Social Bilingualism
- Social Class and Language Status
- Social Class and School Success
- Socialization. *See* Enculturation
- Social Learning
- Southeast Asian Refugees
- Spanglish
- Spanish, Decline in Use
- Spanish, Proactive Maintenance
- Spanish, the Second National Language
- Spanish-Language Enrollments
- Spanish Loan Words in U.S. English

-
- Special Alternative Instructional Programs.
See English Immersion
- Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English
- Spolsky, Bernard
- Stanford Working Group
- Status Differences Among Languages
- St. Lambert Immersion Study
- Structured English Immersion. *See* English Immersion
- Tanton, John H.
- Teacher Certification by States
- Teacher Preparation, Then and Now
- Teacher Qualifications
- Technology in Language Teaching and Learning
- TESOL, Inc.
- Texas Legislation (HB 103 and SB 121)
- Threshold Hypothesis
- Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Funding History. *See* Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs; Appendix F
- Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker
- Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967 Senate Hearings
- Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments
- Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Text. *See* Appendix B
- Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Becomes Title III, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001
- Transformative Teaching Model
- Transitional Bilingual Education Model Questioned
- Transitional Bilingual Education Programs
- Transnational Students
- Troike, Rudolph C., Jr.
- Truán, Carlos
- Trueba, Enrique (Henry)
- Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies
- Undocumented Students' Rights
- Unz, Ron
- Urquides, María
- U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad
- U.S. Census Language Data
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report
- Valdés, Guadalupe
- Vietnamese Immigration
- Views of Bilingual Education
- Views of Language Difference
- Voter Initiatives in Education
- Vygotsky and Language Learning
- Whole Language
- Wong Fillmore, Lily
- World Englishes
- Yarborough, Ralph
- Zamora, Gloria L.
- Zelasko, Nancy

Reader's Guide

Family, Communities, and Society

Accommodation Theory, Second-Language Americanization and Its Critics
Attitudes Toward Language Diversity
Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages
Bilingual Education in the Press
Easy and Difficult Languages
English in the World
English-Only Organizations
Heritage Languages in Families
Hidden Curriculum
Hispanic Population Growth
Home/School Relations
Immigration and Language Policy
Language Brokering
Language Loyalty
Language Restrictionism
Nationality–Culture Myth
One Person-One Language (OPOL)
Peer Pressure and Language Learning
Raising Bilingual Children
Spanish, Decline in use
Spanish, the Second National Language
Spanish Loan Words in U.S. English
Transnational Students
Views of Language Difference

History

Americanization and Its Critics
Boarding Schools and Native Languages
Defense Language Institute
Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s
Early Immigrants and English Language Learning
Equity Struggles and Educational Reform

German Language Education
German Language in U.S. History
Languages in Colonial Schools, Eastern
Languages in Colonial Schools, Western
Latino Civil Rights Movement
National Education Association
 Tucson Symposium
Nationalization of Languages
Navajo Code Talkers
President's Commission on Foreign Language and
 International Studies
Puerto Rico School Language Policies
Southeast Asian Refugees
St. Lambert Immersion Study
Vietnamese Immigration

Instructional Designs

Additive and Subtractive Programs
Biculturalism
Bilingual Charter Schools
Bilingual Special Education
Costs of Bilingual Education
Deaf Bilingual Education
Designation and Redesignation of English
 Language Learners
Dual-Language Programs
English as a Second Language Approaches
English Immersion
English or Content Instruction
Gifted and Talented Bilinguals
Heritage Language Education
Indigenous Language Revitalization
Indigenous Languages as Second Languages
Literacy and Biliteracy
Multicultural Education

Newcomer Programs
 Oyster Bilingual School
 Phonics in Bilingual Education
 Program Goals, Purpose of
 Program Quality Indicators
 P.S. 25, New York City's First Bilingual School
 Pull-Out ESL Instruction
 Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol
 Spanish, Proactive Maintenance
 Specially Designed Academic
 Instruction in English
 Transitional Bilingual Education Programs
 Whole Language

Languages and Linguistics

Accents and Their Meaning
 Affective Filter
 Baby Talk
 BICS/CALP Theory
 Bilingualism Stages
 Chinese in the United States
 Chinese Language Study, Prospects
 Code Switching
 Cognates, True and False
 Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism
 Comprehensible Input
 Container Theory of Language
 Continua of Biliteracy
 Critical Languages for the United States
 Critical Period Hypothesis
 Discourse Analysis
 Ebonics
 English, First World Language
 First-Language Acquisition
 Indigenous Languages, Current Status
 Indo-European Languages
 Interlanguage
 Japanese Language in Hawai'i
 Language Acquisition Device
 Language Defined
 Language Dominance
 Language Persistence
 Language Registers
 Language Revival and Renewal
 Language Shift and Language Loss
 Language Socialization

Language Socialization of
 Indigenous Children
 Learning a Language, Best Age
 Linguistics, an Overview
 Measuring Language Proficiency
 Metalinguistic Awareness
 Modern Languages in Schools and Colleges
 Monitor Model
 Native English Speakers Redefined
 Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax
 Pragmatics
 Second-Language Acquisition
 Semilingualism
 Skills Transfer Theory
 Social Bilingualism
 Spanglish
 Threshold Hypothesis
 Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies
 World Englishes

People and Organizations

Alatis, James E.
 Andersson, Theodore
 Baker, Colin
 Bennett, William J.
 Bernal, Joe J.
 Bourne, Randolph S.
 Cárdenas, José A.
 Castro Feinberg, Rosa
 Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus
 Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus
 Chávez, Linda
 Christian, Donna
 Collier, Virginia P.
 Crawford, James
 Cummins, James
 De Avila, Edward
 Epstein, Noel
 Escamilla, Kathy
 Escobedo, Deborah
 Fernández, Ricardo
 Fishman, Joshua A.
 García, Eugene E.
 Gómez, Joel
 Gómez, Severo
 González, Henry B.

González, Josué M.
 Guerrero, Adalberto
 Hakuta, Kenji
 Haugen, Einar
 Hayakawa, S. I.
 Hogan, Timothy M.
 Hornberger, Nancy
 Kloss, Heinz
 Krashen, Stephen D.
 LaFontaine, Hernán
 Lyons, James J.
 Moll, Luis
 Multicultural Education, Training,
 and Advocacy (META)
 National Association for Bilingual Education
 National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
 Nieto, Sonia
 Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education
 Office of Bilingual Education and Minority
 Languages Affairs
 Ogbu, John
 Oyama, Henry
 Peña, Álbarrán Antonio
 Pérez-Hogan, Carmen
 Porter, Rosalie Pedalino
 Rodríguez, Armando
 Rodríguez, Richard
 Roos, Peter D.
 Roybal, Edward R.
 Ruiz, Richard
 Saville-Troike, Muriel
 Seidner, María M.
 Simon, Paul M.
 Spolsky, Bernard
 Stanford Working Group
 Tanton, John H.
 TESOL, Inc.
 Troike, Rudolph C., Jr.
 Truán, Carlos
 Trueba, Enrique (Henry)
 Unz, Ron
 Urquides, María
 Valdés, Guadalupe
 Wong Fillmore, Lily
 Yarborough, Ralph
 Zamora, Gloria L.
 Zelasko, Nancy

Policy Evolution

Affirmative Steps to English
 Amendment 31 (Colorado)
 Aspira Consent Decree
 Bilingual Education as Language Policy
 Canadian and U.S. Language Policies
Castañeda Three-Part Test
 Chacón-Moscone Legislation
 Civil Rights Act of 1964
 English for the Children Campaign
 Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974
 Exit Criteria for English Language
 Learner Programs
 Federal Court Decisions and Legislation
Flores v. State of Arizona
 High-Stakes Testing
 Home Language Survey
 Immigration and Language Policy
 Improving America's Schools Act of 1994
 Labeling Bilingual Education Clients: LESA, LEP,
 and ELL
 Language Education Policy in Global Perspective
 Language Policy and Social Control
 Language Rights in Education
Lau v. Nichols, Enforcement Documents
Lau v. Nichols, San Francisco Unified School
 District's Response
Lau v. Nichols, the Ruling
 Maintenance Policy Denied
Méndez v. Westminster
 National Defense Education Act of 1958
 National Literacy Panel
 Native American Languages, Legal Support for
 No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing
 Requirements
 No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title I
 No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III
 Official English Legislation, Favored
 Official English Legislation, Position of English
 Teachers on
 Official Language Designation
 Paradox of Bilingualism
 Proposition 203 (Arizona)
 Proposition 203 (Arizona), Impact of
 Proposition 227 (California)
 Proposition 227 (California), Impact of

Question 2 (Massachusetts)
Texas Legislation (HB 103 and SB 121)
Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker
Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967 Senate Hearings
Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments
Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Text. *See* Appendix B
Transitional Bilingual Education Model Questioned
Undocumented Students' Rights
U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report
Voter Initiatives in Education

Related Social Sciences

Acculturation
Affective Dimension of Bilingualism
Assimilation
Bilingualism in Holistic Perspective
Brain Research
Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism
Cultural Capital
Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories
Culture Shock
Deficit-Based Education Theory
Enculturation
Ethnocentrism
Home Language and Self-Esteem
Language and Identity
Language and Thought
Languages and Power
Latino Attitudes Toward English
Melting-Pot Theory
Program Effectiveness Research
Social Class and Language Status
Social Class and School Success
Status Differences Among Languages
U.S. Census Language Data

Views of Bilingual Education
Vygotsky and Language Learning

Teaching and Learning

Academic English
Audio-Lingual Method
Best English to Learn
Bilingual Paraprofessionals
Bilingual Teacher Licensure
Classroom Discourse
Communicative Approach
Communities of Practice
Concurrent Translation Method
Contrastive Analysis
Credentialing Foreign-Trained Teachers
Critical Literacy
Culturally Competent Teaching
English, How Long to Learn
Error Analysis
Four-Skills Language Learning Theory
Grammar-Translation Method
Language Experience Approach to Reading
Language Learning in Children and Adults
Language Study Today
Literacy Instruction, First and Second Language
Natural Approach
Primary-Language Support
Professional Development
Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery
School Leader's Role
Situated Learning
Social Learning
Spanish Language Enrollments
Teacher Certification by States
Teacher Preparation, Then and Now
Teacher Qualifications
Technology in Language Teaching and Learning
Transformative Teaching Model

About the Editor

Josué M. González is Professor of Education at the Mary Lou Fulton College of Education at Arizona State University, in the division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies. He is also the director of the Southwest Center for Education Equity and Language Diversity at ASU. Dr. González received an EdD in Educational Leadership from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst in 1974. Known internationally for his work, Professor González was an early innovator in bilingual and dual-language education. As early as 1967, he wrote curriculum materials and designed programs at all levels, from elementary to graduate school. He has written extensively in that field and has lectured widely. He has helped train future teachers and other school leaders and has held faculty appointments at Chicago State University,

Southern Methodist University in Dallas, and Teachers College in New York City. He has also held adjunct appointments at Roosevelt University in Chicago and George Mason University in Virginia.

When the U.S. Department of Education was organized by President Jimmy Carter, Dr. González was appointed the first director of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs under the nation's first Secretary of Education, Shirley Hufstедler. He was president of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) from 1986 to 1987 and has served on several advisory committees and commissions. From 1999 until 2006, Dr. González was coeditor of the nation's premier professional journal in the field, the *Bilingual Research Journal*.

Contributors

Hamsa Aburumuh
University of Texas at San Antonio

Jorge A. Aguilar
Arizona State University

Alfredo J. Artilles
Arizona State University

Lani Asturias
Arizona State University

Diane August
Center for Applied Linguistics

Colin Baker
University of Wales, Bangor

María V. Balderrama
California State University, San Bernardino

Donald Jeffrey Bale
Michigan State University

Andy Barss
University of Arizona

Coni Battle
National Puerto Rican Forum (ret.)

Alfredo H. Benavides
Texas Tech University

William Black
University of South Florida

María Estela Brisk
Boston College

Valentina Canese
Arizona State University

Mario J. Castro
Arizona State University

Ellina Chernobilsky
Rutgers University

Donna Christian
Center for Applied Linguistics

James Cohen
Arizona State University

Debra L. Cole
Teachers College, Columbia University

Mary Carol Combs
University of Arizona

Albert Cortéz
Intercultural Development Research Association

Cathy A. Coulter
Arizona State University

James Crawford
Institute for Language and Education Policy

Kimberley K. Cuero
University of Texas at San Antonio

Irene Cuyun
National Council of La Raza

María de la Luz Reyes
University of Colorado, Boulder

William G. Demmert
Western Washington University

Barbara J. Dray
Buffalo State College

Jacqueline Castillo Duvivier
National Council of La Raza

J. David Edwards
*Joint National Committee for Languages and
National Council for Languages and International
Studies*

Lucila D. Ek
University of Texas at San Antonio

Kathy Escamilla
University of Colorado, Boulder

Alberto Esquinca
University of Texas at El Paso

Carol Evans
University of Arizona

Christian Faltis
Arizona State University

Barbara Marie Flores
California State University, San Bernardino

Belinda Bustos Flores
University of Texas at San Antonio

David E. Freeman
University of Texas at Brownsville

Yvonne S. Freeman
University of Texas at Brownsville

Eugene E. García
Arizona State University

Ofelia García
Teachers College, Columbia University

Heriberto Godina
University of Texas at El Paso

Gustavo González
Texas A&M University

Virginia Gonzalez
University of Cincinnati

Josué M. González
Arizona State University

Minerva Gorena
George Washington University

Margo Gottlieb
Illinois Resource Center and WIDA Consortium

Paul E. Green
University of California, Riverside

Toni Griego Jones
University of Arizona

Norma A. Guzmán
University of Texas at San Antonio

Stella K. Hadjistassou
Arizona State University

Kenji Hakuta
Stanford University

John J. Halcón
California State University, San Marcos

Holly Hansen-Thomas
Binghamton University

Timothy Hogan
Arizona Center for Law in the Public Interest

Paquita B. Holland
District of Columbia Public Schools (ret.)

Susan Hopewell
University of Colorado, Boulder

Nancy H. Hornberger
University of Pennsylvania

Sarah Hudelson
Arizona State University

Mary Esther Soto Huerta
Texas State University, San Marcos

Li-Ching Hung
Mississippi State University

Julian Jefferies
Boston College

Bryant T. Jensen
Arizona State University

Li Jia
University of Texas at San Antonio

Margarita Jiménez-Silva
Arizona State University

Eric Johnson
Arizona State University

Faryl Kander
Arizona State University

Deborah Kennedy
Center for Applied Linguistics

Hye Jong Kim
Arizona State University

Kathleen King
Arizona State University

Jo Anne Kleifgen
Teachers College, Columbia University

Janette Kettmann Klingner
University of Colorado, Boulder

Michelle Kuamoo
*National Clearinghouse for English Language
Acquisition*

Ha Lam
Arizona State University

Juliet Langman
University of Texas at San Antonio

Jin Sook Lee
University of California, Santa Barbara

Mengying Li
Arizona State University

Na Liu
Arizona State University

Amalia Humada Ludeke
New Mexico State University

Jeff MacSwan
Arizona State University

Kate Mahoney
State University of New York, Fredonia

Nancy Sebastian Maldonado
Lehman College, City University of New York

Paul E. Martínez
New Mexico Highlands University

Leah M. Mason
Teachers College, Columbia University

Julie Renee Maxwell-Jolly
University of California, Davis

Kara T. McAlister
Arizona State University

Teresa L. McCarty
Arizona State University

Geri McDonough Bell
Phoenix Union High School District

Grace P. McField
California State University, San Marcos

Scott McGinnis
Defense Language Institute

Kate Menken
City College of New York

Betty M. Merchant
University of Texas at San Antonio

Eva Midobuche
Texas Tech University

Robert D. Milk
University of Texas at San Antonio

María Robledo Montecel
Intercultural Development Research Association

Sarah Catherine Moore
Arizona State University

Jill Kerper Mora
San Diego State University

Judith H. Munter
University of Texas at El Paso

Janet L. Nicol
University of Arizona

Silvia C. Nogueroń
Arizona State University

Alberto M. Ochoa
San Diego State University

Carlos J. Ovando
Arizona State University

Chanyoung Park
Arizona State University

Gregory Pearson
George Washington University

Bertha Pérez
University of Texas at San Antonio

John Petrovic
University of Alabama

Alicia Pousada
University of Puerto Rico

Chang Pu
University of Texas at San Antonio

Victor R. Quiñones Guerra
Teachers College, Columbia University

Luis Xavier Rangel-Ortiz
University of Texas at San Antonio

Iliana Reyes
University of Arizona

Luis O. Reyes
Lehman College, City University of New York

Roger L. Rice
*Multicultural Education
Training and Advocacy, Inc.*

Ana Roca
Florida International University

M. Victoria Rodriguez
Lehman College, City University of New York

Mariela A. Rodríguez
University of Texas at San Antonio

Rodolfo Rodríguez
University of North Texas

Kellie Rolstad
Arizona State University

Mary Eunice Romero-Little
Arizona State University

Peter D. Roos
*Multicultural Education Training and
Advocacy, Inc. (ret.)*

Irma Rosas
University of Texas at San Antonio

Stefan M. Rosenzweig
California State University, Long Beach

Olga Gloria Rubio
California State University, Long Beach

Richard Ruiz
University of Arizona

Malena Salazar
University of Texas at San Antonio

María Teresa Sánchez
Education Development Center, Inc.

Patricia Sánchez
University of Texas at San Antonio

Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr.
University of Houston

Marietta Saravia-Shore
Lehman College, City University of New York

Peter Sayer
University of Texas at San Antonio

María M. Seidner
Texas Education Agency (ret.)

Kathryn Singh
*Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios
Superiores de Monterrey*

Cary Stacy Smith
Mississippi State University

Howard L. Smith
University of Texas at San Antonio

Karen Smith
Arizona State University

Michaela Steele
University of Texas at San Antonio

Debra Suárez
College of Notre Dame

Koyin Sung
University of Texas at San Antonio

Elsie M. Szecsy
Arizona State University

Yun Teng
Arizona State University

Josefina V. Tinajero
University of Texas at El Paso

Roberto Tinajero II
University of Texas at El Paso

Robert Toonkel
U.S. English, Inc.

Rudolph C. Troike
University of Arizona

Armando L. Trujillo
University of Texas at San Antonio

Pei Ju Tsai
Columbia University

G. Richard Tucker
Carnegie Mellon University

Guadalupe Valdés
Stanford University

Abelardo Villarreal
Intercultural Development Research Association

Dennis Viri
Arizona State University

Larisa Warhol
Arizona State University

Miku Watanabe
Arizona State University

Terrence G. Wiley
Arizona State University

Wayne E. Wright
University of Texas at San Antonio

Hsiaoping Wu
University of Texas at San Antonio

Nancy F. Zelasko
George Washington University

Jingning Zhang
Arizona State University

Introduction

An appropriate way to open an encyclopedia of bilingual education is to define the term in brief. The simplest definition is that *bilingual education is the use of two languages in the teaching of curriculum content in K–12 schools*. This definition is most germane to the United States, the country that is the focus of this encyclopedia. Other nations and cultures define bilingual education differently. There is an important difference to keep in mind relative to bilingual education on the one hand and the study of foreign languages as school subjects on the other. In bilingual education, two languages are used for instruction, and the goal is academic success in and through the two languages. The traditional model of foreign-language study places the emphasis on the acquisition of the languages themselves. Several entries in this encyclopedia describe emerging efforts to bring these two segments of the language-teaching world into a more unified effort.

Design of the Project

The task of assembling this encyclopedia of bilingual education in the United States was complex because the material does not come from a single discipline. It is embedded in several domains of knowledge: applied linguistics, politics, civil rights, various versions of historical events, and of course, classroom instruction. Procedurally, with the help of a small but enthusiastic editorial board and doctoral students, we began by developing an initial list of headwords that encompassed a cross section of relevant information from all of these fields and others. The result was a listing of over 300 discrete topics. We then organized the topics into several categories focused on the following:

- Family, Communities, and Society
- History

- Instructional Designs
- Languages and Linguistics
- People and Organizations
- Policy Evolution
- Related Social Sciences
- Teaching and Learning

In the front matter of the encyclopedia, readers will find a List of Entries, with all topics organized alphabetically, as well as a Reader's Guide, with topics organized by category.

A work of this type requires a huge storehouse of knowledge and experience and a common desire to package information in particular ways. An important function of the general editor is to search for and mobilize those who have the knowledge and convince them to share it in this way. Although most of the contributors are university people, they all agreed to dispense with the academic writing style they commonly use and instead employ a style intended to communicate the information to a wide readership. Having worked for more than 40 years in this field, I had personally experienced many of the trends and events on the initial list. I had also met many of the people who helped to shape the field from the beginning. More recently, I have been privileged to be part of the faculty of the Mary Lou Fulton College of Education at Arizona State University (ASU), home to an exquisite cadre of experts on literacy, English as a second language, policy, and bilingual education. I called on these friends and colleagues to pitch in, and they did so with gusto.

After an initial schema was put on paper outlining the corpus of work by category and title, the list was circulated to colleagues around the country who made suggestions for additions, deletions, and alternative ways of parsing and organizing the topics. Most of these reviewers were pleased to critique the list and volunteered themselves or others to prepare entries.

With this high level of help and support, locating contributors to write the entries was not difficult.

Contributors

The editorial board and I made a decision early on that we wanted this work to be a mix of contributions by seasoned scholars and researchers on the one hand and, on the other, promising doctoral students who might someday be listed as leading scholars themselves. We wanted the work of writing and rewriting to be another learning experience for these junior colleagues. We often paired up a senior person with one of his or her graduate students to review the entry and early drafts. Several contributors commented that the process felt somewhat like a “handing off” by senior people to those who will follow them in this work. The high quality of the results validates this intergenerational approach.

More than 150 authors wrote for the project. I thank them all for their diligent work and for helping us bring in the project on schedule. The graduate students and their mentors alike approached the task of preparing entries with enthusiasm. Several told us of their desire to portray the often controversial topics evenhandedly. Recognizing that loose rhetoric has clouded some aspects of bilingual education over the years, faculty members and editorial board members worked with entry writers to avoid the conceptual traps, assumptions, and easy generalizations that sometimes plague a complex and controversial field such as this. Drafts were reviewed with a view to shaping the entries so as to be helpful to a wide array of users.

Purpose and Content

As general editor, I often asked writers to picture who might use the book and under what circumstances. Imagine, I suggested, a young journalist rushing breathlessly to the reference librarian’s desk and asking the best starting point to learn about some aspect of bilingual education in order to complete a story on deadline. The librarian suggests our encyclopedia for its design because, more or less uniformly, the entries give enough information, in a compact way, to allow this user to draft an outline for his assignment. The lists of Further Readings at the end of each entry allow the user to dig deeper into specific subtopics as needed. In effect, the Further Readings serve the user as a vertical expansion of the first entry they consult. The cross-references allow for an equivalent horizontal articulation

by listing other entries in the book the user might find valuable. By reading two or three additional entries from among those listed in the cross-references, our young journalist would be able to draft his story. Finally, by selecting from the recommended readings, an in-depth look is possible within a short time.

Most of the entries in this encyclopedia are straightforward informational pieces without editorial comment. Other entries would be of little interest, and hardly credible, if they did not reflect the fact that the field of bilingual education is dynamic, controversial, and subject to multiple perceptions of reality. Ignoring these aspects of the field would be a disservice to the end user. We chose to take note of these dynamics and point out where they live: in schools, research centers, legislative bodies, advocacy organizations, and families.

Nature of the Work

This encyclopedia was not designed to push the envelope of new knowledge. We leave that function to the academic journals and scholarly books in which research and new insights are usually reported. The function of this encyclopedia is to collect and synthesize the knowledge base that is already well accepted and that has been well researched both in the United States and abroad. A handful of entries, however, go beyond the requirements of mere information giving. A small number of distinguished specialists in the field were invited to prepare entries that combine information with expert opinion or advocacy positions. The result is a group of very special entries that round out the history and current status of bilingual education in the United States with commentary on particular contexts, situations, and developments. We believe these additions to the informational content of most entries may help the reader reflect on the matrix in which bilingual education is embedded. These items are identified with a note accompanying the entries.

Readers are reminded that this work is a compendium of information on bilingual education and related topics *in the United States*. While bilingual education in this country is not completely unique, the context in which it has evolved does reflect an “American way” of thinking about languages and education and the relationship between the two. I made the judgment that greater clarity and focus on the U.S. context might be gained through an international perspective. In particular, the entries by Colin Baker, Ofelia García, Betty Merchant and Michaela Steele,

and Richard Ruiz provide such international insights, while keeping a sharp focus on the U.S. context.

Readers should also understand how topics may be presented elsewhere. The encyclopedia contains many Spanish words and proper names, some of which require diacritical markings such as the acute accent over vowels. The *ñ* also makes an appearance in various places. In Spanish, these are conventions of spelling and so we have followed them here. In English, however, they may not be used consistently and create problems in Internet searches. If a search for accented words on the Internet or in a digital database fails to return results, repeat the search without the accents or type *n* instead of *ñ* as needed. Our apologies, but this is the state of the art at the moment.

Acknowledgments

There were many persons at Arizona State University and elsewhere who contributed in important ways to the content, spirit, and logic of this project. I am especially appreciative of the work of the editorial board. Terrence Wiley, Wayne Wright, and Nancy Zelasko were superb collaborators. The simple but honest explanation of their contributions is that the work would have never been done without their keen understanding of the task and its possibilities, as well as their willingness to write, edit, recruit authors, and gently berate those who took too long to complete assignments.

Even with wonderful Internet researchers willing to help, the task of checking all facts and citations in over 300 entries is daunting. That was my responsibility. If any facts got by me with less than total accuracy, it was my omission and not that of the authors.

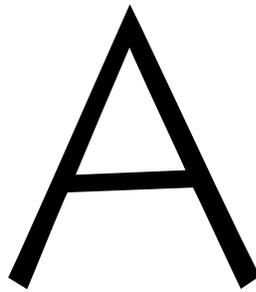
In the Southwest Center for Education Equity and Language Diversity, where I work, several persons deserve special mention for their work behind the scenes. Silvia Noguerón and Gerda de Klerk shared the job of managing editors, responsible for the flow and early reading of entries. By the time the project approached completion, Silvia had become a trusted editor in

English, her own second language. Pauline Stark, my administrative associate, demonstrated that she can also do a mean job of proofreading and tightening up of loose text. In her usual quiet way, Elsie Szecsy periodically asked how she could help. She would usually walk away with additional work, which she completed efficiently. Lani Asturias left before the project was complete, but during her stay served as the Internet connection, doing biographic and bibliographic fact-checking. Ha Lam went away to join her husband in Alaska, but not before writing and editing an important set of entries. My debt of gratitude to these fine coworkers is enormous.

I was especially pleased that in a work devoted to bilingual education, speakers of many languages were involved. In the Center alone we had representation from native speakers of Afrikaans, Chinese, Korean, Spanish, and Tagalog. The blending of accents was a daily reminder that bilingual education exists because the United States has become a microcosm of the linguistic world. Among our faculty colleagues, languages too numerous to name were represented. Most important, it was the delight that everyone took in this polyglot place that made us smile as we worked. A special note of gratitude is owed to our interim Dean of Education, Sarah Hudelson, who not only supported the project in every way possible; she also rolled up her own sleeves to write important entries.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the facilitating role played by the Sage reference staff every step of the way, from our first contact with the acquisitions editor, Diane McDaniel; to developmental editors Sara Tauber and Sanford Robinson; our technology specialist, Leticia Gutiérrez; reference systems coordinator Laura Notton; the books production team, led by Kate Schroeder; and the copyediting team, Carla Freeman and Robin Gold. They are outstanding professionals, ever ready to help a beleaguered editor. For that, I humbly thank them.

Josué M. González



ACADEMIC ENGLISH

One of the goals of bilingual education in the United States is to support the learning of English by students who come from homes where other languages are spoken. A concern with student performance in mainstream classes following their transfer from bilingual education programs has prompted educators to focus on the types of English skills needed for success in academic work in which the home language is no longer used. This variety of English has been labeled *academic English*. The context in which academic English is used and the features of the text define the form that academic writing will take. This entry briefly explains both text and context and discusses broader implications of academic English for education programs.

In the view of the public, academic English is often regarded as the “best” form of that language and therefore the form schools should concentrate on developing in students. Professionals of various disciplines tend to define academic English relative to the language requirements of a particular discipline. Often, English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers working with English language learners and English educators who teach native speakers of English have different goals for academic English. This distinction exemplifies how academic English is defined differently in various contexts.

Background

An increasing focus on academic English can be traced historically to the mid-19th century, when books

and other printed materials first became widely available. Newspapers and scientific tracts called for different forms of the language for different purposes. Looking at the history of the functions of writing in America, Shirley Brice Heath observed a shift from the simple conversational style used during the colonial period toward a growing attention to form near the middle of the 19th century. One aspect of this shift was a change in grammatical person. Whereas writers were once encouraged to use the first person and emphasize an equality of status between readers and writers, following the colonial period, a more impersonal writing style emerged. This new form was characterized by more prescribed and formal criteria.

Michael A. K. Halliday and James Martin believe that some of the features of academic English that developed at this time are related to the evolution of a new language of science employed by scientists in writing about their particular disciplines. Apart from new lexical terms to accommodate new knowledge, scientists unconsciously used grammatical resources, such as the construction of nominal groups and clauses, in order to build a new form of reasoned argument. This process has come to be represented in the grammar of the English language through a set of grammatical features that are often substantially different from those of everyday language. The instructional implications are also numerous. James Cummins, for example, has theorized that increasing the number of Latin-based terms in the language of the classroom may increase student performance in academic English because Latin-based words are more numerous in academic English than are words derived from other tongues. The latter, he believes, are more common in everyday language.

A Question of Context

Academic English constitutes one portion of the language capital of bilingual students. Everyday heritage language and academic heritage language, along with everyday English, are also present in various degrees in the overall repertoire that students use to different degrees, depending on the type of education they have received and the life experiences they have had outside the context of American schools. These languages and forms of language, also known as *registers*, a variety of language typically used in a specific type of communicative setting, enjoy different status in society. The standard forms of the language are usually considered “better” or more appropriate for school use, even though in linguistic terms they include the same basic features of language as everyday language forms. In English-speaking countries, English naturally enjoys a higher status than other languages. Thus, in an English-speaking society, standard English, the social version of academic English, enjoys the most prestige. With this prestige comes the perception that academic English belongs to the more privileged classes. Working-class students from lower-socioeconomic backgrounds often consider academic English the language of “rich” people and therefore do not appropriate it for their social circles. These differences are not unique to the United States. These different forms or registers of language are present in all societies. They emerge as a way to define the identity of a group and distinguish insiders from outsiders, or they are the result of new knowledge that needs expression in particular ways.

Although academic English has been described as decontextualized language, Mary Schleppegrell argues that its use is very dependent on context. For example, public speaking to demonstrate authority in the subject and writing in various disciplines require different varieties of academic English. Academic English is part of the linguistic repertoire students need to function in school when reporting knowledge and producing and reading academic text. Not all school contexts require academic English, however; when students discuss material in groups or chat with their friends during lunch, everyday language is perfectly acceptable.

The Text

Academic English presents a range of features that go against the common sense of everyday language. It is more abstract, less dependent on the context of the

interaction, and contains domain-specific vocabulary, features that can make the learner feel excluded and even alienated from the subject matter. When teachers begin to focus on these difficulties, they usually think of the problem in terms of vocabulary. Although new lexical terms are a part of the challenge, the relationship between these technical terms may involve grammatical structures new to students.

One of the features of academic English that appears in all disciplines has been called *grammatical metaphor* by some linguists. As defined by Halliday and Martin, this means that one grammatical class is substituted for by another or one grammatical structure is substituted by another. The most common of these is to turn verbs (processes) into nouns (things) in order to condense information. In technical terms, it is called *nominalization*. For example, the sentence

More people demand more goods, so then the prices
will rise, because there won't be enough goods

contains three clauses, each of which has a verb (*demand, will, won't be*). But if we rephrase the sentence, the idea is presented in one clause with one verb (*will result*):

An increase in demand	will result	in high prices because of a lack of goods
(Nominal clause)	(Verb)	(Nominal clause)

In this example, two verbs, or processes, have been transformed into nouns. This condensation of the language allows the author to “pack” more information in the clauses, a consistent feature of academic language. Other features of academic English include use of complete sentences, being explicit, using the third person rather than the first, and using verb tenses to indicate different kinds of functions. For example, a historical account requires past tense (*The civil rights movement emerged in the 1950s*), whereas a historical analysis requires the present (*Movements such as the civil rights require leadership*). It is important to note that academic English is not a fixed form of language, but varies according to whether it is oral or written and according to the specific discipline, and it changes over time.

Students need to know that writing takes on different forms depending on the purpose, and students often need practice in distinguishing the genres required of them in each discipline. When writing a

procedure in a science class, for instance, students have to be aware that sentences in this genre of writing must be in the imperative mood and personal pronouns have to be avoided. For example, a fourth-grade student wrote the following procedure in a state exam sample, the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment Scale:

Step 1: He will get a plant.

Step 2: He will get Super Grow and put it on his tomato plant.

Step 3: He will sit there and watch it grow. Then he will show it to people.

In this instance, the use of the future tense, typical of predictions more than of procedures, resulted in a lower score for the student who was being tested, although grammaticality was not an issue.

The language to build concepts in the academic English of mathematics contains vocabulary that is a challenge to students, because words that they might already know (e.g., *sum*, *borrow*, *product*) take on technical meanings. More important, the academic language of math is heavily dependent on the grammatical patterning of words. At the phrase level, the relationships between clauses need to be understood in order to make sense of mathematical word problems such as the following:

Write an equation that expresses f , Joey's total miles traveled from Boston, as a function of m , the number of miles traveled.

Teachers should explicitly talk to students about the ways in which grammar is constructing the meaning of this sentence. The technical description of this is that the second and fourth clauses are appositions helping to define the last element in the first (f) and third (m) clauses. A different relationship is established between the first and third clauses, where the last is a continuation of the first. Understanding these relationships is of utmost importance in order to understand what is being asked.

Implications for Bilingual Education

Assuming that the learning acquisition (versus learning) hypothesis holds true, individuals socialized to the different forms of English and/or a heritage language have a general understanding of these various forms of

language and when it is appropriate to use them. Some bilingual children, however, may be socialized only to the everyday form of their heritage language and/or English. Academic language may not be part of their language development experience. In short, the student must not only learn English; he or she must also learn academic English, a more complex task that usually takes place in the classroom and is not practiced on the street or the playground. This can become a problem that is often not easy to detect until the child begins to do extensive writing in class. Schools then must explicitly present academic English, relate it to their own linguistic repertoire, and create authentic situations for use of the academic variety.

Students who do not experience this language in their daily social environments need not only to experience it in the classroom but also to be convinced that they have the ability and the right to acquire it without feeling that to do so, they have to abandon their familiar forms of language or disregard their social identities. Teachers should allow students to use their everyday language when discussing matters in class among themselves and also support the use of academic English when students are doing class presentations. For example, one teacher regularly assigned students to develop PowerPoint presentations of their group work to share with the rest of the class. Such an activity required students to consider not only the content but also the language of the presentation. Written reports are also good contexts in which to practice the written form of academic English. Pauline Gibbons argues that presenting all the various forms of language in the classroom context helps students develop academic language as well as understand the differences between the forms.

Academic English is part of the linguistic repertoire that successful students need to develop, not because it is "better" than their language or other forms of English, but because students should have it available for use when they need it. Various disciplines depend on their own forms of academic language to express particular meanings and specialized knowledge, and teachers need to know the structures of these differing academic languages in order to make them explicit to students. Yet academic language is sometimes made more difficult than necessary, as when authors try to inflate the value of their writing by deliberately making it sound highbrow and overly intellectual. It is important, therefore, to determine whether the purported difficulty of a text is in fact required by the nature of the communication. Teachers and students

alike need to take a critical stance with respect to academic English: to teach it and learn it but also to be able to identify its proper uses as well as its pitfalls.

María Estela Brisk and Julian Jefferies

See also BICS/CALP Theory; Discourse Analysis; Ebonics; English Immersion; Language Registers; Languages, Learned or Acquired

Further Readings

- Baker, C., & Hornberger, N. H. (Eds.). (2001). *An introductory reader to the writings of Jim Cummins*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Gibbons, P. (2002). *Scaffolding language, scaffolding learning: Teaching second language learners in the mainstream classroom*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Martin, J. (1993). *Writing science: Literacy and discursive power*. London: Falmer Press.
- Heath, S. B. (1981). Toward an ethnohistory of writing in American education. In M. F. Whiteman (Ed.), *Writing: The nature, development, and teaching of written communication* (pp. 25–45). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Schleppegrell, M. J. (2004). *The language of schooling: A functional linguistics perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Valdés, G. (2004). Between support and marginalization: The development of academic language in linguistic minority children. *Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7, 102–132.

Web Sites

Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment Scale:
<http://www.doe.mass.edu/mcas/student>

ACADEMIC LANGUAGE

See BICS/CALP THEORY

ACCENTS AND THEIR MEANING

As commonly understood, a person's *accent* refers to the way he or she pronounces words, phrases, and other linguistic features of a language in which such pronunciations differ substantially from what a native

speaker of that country or culture might say. Accents are actually features of speech rather than language, but this distinction is rarely made by the general public. Hence, accents are usually considered part of the phonology of a language, a subfield of linguistics that is concerned with the study of the sounds of speech.

Rossina Lippi-Green distinguishes two different kinds of accents: first-language and second-language accents. *First-language accents* are associated with native speakers of a language and the different regional varieties that a particular language might have. In this case, the way some people sound may vary depending on the geographical area from which they and their families come. Some people use accents for their social, professional, and economic advantage. First-language accents are also associated with race, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, income, and religion. These factors often shape social identity and determine the language and accent that people choose to use. Sometimes there is little choice involved. *Second-language accents* are those associated with nonnative learners/speakers of a language, such that their accents often influence the pronunciation of a nonnative or second language. For instance, a Mexican person's Spanish language phonology will influence his or her pronunciation in English language, and an English person's English language phonology will influence his or her pronunciation in Spanish.

Accents and Power Relations

People naturally have different ways of talking and saying things, though a given instance may or may not constitute a genuine accent. Speech accommodation studies conducted by Leslie M. Beebe and Howard Giles suggest that some people have attitudes about the particular way others speak, regardless of who the speaker may be. Research by critical race theorist Mari J. Matsuda suggests that the way people speak is often judged by others to measure their social, cultural, political, or economic orientation. She maintains that accents are used to create hierarchies of power in the social structure of a community and to determine a person's social standing in a particular nation or region. Matsuda claims that the judgments that are made about a person's speech go beyond the issue of linguistic competence and represent attitudes and beliefs about the person's social, cultural, political, and economic individuality.

Language constitutes an important part of people's identity, and the way people sound when they speak is

an important component of their sense of belonging to a given time and space. It may not be an exaggeration to suggest that everybody speaks with an accent; what may sound “funny” or “strange” to one person may sound normal to another depending on the national, regional, and cultural context in which speech takes place. In the same way, acceptance of accents is relative to the context and the culture in which those accents are most often heard. According to the principles of cultural relativism as discussed by the anthropologist Franz Boas, an individual’s behavior, beliefs, and language make sense only if interpreted in the context of that individual’s culture.

U.S. culture, including language and accents, has been largely shaped by interactions of the cultures of countries that colonized various regions of the United States. Early on, English, French, and Spanish cultures were the most influential, but subsequent groups of immigrants from other countries became equally as influential. The settlers interacted and mixed with non-English-speaking immigrants from other nations, and those unions developed and spread diverse accents across the United States. Immigrants from the same country of origin often tended to cluster in specific geographic areas and thus contributed to the development of regional accents.

Language and accents are always changing because of social, cultural, political, and economic influences, such as globalization and the transnationalism of the 21st century. In the United States, however, the myth persists of a nonaccented, standard English. According to Lippi-Green, this relates to the way myths function to control people with superstition and fear. A standard view of English ignores the region, country, level of education, culture, religion, and socioeconomic class of the people who speak it. Standard English is understood as a uniform vocabulary, spelling, grammar, and pronunciation, often identified as “educated English.” It is actually not any of those things.

There is really no homogeneous or generic English accent, yet many people associate regional and national accents with negative stereotypes and bias constructs. Language teachers sometimes contribute to reinforcing these stereotypes by portraying “non-standard” regional and national accents as belonging to categories of inferiority and superiority. In business communities, people may adjust their accents in order to fit into the socially prescribed speech of a particular environment in which accents can be a burden or an advantage. For example, a person from the southern United States desiring to work in a law firm in

New York City may adjust his or her accent in order to fit into the cultural context of New York City, as well as that of a corporate law firm.

Accents and Education

In the educational context, accents play an important role. During the critical years of identity formation, children pay much attention to what their peers and others think about the way they speak. Children tend to imitate and adopt the way their peers speak and to label other students according to their national or regional accents. Students’ accents are often associated with certain stereotypes and function to establish and justify status or privilege. Some parents do not want their children to socialize with children who have regional or national accents different from their own. It is not unusual for these assumptions to emerge on the basis of beliefs concerning the higher or lower status of a given form of English. Some students feel intimidated about speaking because their accents are associated with culturally stigmatized groups. Within racially and culturally diverse groups, some members are looked down on for adopting mainstream accents and language varieties (which include not only accents but also vocabulary and grammatical structures) that are not part of the subculture of that particular group; such is the case with some speakers of African American vernacular. Alexander Guiora examined the relationship between a person’s pronunciation of a second language and the degree of social approval the person experiences. He concluded that accents were not related to intelligence or learning abilities. Despite evidence indicating that accents will inevitably vary, English language learners must continue to face the myth that speaking with a standard accent is not only desirable but also perhaps the only way to succeed.

Luis Xavier Rangel-Ortiz

See also Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Ebonics; Language and Identity; Social Class and Language Status; Status Differences Among Languages

Further Readings

- Beebe, L., & Giles, H. (1984). Speech-accommodation theories: A discussion in terms of second-language acquisition. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 46, 5–32.
- Boas, F. (1938). *The mind of primitive man* (Rev. ed.). New York: Macmillan.

- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Language and power*. London: Langman.
- Guiora, A. (1983). Language and concept formation: A cross-lingual analysis. *Behavior Science Research*, 18, 228–256.
- Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Matsuda, M. J. (1991). Voices of America: Accent, antidiscrimination law, and jurisprudence for the last reconstruction. *Yale Law Journal*, 100, 1329–1406.

ACCOMMODATION THEORY, SECOND-LANGUAGE

The theory of linguistic accommodation was first discussed in the 1960s by Howard Giles and his colleagues. A social psychologist rather than a linguist, Giles declared that the foundation of accommodation theory lay in social psychological research on similarity attraction. He claimed, in essence, that because people both need and desire approval, it is common for individuals to induce others to evaluate them in a more positive light by reducing the dissimilarities between themselves and others. This results in speech accommodation, with a high probability that individuals are willing to adjust their speech behavior for the potential rewards that may accrue. Thus, according to the theory, when we talk with others, we unconsciously change our speech styles toward the styles our interlocutors use or admire.

Accommodation occurs in a wide variety of communication behaviors, including the speaker's accent, grammar, and vocabulary. Giles stated that accommodation may take place at the following levels when speakers compare their own speech with that of an interlocutor: speed of delivery (the speed at which one talks), pitch range (how high or low in frequency one's voice is), phonological variables (sounds used by the speaker), and vocabulary (the choice of words used). Accommodation differs according to the status of speaker and listener and is associated with power. For English language learners (ELLs), a primary reason for accommodation depends on the extent to which ELLs and immigrants want to be accepted into their host communities. If an individual moves to a new country and works at a new company, he or she would likely have a high need for social approval; thus, speaking style would be important.

Accommodation theory uses a social-psychological perspective to shed light on the relationship between social/situational factors and second-language (L2) use. It examines what social factors motivate the use of psycholinguistic choices. Studies regarding L2 learning have demonstrated that learners are sensitive to their interlocutors. For instance, ELLs tend to adapt their speech to their interlocutors by using more phonological variants. As a result, ELLs are likely to be more hesitant and briefer when addressing a listener with the same native language background as their own, and they are likely to be less prepared to negotiate any communication problems. Such a phenomenon occurs even during the early stages of learning, and learners seem to be aware of specific linguistic features that are seen as stereotypes about native speakers of the target language. ELLs are also more aware of their own identities as well as the conversation topic than are their native-speaker interlocutors. Native speakers are comfortable conversing in their first language, whereas ELLs tend never to forget that they are foreigners, especially when speaking a second tongue; that is, they realize that they do not sound like native speakers and therefore remain quiet during conversations. Likewise, this is true of the conversation topic. ELLs often feel they will sound "stupid" if they join a conversation with a native speaker when the topic is serious (philosophy, religion, war, etc.), and hence they might listen, but will not add to the conversation. Such sensitivity shows in their attitudes toward a certain topic, judging themselves as experts or nonexperts when comparing themselves with their native-speaker interlocutors. ELLs often report that they believe they are far too slow in speaking their L2 and that native speakers are unusually fast.

Giles stated that language is *socially diagnostic*. In other words, when an individual encounters someone speaking with a different accent or pronunciation, it is inevitable that he or she will make guesses regarding this particular speaker's nonlinguistic characteristics, such as social status, education level, or even intelligence. Generally, people observe the speed at which others talk, the length of pauses and utterances, the kind of vocabulary and syntax used, as well as intonation, voice pitch, and pronunciation. Apparently, language is not homogeneous or fixed; rather, it is multichanneled, multivariable, and capable of vast modifications from context to context by the speaker.

Accommodation theory is controversial because individuals tend, consciously or unconsciously, to seek identification with others through language. In fact, even the most trivial aspects of speech and pronunciation can take on crucial importance, and listeners often detect slight differences and afford them social significance.

A person's speaking style might change due to any number of variables. For example, when speaking to a nonnative speaker or a child, an individual might speak more slowly or use grammatically simple language. Accommodation theory, also called *accommodative process*, attempts to account for the different ways in which speakers may manipulate language to maintain integrity, distance, or identity by unconsciously modifying their language choice, tone, or speech rate to converge or diverge with others' behavior. Although accommodation theory is considered a sociolinguistic theory, it has been employed in various settings, including public speaking, songwriting, radio broadcasting, courtroom proceedings, and human-computer interaction.

The basic form of accommodation concerns communicators' efforts to make themselves more similar to the target in order to improve communication. In addition, accommodation theory has to do with how individuals adjust their behaviors to one another, either to become more alike or to exaggerate their differences.

In an L2 learning environment, accommodation occurs in a wide variety of communication behaviors, including accent, rate, loudness, vocabulary, grammar, register, and so on. ELLs may demonstrate accommodation to others but not be aware of their own behavior. Individuals change their speech patterns in various interactions for the purpose of demonstrating that they approve of the other person in the interaction. In L2 teaching based on accommodation theory, teachers of ELLs make whatever accommodations may be necessary. This component is sometimes called *culturally compatible instruction*.

Convergence and Divergence

According to accommodation theory, there are two main strategies: convergence and divergence. *Convergence* occurs when the speaker adjusts his or her normal speech to make it more similar to the interlocutor's speech or when the speaker converges toward a prestigious norm that he or she believes is favored by the interlocutor. In short, the speaker

accepts the interlocutor's values and seeks to demonstrate that acceptance by his or her own linguistic behavior. Conversely, *divergence* occurs when speakers seek to alter their speech in order to make themselves linguistically different. Both convergence and divergence can take place in an upward or downward fashion. *Upward convergence* occurs when speakers adjust their speech to exhibit the norms of high-status individuals in their society. *Downward convergence* involves adjustments in the direction of the speech norms from a higher class to a lower class. For instance, a person with a PhD in physics will speak differently when explaining quantum mechanics to a high school dropout than when discussing physics with colleagues; that is, the physicist will use language in a manner designed to simplify complex concepts for his or her less educated interlocutor. Generally, upward convergence is the more common type because it is based on the universal desire for approval from those we respect and emulate. *Upward divergence* occurs when speakers emphasize the standard features of their speech, whereas *downward divergence* occurs when speakers emphasize the nonstandard features of their speech. An example of upward divergence would be two people from different classes arguing, with the individual from a higher-socioeconomic background emphasizing the standard features of his or her speech to distinguish himself or herself from the lower-class interlocutor. In the same example, the person of lower-socioeconomic status who emphasizes his or her less standard form of speech would be exhibiting downward divergence.

The causes of convergence and divergence can be complicated. One of the most well-known studies regarding accommodation theory was initiated by Giles and his colleagues. It concerned conversations between unequally ranked nurses and how convergence and divergence operated on the basis of their ability to use the English language. The results showed that when speaking to lower-ranked nurses, those with a higher status used a less standard English; likewise, when the lower-status nurses spoke to their higher-ranked colleagues, they spoke a more standard English. Moreover, people are more likely to convert their speech rates in a manner emphasizing the stereotype of their interlocutors' speech rates and their way of using language. In addition, speakers tend to switch from convergence to divergence as they reevaluate the person they speak to during the conversation.

In L2 learning, accommodation theory is connected with sociolinguistics and social psychology. From Giles's perspective, the ELL social group is seen as the in-group, and the target language (L2) social group is seen as the out-group, and the relationship between them is explained as *perceived social distance*. When members of the in-group and out-group communicate, they may or may not adopt positive linguistic distinctiveness strategies. When members emphasize solidarity with their own in-group members, they perform linguistic divergence from the out-group; however, when members are more concerned about status, they are more likely to exhibit convergence.

From an L2 learning perspective, convergence and divergence display the learner's attitude toward L2 learning, and apparently attitudes play an essential role regarding learning outcomes. In fact, Giles and his associates believe that if ELLs want to fully master the target language, they need to be engaged in frequent and long-term convergence instead of divergence. Although studies have been conducted concerning how learners' ethnicity affects their communication styles in the L2 classroom, there is no scientific evidence based on the learners' attitudes of convergence or divergence.

ELLs engage in convergence or divergence as a way to show the extent to which they accept the host culture and its communities. In other words, how ELLs define themselves in relationship to the host group is essential and influences their L2 proficiency level. Giles also believes that ELLs' target language proficiency relies upon their learning motivation, which greatly impacts how learners perceive themselves in terms of their identities. Overall, accommodation theory has helped linguists understand why individuals emulate the speech patterns of their interlocutors. In an L2 situation, accommodation theory further helps to explain how ELLs vary in the way they use their L2 choice in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical structure.

Cary Stacy Smith and Li-Ching Hung

See also Social Class and Language Status; Status Differences Among Languages

Further Readings

Ellis, R. (2002). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Gibbons, J. (2005). Law enforcement, communication, and community. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, 26, 265–267.

Giles, H., & Coupland, N. (1991). *Language: Contexts and consequences*. Keynes, UK: Open University Press.

McCann, R., & Giles, H. (2006). Communication with people of different ages in the workplace: Thai and America data. *Human Communication Research*, 32, 74–108.

ACCULTURATION

In the fields of anthropology and education, the term *acculturation*, or the capacity to negotiate effectively both within and outside the primary culture and language, and the related term *assimilation* have been used extensively to describe specific types of contact between cultures. Anthropologists define *culture* as a deep, multilayered set of values, beliefs, and behaviors that pervades every aspect of every person's life on every level. In this view, culture is not an isolated portion of reality that can be learned as a set of facts or that can be used mechanistically to refer to phenomena in a given human context, including classrooms. Rather, it is learned, shared, and constantly changing as a result of evolving circumstances and events in our lives.

As a vehicle for cultural change and adaptation, acculturation is viewed as a process, voluntary or involuntary, by which an individual or group adopts one or more of another group's cultural or linguistic traits, resulting in new or blended cultural or linguistic patterns. Thus, for example, rural Mexican immigrant youth who begin wearing baseball caps and listening to heavy metal or rap music are considered to be acculturating or adjusting to contemporary U.S. culture. However, while they may quickly embrace their new nation's clothing styles and musical tastes, it will take a much longer time for their primary language patterns, gestures, facial expressions, value systems, and styles of social interaction to change. According to Sonia Nieto, an expert on bilingual/multicultural education, immigrant students often maintain a "deep culture" associated with their prior lives while they adapt to their new cultural environments in more superficial ways.

Unlike assimilation, which results in the loss of a person's original cultural or linguistic identity, acculturation involves adaptation and change. A Koyukon

Athapaskan who uses a snowmobile instead of sled dogs is still an Athapaskan Indian. It is not a set of particular traits that constitutes ethnic identity as much as whether a person considers himself or herself to be a member of a distinct group.

Acculturation is frequently an additive process, which can result in two or more identities that coexist harmoniously. The ability to function in a bicultural or even multicultural context is known as *situational ethnicity*. In today's global village, most people actually are multicultural and multilingual to some extent, especially those who live in large, complex societies.

Bilingual and multicultural educators see their goal as helping students to acculturate, rather than assimilate, for they believe that languages and cultures intersect in ways that enrich and energize society. There is persuasive evidence that bilingual schooling practices that affirm students' primary home languages and cultures tend to produce not only improved academic achievement but also happier learners who can effectively communicate with their relatives and ethnolinguistic communities, as well as with their adopted cultures.

The subtle processes involved in acculturation are often challenging and complex, but it is important for bilingual educators to understand them. Harbans Bhola, a noted international comparative educator who has written extensively on planned processes of societal change, suggests that any type of change can be set in motion by a group, an individual, an institution, or even an entire culture. It may be initiated intentionally or by chance, and the individual, group, institution, or culture may be either the initiator or the recipient of the contact that leads to the change. Power relationships and environmental dynamics can play an important role in acculturation. For example, the individual, group, institution, or culture may be receptive, neutral, or hostile to the contact, depending on factors such as the status of those who are promoting the change; the material resources and time required for the contact to occur; and the ideas, influences, and conceptual basis that are driving the process. In most cases, the direction of change is toward the more powerful entity. Individuals and groups from ostracized or marginalized cultures and languages tend to gravitate or be pulled toward allegedly more "prestigious" languages and cultures. When that happens, those individuals and groups may resist adaptation to the new culture or language and may feel alienated and out of place. When there is mutual acceptance and appreciation of each other's languages and cultures, however,

individuals undergoing acculturation tend to enjoy living in a bicultural and bilingual context.

Acculturation has never been a smooth, painless, or balanced process. Moreover, being acculturated does not necessarily mean giving equal time to both cultures and languages in terms of behavior. There may be myriad traits from one or both cultures that the person understands but does not necessarily act out, such as religious rituals or family traditions. There may be entire areas of life—for example, male-female relations—in which the individual consistently and predictably prefers one culture or the other.

Acculturation processes can be affected by a variety of factors, including ethnicity, geographical region, national origin, social class, level of education, prior schooling experience, types of contact with other cultural groups, religion, gender, age, and socialization practices at home. These variables all have a possible impact on the teaching and learning process.

Carlos J. Ovando

See also Assimilation; Biculturalism; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Enculturation; Ethnocentrism; Language Socialization; Melting-Pot Theory

Further Readings

- Bhola, H. S. (1988–1989). The CLER model of innovation diffusion, planned change, and development: A conceptual update and applications. *Knowledge in Society: The International Journal of Knowledge Transfer*, 1(4), 56–66.
- Freeman, R. (2004). *Building on community bilingualism*. Philadelphia: Caslon.
- Heath, S. B. (2004). Ethnography in communities: Learning the everyday life of America's subordinated youth. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (2nd ed., pp. 146–162). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Nieto, S. (1999). *The light in their eyes: Creating multicultural school communities*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Olsen, L. (1998). *Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools*. New York: New York Press.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (1996). *Immigrant America* (2nd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez, M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Valdés, G. (1996). *Con respeto: Bridging the distances between cultural diverse families and schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Valdés, G. (2001). *Learning and not learning English: Latino students in American schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.

ADDITIVE AND SUBTRACTIVE PROGRAMS

The terms *additive* and *subtractive bilingual education* came into use in the last quarter of the 20th century as it became apparent that substantive differences existed between two major forms of bilingual education. The terms suggested totally different aims and goals. They are commonly attributed to Wallace Lambert, who used them in a 1975 publication. In their simplest definitions, the terms relate to the linguistic objectives of the program: to provide students with an opportunity to *add a language* to their communicative skill sets or, conversely, to insist that children participating in the program *subtract their home language* from active use and concentrate all efforts on rapidly learning and refining their English skills. This simple statement of differences between program types masks important attitudes and ideas that underlie the ways in which language diversity is viewed by school people and education policymakers. In this entry, these differences are explored. Other entries in this encyclopedia delve more deeply into related topics mentioned here.

Factors Affecting the Choice: Additive or Subtractive?

The choice of either a policy aimed at fostering and enhancing the child's home language as part of the goals of bilingual education or one that seeks the opposite—abandoning home language use as quickly as possible—does not occur by chance. Such choices are rooted in underlying assumptions concerning the benefits, risks, utility, and cultural valuing of languages other than English in the wider society. Similarly, whether native speakers of English are included in these programs determines in part what the objectives of the program will be. In the main, children who are native speakers of English would not be involved in programs of subtractive bilingual education. When such children are involved, the programs are often referred to as *two-way immersion programs*, also known as *dual-immersion programs*, because the learning of the two languages occurs in both directions. This distinction does not always hold in other countries. Hence, the analysis below is limited to what is clearly the case in the United States.

Background and History

Whether they are additive or subtractive, programs of bilingual education are driven by operational policies and practices relative to the student population, length of the program in each language, level of proficiency students will pursue in each language, and, importantly, the language skills required of their teachers. Of the two types, subtractive programs are the least complex. In additive programs, the effort is much more complex and demands greater modification of the curriculum and staffing patterns than is the case when a subtractive choice is made. The fact that these differences have not been well described to the schools by state and federal offices has greatly contributed to the difficulties encountered in determining whether bilingual education is effective in meeting its objectives. Program success can be determined only if and when the goals are clear and the organization, operation, and resourcing of the program are in harmony with its stated goals.

At a deeper level, we can clarify the difference between additive and subtractive forms of bilingual education by examining the policy foundations of the two approaches. Subtractive bilingual education is rooted in the tradition of remedial/compensatory education. This was the operating ideology that shaped much of the federal government's involvement in education, beginning with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 and the other large federal program, Head Start. From the outset, the government's involvement was based on a perceived need to remediate the inadequate background of children in poverty. There was a strong perception then, one that has many subscribers even today, that lack of school success by poor and minority children was due to the lack of a sufficiently robust cultural foundation on which to build—hence the need to remediate and compensate for lacunae in the child's cultural and family background. Congress was led down this path by the work of early education researchers such as James Coleman and Christopher Jencks, who had examined groups of children in poverty and concluded that it was not the failure of the schools that was operant, but rather the social and cultural matrix in which these children were raised.

The largest federal education program that sought to remediate and compensate for the negative effects of poverty and "cultural deprivation" in disadvantaged families was Title I of the ESEA. The degree to which

Congress was genuinely convinced that this was the best strategy for intervening in education is not clear. The ESEA came along at a time when the issue of states' rights was a major stumbling block to federal involvement in education. Many politicians who believed in states' rights and the reserved powers of the states to control their schools were still reeling from the impact of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and federal pressures to desegregate. Title I of the ESEA was, in addition to a wonderful investment in children and youth, an effective way to soothe the bruises of states' rights supporters by providing unprecedented amounts of new funding to public education. It is perhaps coincidental that southern states, because of high levels of poverty, were entitled to substantial amounts of federal money. Politicians from the southern states were the most vociferous defenders of states' rights in education and keeping the federal government out of the public schools. But financial support was sorely needed in that region. It is not known what incentives and inducements, if any, may have been offered to secure the support of key congressional delegations to ensure passage of the ESEA in 1965 and the additions, amendments, and modifications that came later.

Title VII and Subtractive Bilingual Instruction

When Title VII of the ESEA (the Bilingual Education Act) came before the Congress 3 years after the original ESEA bill, the remediation and compensation model of intervention remained strong among educators and legislators alike. A review of the hearing record for the Title VII bills leaves little doubt that remedying the presumed deficits in children's backgrounds was one of the foundations of that bill. From the outset, Title VII had an eligibility criterion of poverty for those children who might participate in its programs. Poverty and a lack of English proficiency were thus linked early on as prime culprits in the lack of success these children encountered in school. Speakers at the Title VII hearings moved easily between their discussions of poverty and language barriers as if the two must be inextricably linked. The legislation and the program's operations in the U.S. Office of Education focused even more specifically on the poorest of the poor. Many programs sought to serve "the most needy," on the assumption that the most destitute of families would benefit the most from the

education interventions of the Great Society and the War on Poverty. Any hopes that bilingual education would someday rise to become a prestigious school offering were dashed by the requirement that only poor children could be involved in school programs funded by Title VII. The potential embrace by middle-class, English-speaking families that could have made the program more widely available (and accepted) was foreclosed by positioning the program as one serving chiefly poor and immigrant children.

The primary deficit to be remedied under the auspices of Title VII was lack of fluency in English and the language barrier that the home language was assumed to present to effective learning and teaching. There was little thought given in the initial programs to the idea of developing literacy in the home language as a means of gaining access to curriculum materials in the home language over a sustained period. At best, the philosophy of these early programs, which came to be known by the less harsh name of *transitional bilingual education*, was that the home language should be used sparingly and that students should stop participating in these programs as soon as possible. A. Bruce Gaarder, a scholar who studied the contours of these programs early on, reported the main characteristics of the first 76 funded programs as being clearly subtractive and remedial in nature.

A grave weakness of transitional bilingual education is that it denies the students literacy opportunities in both languages. Scholars in language learning, such as Gaarder and Joshua A. Fishman, objected to this approach, cautioning that it undermined important principles of bilingualism and would lead to failure. Fishman was especially blunt, even acerbic, in his condemnation of the remedial approach to bilingual education. In 1976, he wrote as follows:

If a non-English Mother-tongue is conceptualized as a disease of the poor, then in true vaccine style this disease is to be attacked by the disease bacillus itself. A little bit of deadened mother tongue, introduced in slow stages in the classroom environment, will ultimately enable the patient to throw off the mother tongue entirely and to embrace all-American vim, vigor and vitality.

My own evaluation is that compensatory bilingual education is not a good long-term bet, neither for language teaching nor for bilingual education per se. The multi-problem populations on whose behalf

it is espoused—underprivileged, unappreciated, alienated—cannot be aided in more than an initial palliative sense by so slender a reed as compensatory bilingual education. (p. 162)

But the idea of serving the poor and using the home language only for short periods had gained traction, and it prevailed in the initial Title VII law. In time, the poverty requirement was removed, but the transitional nature of the program remained with it throughout its history.

Launching a transitional program with the principal goal of teaching English aggressively and quickly ending the use of the home language required that some adjustments be made in schools and classrooms. Curriculum materials had to be adjusted or changed, and some portion of the teachers had to be bilingual themselves in order to provide the instructional bridge to English that the programs envisaged. However, the level of proficiency and literacy required of teachers in a subtractive program are far lower than those that would be needed by teachers in an additive program. After all, if there is no major effort made to maintain and improve the first-acquired language of the students, it is not necessary that the teachers be fully literate in that language. One result of this was that often, the distinction between a bilingual teacher and a bilingual *education* teacher was not made.

Dual-Language (Additive) Orientation

In addition to questions of language proficiency, class schedules and grouping practices had to be changed in order to create some classrooms that were to be taught bilingually while others were not. However, the changes required in subtractive programs were fewer and less demanding than those that were required in programs of additive bilingual education, in which both languages are taught for an extended period and literacy in two languages is the goal for all students. Further, in many of these programs, native-English-speaking children were to be involved alongside classmates who were English language learners. In such cases, programs required even greater planning and accommodation of divergent needs, such as when and for how long the two groups should interact to help each other learn their respective languages.

The underlying assumptions and values of additive bilingual education, now often referred to as

dual-language programs or *two-way immersion*, are substantially different from the underlying notions of subtractive programs. Additive bilingual education is grounded in the ideas (a) that all children can and should learn more than one language as part of a liberal education, (b) that the underlying principles of multicultural education extend to language diversity, and (c) that children who already speak a home language other than English should be given opportunities to continue the formal study of that language and achieve literacy in it. Remediation and compensating for prior experiences are not used as criteria to include or exclude children from these programs. Instead of assuming that the home language is a barrier to learning English, it is seen as a communications tool that should be used and further developed because it facilitates learning.

The view of language diversity underlying programs of additive bilingual education is very different from the views of language differences on which subtractive programs are based. First, in an additive (dual-language) program, both languages are afforded the same deference, respect, and recognition in every aspect of the school. Teachers, except those whose jobs are to teach English or non-language-related courses, such as physical education, art, or music, must be bilingual and to some important degree biliterate. This is perhaps the major obstacle to the creation of dual-language programs today in almost every part of the country. Many people in the United States today are literate in languages other than English, but they have not been trained as teachers and must be retrained and certificated by the appropriate agency of the state if they are to take on that role effectively. Regrettably, most colleges and universities that train teachers for bilingual education do so under the assumption that such teachers will work in programs of a subtractive nature simply because they are the most numerous and more politically acceptable to funding agencies.

Most additive programs of bilingual education today have a strong parental involvement component, because parental choice and support are absolute requirements. In some schools of this type, parents are asked to sign a formal agreement with the school in which they agree to actively participate in school affairs. This is because many American families are not totally comfortable with the idea that at least in part their children will be educated in a language other than English. When the parents themselves speak the other language, the problem is less severe. When

parents do not, it is not surprising that they often worry because they do not feel competent to gauge their children's progress in school.

In many of the developed nations of the world, families often have a number of choices as to how and in what languages their children will be educated. Often, in private schools, these choices are devoted to a solid liberal education, including the study of two or more languages. In the United States, these options are not commonly available in most communities. In large U.S. cities, limited options are available, although they tend to be expensive for most families. Examples are the United Nations School, in New York City, and the Washington International School, in the District of Columbia, both of which enroll many children of diplomatic families.

Perhaps the most ironic aspect of the additive/subtractive dichotomy is that bilingual education programs arose at least in part as an adjunct to the civil rights activism of second-generation immigrants. Today, because of the emphasis on subtractive programs, many children of immigrants are denied the opportunity to continue to develop the home language they already use, while English-speaking children who speak no other languages are encouraged to participate in additive programs of bilingual education. This situation widens the gap between the quality of education received by the two groups.

Josué M. González

See also Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Deficit-Based Education Theory; Maintenance Policy Denied; Primary-Language Support; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Bangura, A. K., & Muo, M. (2001). *United States Congress and bilingual education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90-247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Center for Applied Linguistics. (2006). *Directory of two-way bilingual immersion programs*. Available from <http://www.cal.org>
- Christian, D., Genesee, F., Lindholm-Leary, K., & Howard, L. (2004). *Final progress report of CREDE Project 1.2 Two-way immersion*. Santa Cruz, CA, and Washington, DC:

- Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence/Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Coleman, J. S. (1966). *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education and National Center for Educational Statistics.
- Crawford, J. (1989). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice*. Trenton, NJ: Crane.
- Fishman, J. A. (1976). Bilingual education and the future of language teaching and language learning in the United States. In F. Cordasco (Ed.), *Bilingual schooling in the United States: A sourcebook for educational personnel* (pp. 160-164). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Gaarder, A. B. (1967, May). *Hearings on S. 428*, 90th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, DC: U.S. Congress, Senate, Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.
- Gaarder, A. B. (1976). The first seventy-six bilingual education projects. In F. Cordasco (Ed.), *Bilingual schooling in the United States: A sourcebook for educational personnel* (pp. 214-225). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Howard, E. R., Sugarman, J., & Christian, D. (2003). *Trends in two-way immersion education: A review of research*. Baltimore, MD, and Washington, DC: Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk (CRESPAR)/Johns Hopkins University and Center for Applied Linguistics. Available from <http://www.csos.jhu.edu>
- Jencks, C. (1972). *Inequality: A reassessment of the effect of family and schooling in America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lambert, W. E. (1975). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In A. Wolfgang (Ed.), *Education of immigrant students* (pp. 55-83). Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Ovando, C., & Collier, V. (1998). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (2nd ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

AFFECTIVE DIMENSION OF BILINGUALISM

Individuals who speak multiple languages are common in many parts of the world. The affective dimension of bilingualism refers to how bilingualism and multilingualism affect the emotional experience, expression, and representation of speakers of multiple languages and how they perceive themselves and are perceived by others. A better understanding of ways in which bilingual and multilingual individuals represent,

process, perform, and experience emotions can be valuable for the fields of bilingual education and second-language acquisition. They are also an important matter for the fields of linguistics, psychology, anthropology, and communication. This suggestion was made by several scholars, such as Aneta Pavlenko, who also proposed that using the affective dimension of bilingualism and multilingualism as a unique lens provides new directions in the study of the relationship between languages and emotions. Finally, it enables researchers to put a human face on linguistic and psycholinguistic research, finding ways to bring speakers' lived experiences and concerns into the process of inquiry.

The affective dimension may include, but is not limited or restricted to, the facets of the voice of memoir, anger, humor, envy, jealousy, and shame or guilt, as discussed by Pavlenko. Michele Koven documents in her work that for some bilingual and multilinguals, the preferred language of emotional expression is the language learned in the public domain; yet other researchers, such as Edward Hall, found that the ability to express oneself emotionally, especially in the realm of humor, needs a nativelike proficiency in the language used.

Language, Culture, and the Self

Through *enculturation*, described as the process by which individuals learn their home culture, the affective dimension may be influenced by the adolescent stage of development. According to psychologist Erik Erikson, adolescence is characterized by the developmental stage of *identity versus identity confusion*, in which an individual's developmental task is to establish a meaningful sense of personal identity. As Pavlenko discovered in various studies, this search for identity, the relationship between language and self, is a more general part of the bilingual and multilingual experience; it is not restricted to late immigrant bilinguals, as is often assumed. Within this dimension, there is an ever-present tension between the perception that it is better to belong to one language and one culture and the perception of legitimacy in dual allegiances. In the affective dimension, Pavlenko noted, bilinguals and multilinguals may, in effect, have to make a choice and continually struggle between different ways of feeling and different cultural norms of expression. Multilinguals may feel strong differences in what their native culture sees as the norm for feelings

regarding particular groups of people; their new culture may, for example, judge certain norms as being unjustly prejudiced, such as the caste system in India or the treatment of women in Eastern culture, compared with Western culture.

Milton Rosenberg and Carl Hovland developed a model of how an attitude is held regarding language. Their model includes *t* variables related to cognition and behavior: The dependent variables are the affective area, and the measurable dependent variables are related to the behavior portion of attitude. The dependent variables include the emotions of love, dislike, or anxiety regarding language, its acquisition, and its use. The researchers mentioned above may not agree completely on all aspects of this model, but they agree on the premise that the three areas affect each other.

Kembor Sure and Vic Webb pointed out that a person who has been trained in his or her own native language is more likely to have a more positive self-image and that a bilingual person is more culturally and linguistically flexible and likely to have respect for other languages and their speakers. Pavlenko investigated whether bilinguals and multilinguals feel like different people when speaking different languages, whether others perceive them differently, and whether they behave differently. These questions are integral to the understanding of their self-image, and therefore the affective dimension surrounding the bilinguals/multilingual person. Authors who write in more than one language often find that what they have written in one language may seem so different from the piece written in the other that one might question the authenticity of each text. Tzvetan Todorov (cited by Pavlenko) discussed how he had changed the tenor of a conference paper due to the audience he was addressing and that audience's cultural mores and values. After leaving Bulgaria as a young man, Todorov returned 18 years later to present a paper on Bulgarian studies. Pavlenko related that after Todorov had translated his paper from French to Bulgarian, he realized that his new audience, the Bulgarians, would not understand what was being said. Todorov therefore had to change his perspective on the topic to fit this new audience and its values. Since Todorov's original paper was written for France, a larger country and power, he recognized that he had to adapt it to his new audience, a smaller country with less power.

Jean-Marc Dewaele and Pavlenko administered a Web questionnaire in which participants responded that they felt they had to act according to behavioral

norms of the culture that corresponded to the language they were speaking. Some respondents in the study felt they experienced a transition from one language and culture to another and that this was a bridge to a person they might become. Dewaele and Pavlenko speculated that there seemed to be a change in the thinking, behavior, and self-perception of respondents in this study as they moved between different languages. The researchers theorized that these changes might be attributed to different semantic associations, linguistic repertoires, cultural scripts, frames of expectations, and imagery and memories activated by the respective languages.

Cultural Norms and Affect

Eva Hoffman explored the suggestion that some bilinguals' or multilinguals' emotional vocabularies—the expressive forms, emotion concepts, and terms for emotional behavior—give a certain distinctive shape to the speaker's feeling. Hoffman held that there might be a struggle in choosing between different ways of feeling and different cultural norms of expression—thus the possibility of going beyond a particular emotional world. She observed that Americans seem to believe that cheerfulness is a constant and insist upon it, yet her Polish background taught her that painful feelings are normal and can be shown in public.

Geri McDonough Bell documented the affective dimension of a bilingual high school student who shared that when writing an essay in class, there were times when he was thinking in Spanish and had a hard time finding the right word in English. He declared that he thought in both languages and considered that his creative side was in Spanish and his business side was in English. A subject in Koven's study of Portuguese/French speakers described the difference in her affective displays in the two languages in both intensity and style. She reported that she had a harder time getting angry in Portuguese than in French and was able to express herself more fully in her second language, French. Koven explained that the subject felt more cultural and vocabulary constraints in Portuguese than in French when expressing anger.

Dewaele asserted that the personality of speakers may have an affect on their language use, depending on whether the speaker is an extrovert or an introvert. Dewaele found that extroverts used colloquial words and emotion words more frequently than introverts, explaining that introverts may not be willing to risk

loss of face by using an inappropriate anger repertoire. For bilinguals, it is often easier to revert to the language of childhood or the language in which the bilingual feels more at ease and in command of the relevant vocabulary to express intense emotion.

Jeanette Altarriba argued that the cognitive dimension and cognitive methodologies should be applied to the study of the representation of words expressing emotions. Altarriba argued that emotion is a construct closely tied to the formation of memories and it was likely that the language most tied to memories of emotion-laden events would be the language the bilingual or multilingual felt most comfortable using to express emotion. Altarriba set about differentiating between concrete, abstract, and emotion words. Because of the mental images attached to them, concrete words, such as *computer* or *sofa*, are more easily drawn upon than abstract words. According to Altarriba, abstract words are words that do not refer to an object or have a material basis and hold no emotion, such as the words *mastery* or *legitimate*. Words of emotion have an affective meaning and elicit degrees of arousal and pleasantness: *love, joy, coffin, death*. She also noted that it may be beneficial when interviewing people who are particularly emotional to conduct the interview in both the native and the non-dominant language in order to gather the most information possible.

Catherine Harris, Jean Gleason, and Ayşe Ayçiçeği reasoned that childhood provides an emotional context of learning because emotional regulation systems are developing during that time. Hence, emotion words acquired in early childhood would elicit stronger responses than emotion words acquired in middle childhood or later. This reasoning could support the finding that many of their study participants stated their ability to express themselves emotionally in their dominant language from childhood.

Translation and Emotional Experience

Robert Schrauf and Ramon Durazo-Arvisu questioned whether emotion is "lost in translation." They also asked whether the language of retrieval affects the intensity of emotional reinstatement. They stated that when an individual shares an experience in a particular language, context and word interpretation matter in the emotional meaning and intensity of such experience. Consequently, the direct translation of

words often does not have the same connotation, and feeling is lost in the retelling of an experience when proper idioms or words are not used to convey the tone of the speaker. Ruth Berman and Dan Slobin claimed that languages differ in how their particular morphological, lexical, and syntactic conventions shape the expression of detail in narrative. When trying to understand idioms in another language, it may be confusing to see “sleep like a baby” in Spanish as *dormir como un lirón* (“sleep like a dormouse”). The syntax of the words *la mamá de Terry* can be translated to “Terry’s mom” in English, instead of “the mother of Terry,” as stated in Spanish. Eve Clark argued that some information may be retrieved from memory but not be narratively expressed because the target language does not provide for the obligatory expression of those details. False cognates—words that look similar to words in another language but do not have the same meaning—can cause problems in communication for the learner, as when he or she translates “embarrassed” as *embarazada* instead of *avergonzada*: *Embarazada* translates to native speakers in some cultures as “pregnant.” Peter Carruthers suggests that the minds of bilingual or multilinguals, as language processors, may label memories in a particular language. As documented previously, memories from early childhood are most closely associated with the first language learned by a person, and, as Schrauf proposed, the bilingual mind may encode and retrieve memories in either or both languages and may leave a linguistic mark on particular memories.

The research points to the importance of further inquiry into what constitutes the affective dimension, that area in which bilinguals and multilinguals find themselves acting and reacting in roles and character dependent upon the emotions elicited within varied situations. If the majority of individuals value a language, the affective motivation of speakers and learners of a particular language is greater. Understanding attitudes toward bilinguals and multilingualism is a crucial part of understanding the affective dimension.

Language as Social Capital

According to sociologist Robert Putnam, an individual’s social capital (which includes social ties and social networks) affects the productivity of an individual and is related to status in society. Language is a form of social capital, and societies view languages in different ways. Some societies value the ability of the

individual to speak several languages, and others do not. In some societies and cultures, the language of the public domain has a higher status, and that of the private domain has a lower status.

Su-Hie Ting found that social groups are affected by other social group’s languages in both positive and negative ways. The national language policy of a nation deems one language as having a higher status than others, whether the official language is English-only or the Bahasa Malaysia (Sarawak, Malaysia). The language having the higher status in society is part of the social capital individuals bring to their positions in society, therefore affecting their status in that society. Each culture and society contains mores and values that denote class structure within them. Su-Hie Ting found that as the status of languages diminishes, the languages often are lost due to lack of use in subsequent generations. The affective dimension influences how a person feels about himself or herself, and language plays a prominent role in this area. If the language an individual uses in daily life is seen as a deficit, the individual’s feelings about himself or herself may be diminished and the individual’s social status may be restricted.

Conclusion

The pendulum has swung periodically throughout history from a positive attitude toward individuals speaking more than one language to an attitude of suspicion. The prevailing perception of the merits of being bilingual or multilingual often depends on the political climate in a particular country at a given point in time and influences the way in which a speaker sees himself or herself and is seen by others.

Geri McDonough Bell

See also Home Language and Self-Esteem; Language and Identity; Social Learning; Status Differences Among Languages

Further Readings

- Altarriba, J. (2003). Does *cariño* equal “liking”? A theoretical approach to conceptual nonequivalency between languages. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 7, 305–322.
- Berman, R., & Slobin, D. (1994). *Relating events in narrative: A cross-linguistic developmental study*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Carruthers, P. (1998). Thinking in language? Evolution and a modularist possibility. In P. Carruthers & J. Boucher (Eds.), *Language and thought: Interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 94–114). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, E. (2003). Languages and representations. In D. Gentner & S. Goldin-Meadow (Eds.), *Language in mind: Advances in the study of language and thought* (pp. 17–24). Cambridge: MIT Press/Bradford.
- Dewaele, J.-M. (2004). The emotional force of swearwords and taboo words in the speech of multilinguals. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 25, 204–222.
- Erikson, E. J. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Hall, E. (1959). *The silent language*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Harris, C., Gleason, J. B., & Ayçiçeği, A. (2006). When is a first language more emotional? Psychophysiological evidence from bilingual speakers. *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression, and Representation*, 10, 257–283.
- Hoffman, E. (1989). *Lost in translation. A life in a new language*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Koven, M. (2001). Comparing bilinguals' quoted performances of self and others in tellings of the same experience in two languages. *Language in Society*, 30, 513–558.
- McDonough Bell, G. (2004). *Catching the light: A journey of the heart and mind, an adolescent's acquisition of a second language*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Pavlenko, A. (2006). *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression, and representation*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Rosenberg, M. J., & Hovland, C. I. (1960). Cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of attitudes. In C. I. Hovland & M. J. Rosenberg (Eds.), *Attitude organization and change* (pp. 1–14). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Schrauf, R., & Durazo-Arvisu, R. (2006). Bilingual autobiographical memory and emotion: Theory and methods. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression, and representation* (pp. 284–311). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Sure, K., & Webb, V. (2000). Languages in competition. In V. Webb & K. Sure (Eds.), *African voices* (pp. 109–132). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Ting, S.-H. (2003). Impact of language planning on language attitudes: A case study in Sarawak. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 24, 195–210.

AFFECTIVE FILTER

With the publication of the book *The Natural Approach* in 1983, Stephen Krashen and Tracy Terrell introduced a five-hypothesis model, known as the *monitor model*, that describes their view of the second-language acquisition process. In addition, they proposed a curricular approach designed to ensure an environment that would provide optimal conditions for language learning, known as the *natural approach*. Krashen's model continues to play an important role in second-language-learning circles, serving as the basis for many policy, program, materials, and teacher training decisions.

The *affective filter* is one of the five hypotheses that make up the larger monitor model. It proposes that learners who are anxious, unmotivated, or lacking self-confidence will experience a mental block, which will impede language from being understood and retained. Krashen explains that the *language acquisition device* (LAD) (a term originally coined by Noam Chomsky in the early 1960s), is the brain's processor of language. Krashen claims that when this affective filter is activated, it does not allow language to reach the LAD, and therefore acquisition does not occur. In language acquisition or learning processes, therefore, it is important to eliminate factors that cause the affective filter to rise. With the natural approach, Krashen and Terrell attempted to promote positive and productive classroom language learning environments. They felt that if learners felt motivated, self-confident, and anxiety free, they were more likely to acquire the target language.

The Monitor Model

Before describing the affective filter in more detail, it is necessary to examine its context: the five hypotheses proposed by Krashen. It is important to take a look at this context because all five hypotheses interact among themselves, causing implications for language teaching and learning. It is difficult to look at the affective filter in isolation without looking at how people learn, what type of input they need, and how they manage language elements.

In the first hypothesis, the author claims that there are two ways of developing competency in a second language: acquisition and learning. *Acquisition* is a natural process that involves the use of language in communicative settings, while *learning* is a more

staged process that involves what Krashen calls “knowing about language.” Acquisition occurs as we interact with others due to our need to communicate, while learning involves a more conscious manipulation of language elements, for example, in a classroom setting. Acquisition is more subconscious, informal, and based on feeling and depends on the openness or attitude of the person; learning is explicit and conscious, formal, and based on rules and depends on aptitude.

Second, Krashen claims that we all acquire the rules of language in a predictable or natural order. He calls this the *natural order* hypothesis. This hypothesis is based on work done in the areas of universal grammar (an innate language capacity that is programmed to recognize a universal grammar) and on morpheme acquisition studies (certain morphemes tend to appear first).

A third hypothesis in the model is the *monitor hypothesis*, referring to a process through which conscious learning is used to monitor language that goes in and out. Some speakers have strong monitors that allow them to catch errors and avoid them; or, from a different perspective, the monitors limit them because the speakers hesitate before responding. To use the monitor, the person must have enough time and knowledge of the rules and must focus on form. The *input hypothesis*, a fourth part of the model, emphasizes the need for comprehensible input. Being exposed to a language for hours, days, or even years does not mean that a person will acquire or learn it. If the language is contextualized and broken down into understandable segments, the person can obtain results.

The final part of the model is the *affective filter*; the mental block that prevents learners from retaining language that is being inputted. With a high affective filter, the learner does not seek input or produce language, owing to the fact that he or she feels inhibited or unmotivated to do so. Krashen believes that the strength of the affective filter increases with puberty. The filter determines which language model the learner will select, which part of the language the learner will pay attention to, when acquisition should stop, and how fast the language will be acquired.

Influences on the Affective Filter

The affective filter is influenced by three main factors: anxiety, self-confidence, and motivation. These complex factors are influenced by many variables, such as personality; learning conditions and opportunities outside of class; attitudes toward self and others, the

target language, and culture; social class; age; and gender. If language teachers are aware of the many issues that are involved with this affective side of learning and take action, they are more likely to be able to facilitate the learning process.

Motivation is basically related to what we expect from a behavior and whether the result of that behavior has value for us. Our degree of motivation determines how much effort we put into something. Motivation can be conscious or unconscious, positive or negative. In language learning, we often speak of *integrative* and *instrumental motivation* (explained in the work by Robert Gardner), the former being the desire to fit into the target group and the latter referring to the need to perform some function or task with the language. Many linguists believe that integrative motivation is the most important, although most will agree that instrumental motivation also helps. The learner must be able to accomplish certain tasks in order to feel like part of the group; therefore, instrumental motivation is also required in order to facilitate integration. Instrumental motivation has its limitations in that it may activate the affective filter when learners perceive that they have reached their goals and do not need to exert more effort.

Self-confidence allows the learner to seek input and output opportunities and therefore to acquire a higher level of language. Students who consider themselves to be proactive, positive, businesslike, and focused tend to be better at language learning. If a language learner, for example, feels embarrassed about speaking because he fears that others will laugh at him or constantly point out his errors without focusing on his message, he will tend to avoid speaking or even writing. Issues related to self-confidence can be tied into the type of environment the student is exposed to, the attitude of the teacher and other learners, the relationship the learner has with the target culture and his own, his ability to comprehend input, and his ability to apply the rules of grammar through the monitor. All of these issues cause an individual to feel valuable and capable, or not.

When we speak of anxiety, the third major factor related to Krashen’s affective filter, we need to look at a number of factors. Researchers have reached a variety of conclusions:

- There are several types of anxiety: *trait*, which is natural to the person; *state*, which is based on the moment in time; and *situational*, which is based on specific factors (as indicated in the work by Charles Spielberger).

- Anxiety can be positive or negative; sometimes it actually helps to motivate us, to get the adrenalin moving.
- There may be a negative correlation between test anxiety and accomplishment.
- Speech skills are affected more often than test-taking skills.
- A fear of rejection may cause inhibition.
- Subjects who perceive themselves as calm do better on tests.
- Traditional methods tend to cause more anxiety than the audio-lingual method.

The point here is that if students feel challenged, they might be able to participate and produce language; on the other hand, if they feel threatened and afraid, they might not.

Classroom Implications

Believing that the affective filter exists, and hence trying to keep it low, implies a particular attitude on behalf of the teacher and certain modifications within the classroom setting. Basically, these changes to the classroom environment are included in the natural approach created by Terrell and Krashen. An emphasis on speech production early in the process must be avoided or lessened. Terrell discussed stages of production ranging from the silent period to fluency. Students should be allowed a “silent period,” during which they can listen to and absorb the language without having to formulate language responses themselves. This silent period mirrors the process experienced by children in their first-language acquisition process and allows students to take part more actively when they feel ready. When students begin to engage in language production, their efforts should be recognized, no matter how limited they are. Error correction needs to be avoided. Teachers who overemphasize correctness over message may contribute to the filter’s “thickness.” Modeling is the way to lead students to more correct usage.

The environment and type of activities should be taken into consideration when trying to lower anxiety and heighten self-confidence and motivation. There should be quiet, comfortable places for reading. Materials can include, for example, puppets, games, puzzles, role plays, and graphic organizers. Students should feel comfortable, interested, and intrigued with language learning. They should see the benefit of learning and feel that they are in a setting that nurtures their

process. A variety of activities should be embedded in context, creative and dynamic. Teachers should be positive and supportive, ensuring that students respect each other and their classmates. They should also bring different types of resources to the classroom. Comprehensible input that is aimed slightly beyond the learner’s current level of skill allows the learner to advance steadily. Students should be encouraged to seek language development opportunities outside of class. The classroom environment and what happens within it can contribute to lowering the affective filter and an increase in language acquisition or learning.

Kathryn Singh

See also Comprehensible Input; Critical Period Hypothesis; Easy and Difficult Languages; Krashen, Stephen D.; Language Learning in Children and Adults; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Monitor Model

Further Readings

- Barasch, R. M., & Vaughan, J. (Eds.). (1994). *Beyond the monitor model*. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.
- Ellis, R. (1985). *Understanding second-language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Gardner, R. (2001). Integrative motivation and second-language acquisition. In Z. Dornyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second-language acquisition* (pp. 1–19). Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i, Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center.
- Krashen, S. (1981). *Second-language acquisition and second-language learning*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon Press.
- Krashen, S., & Terrell, T. (1983). *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. Hayward, CA: Alemany Press.
- McLaughlin, B. (1987). *Theories of second-language learning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Spielberger, C. D. (1972). *Anxiety: Current trends in theory and research*. New York: Academic Press.

AFFIRMATIVE STEPS TO ENGLISH

Prior to 1970, most teachers and education policymakers in the United States felt safe in assuming that the responsibility to learn English, at any age, lay with students and families. A socially Darwinian perspective prevailed. Immigrants who were diligent in learning English were assumed to have a better chance at attaining

the “American dream.” Regardless of age, those who could not, or did not, persevere in that endeavor for any reason were likely to lag behind in the competitive environment of U.S. society. The schools did not invent this notion; they merely reflected the mind-set that was common in the society they served. Most Americans accepted this belief; they had little reason to question it. Since many descended from immigrant forebears, they accepted the idea that immigrants would be welcome here provided they laid down their cultural baggage and embraced English quickly, as they imagined their ancestors had done. Learning English had quietly become a test of one’s desire to become American. In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court surprised the schools. It called for a form of affirmative action for teaching English. Schools, they said must teach English well, not merely offer it as a course.

In the 1960s, inspired by the civil rights movement, a slow change in attitudes began to take hold. Among the roles played by civil rights advocates, the teaching function was important. This function, also known as “shifting the paradigm,” attempted to create alternative explanations for assumptions that had long been axiomatic to most Americans. In this instance, the issue could be recast by posing a question: Assuming that students put forth an effort to learn what is taught to them, how much responsibility do the schools have to teach English, and how well should they be required to teach it? For years, perhaps decades, questions such as these were academic exercises rarely heard outside college classrooms. By the mid-1970s, many social and ethical issues had been reformulated in this way. Americans were asking questions about their society in ways that were quite different from the ways of their parents. Legal and sociocultural institutions became more comfortable with the different perspectives that lay behind the new questions. Influenced by the progressive movement in education and the philosophies of John Dewey, Paulo Freire, and others, educators too were becoming uneasy with the prevailing assumptions concerning their own responsibilities. In 1970, two developments flatly challenged the traditional view of placing the responsibility for learning English solely on children and their families.

Parents File Suit Against the Schools

Civil rights lawsuits related to education were taking place nationwide in the 1970s. Among them, a group of Chinese-speaking families in San Francisco sued

the San Francisco Unified School District. In *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), they argued that the school district had been negligent in its teaching of English to Chinese-speaking students. Like other students, they were required to study English for 12 years. Further, California schools expected their students to pass a high-stakes test in English at the conclusion of their high school careers. Because many Chinese students were unable to pass that test after 12 years of studying English, the plaintiffs charged that the schools were ineffective in their teaching of English and that this constituted a violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The lawsuit demanded that the schools take affirmative steps to teach English to Chinese youngsters and that they not limit themselves to teaching English language learners (ELLs) in the same way they taught native speakers of English. *Lau* experienced a laborious journey through the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California, later the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, and eventually the U.S. Supreme Court.

The U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California, the court of first instance, reached its verdict on May 26, 1970, along the traditional line of thinking: The schools, the court said, had not created the language incompatibility problem and had no responsibility to resolve it. The parents had taught their children Chinese, not the schools. The school district, according to the court, was not guilty of denying educational benefits, because it offered the same curriculum to Chinese youngsters as it did to other children. The inability of such children to do the same level of work in English was unfortunate, but no one was at fault. Since the requirement of desegregation case law was to treat all children alike, the court found that no special responsibility fell on the schools with respect to teaching immigrant children. If they spoke a language other than English, the court reasoned, that was clearly a challenge for those children and their families. Legally, according to the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California, the only responsibility of the school district was to educate Chinese children in the same way they did everyone else, including providing them with the same curriculum. As stated by the district judge,

These Chinese-speaking students—by receiving the same education made available on the same terms and conditions to the other tens of thousands of students in the San Francisco Unified School District—are legally receiving all their rights to an education and to

equal educational opportunities. Their special needs, however acute, do not accord them special rights above those granted other students.

May 25th Memorandum of DHEW

Unsatisfied with the ruling, the *Lau* plaintiffs appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. While the *Lau* case proceeded through the legal system in California, another development was taking place in Washington, D.C., in the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW). Eventually, the action by DHEW and the advocacy of the Chinese parents would converge in the final outcome of the lawsuit.

After consulting with a panel of experts on the education of language minority children, OCR director Stanley J. Pottinger issued a memorandum to all school districts in the country that had reported enrollments of 5% or more of language minority students. In this memorandum, dated May 25, 1970, often referred to as “the May 25th Memorandum,” Pottinger set the stage for changing the locus of responsibility in cases where a language difference existed between schools and families. The memorandum from the OCR made four salient points under authority of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

1. Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.
2. School districts must not assign national origin-minority group students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure or evaluate English language skills; nor may school districts deny national origin-minority group children access to college preparatory courses on a basis directly related to the failure of the school system to inculcate English language skills.
3. Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin-minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead end or permanent track.

4. School districts have the responsibility to adequately notify national origin-minority group parents of school activities that are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice in order to be adequate may have to be provided in a language other than English.

The idea of requiring school districts to take “affirmative steps” to teach English began to set aside the traditional view that learning English, by whatever means, was the responsibility of immigrant children and their families. It remained to be seen whether the mandate from the OCR would be accepted by the schools and what means would be set in motion to guarantee its implementation. Pottinger’s construction of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was important because it was later integrated, by reference, into the findings of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lau v. Nichols*. With this action, a rapid convergence was occurring between the position of the executive branch of government and the federal judiciary.

Plaintiffs Appeal Their Case

Back in San Francisco, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit refused to rehear the *Lau* case. A three-judge panel, by a vote of 2 to 1, voted to reaffirm the finding of the lower court. So far, things stood as before: The schools were in compliance with the law so long as they taught all children the same way. Only one judge of the three-judge appellate panel dissented. The dissenter was Shirley Hufstедler, a prominent jurist who was to become the nation’s first secretary of education just a few years later. Hufstедler was clear and unequivocal in her reasons for dissenting. She wrote, in part,

The majority opinion [of the panel] concedes that the children who speak no English receive no education and those who are given some help in English cannot receive the same education as their English speaking classmates. In short, discrimination is admitted. Discriminatory treatment is not constitutionally impermissible, they say, because all children are offered the same educational fare, i.e., equal treatment of unequals satisfies the demands of equal protection. The Equal Protection Clause is not so feeble. Invidious discrimination is not washed away because the able bodied and the paraplegic are given the same state to command to walk.

The policy initiative of the May 25th Memorandum and the judicial outcome of the San Francisco court case came together in May 1974, with the decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lau*. The Court overturned the district and appellate court findings, remanded the case to be reviewed again at the district court level, and ordered the lower court to fashion an appropriate remedy. In rendering its findings, the Court put to rest the notion that school districts had no special responsibility for teaching English to ELLs. The finding was unequivocal:

Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.

In addition, the Supreme Court reiterated the understanding that the OCR had the right to issue mandates to implement constitutional requirements. It cited the May 25th Memorandum and stated that the agency had not exceeded its legal authority by issuing that directive. Later that year, Congress joined in with the enactment of the 1974 Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA). The act declared that “the failure by an education agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional program” constituted national origin discrimination in violation of federal law. By codifying *Lau*, Congress became the third arm of government to accept the requirement that schools teach English affirmatively. The EEOA was important from the day it was enacted, but its importance grew as the power of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was eroded by an increasingly conservative Supreme Court in the decades that followed.

Implementing the Policy Change

Neither the EEOA nor the *Lau* decision solved the problem of getting several thousand school districts in

the nation to embrace the new policy and to design and implement programs that would allow the new policy direction to take root. The OCR of the U.S. Department of Education had been reminded in *Lau* that it had the responsibility to provide direction to school districts in bringing this about, but the agency did not follow through with the clarity and directness of the May 25th Memorandum. Between 1974, the year of the *Lau* decision, and 1980, with the publication of a “Notice of Proposed Rulemaking,” the OCR took less-than-decisive steps. It first issued guidelines to its regional offices on the implementation of *Lau* and subsequently a more elaborated document, “Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Correcting Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under *Lau v. Nichols*.” The agency could not decide whether to require bilingual education or the less complicated approach of intensive English programs for ELLs. School districts and state departments of education insisted on a resolution. They claimed that the regional offices of the OCR were inconsistent in what they were requiring school districts to do. Pressure mounted for the government to publish official rules for compliance in the *Federal Register*, the nation’s official organ for promulgating such matters. To secure a settlement in an Alaska desegregation lawsuit (*Northwest Arctic v. Califano*, 1978), the government agreed to issue definitive rules for *Lau* compliance. The creation of a new U.S. Department of Education in 1980 caused the OCR to be split in two. One part remained in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under its new name, Department of Human Services. The other part migrated to the newly created Department of Education. The reorganization caused additional delays in the publication of *Lau* rules.

When Shirley Hufstедler was appointed the nation’s first secretary of education, *Lau* rules were on her list of priorities. Hufstедler was not hesitant to move. Her position on the issue had been clear since the appeal process in her prior role as a member of the appellate court. The long-awaited “Notice of Proposed Rulemaking” was published in the *Federal Register*, on August 8, 1980. The rules quickly became an issue in the presidential campaign then under way. Regional hearings were held at which many school administrators and policymakers spoke against their adoption, claiming the rules were overly intrusive. The presidential election in November 1980 ended these first attempts to implement the spirit of *Lau*. The

Reagan administration announced that the proposed rules would be rescinded and that new rules would be issued in the near future. Perhaps because of Mr. Reagan's campaign promise to deregulate government, no rules emerged from his administration. Enforcement was pursued on a case-by-case basis, and the promise of the *Lau* decision seemed unfulfilled, until a district court case in Texas ushered in new rules.

In the case of *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981), in the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, a decision by a federal appeals court was to become the definitive interpretation of "appropriate action" and "affirmative steps." The court ruled that Congress intended school districts to address two separate, but interrelated, barriers to equal school participation. First, a district must address the need of students to learn English to enable them to participate competitively in an English-only school environment. Second, a district must take affirmative steps to ensure that a student is provided meaningful access to the school's curriculum, to prevent ELLs from falling behind other students in learning school subjects at an appropriate pace.

In the OCR's interpretation of *Castañeda* and its eventual adoption as a national guideline for schools, a four-part analytical framework emerged for assessing the legal adequacy of a school district's response to *Lau*. First, a district must have an educationally supportable theory for its curriculum plan. Second, it must provide adequate resources to ensure that the theory is implemented successfully. Third, it must have an assessment system to evaluate whether students are overcoming both problems. And, finally, if the assessments that were adopted fail to show progress, a school district must modify its program to enhance its chances of success.

It should be noted that *Castañeda* was not a Supreme Court decision, as was *Lau*. Nevertheless, over the years, its findings have assumed a comparable level of authority. The federal government, notably the OCR, has embraced it as if it were the law of the land, as have other federal court decisions.

Josué M. González

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; *Lau v. Nichols*, Enforcement Documents; *Lau v. Nichols*, San Francisco Unified School District's Response; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling

Further Readings

- Castañeda v. Pickard*, 648 F. 2d 989 (1981).
Lau v. Nichols, 483 F.2d 791 (9th Cir. 1973); 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
Northwest Arctic School District v. Califano, No. A-77-216 (D. Alaska Sept. 29, 1978).
 Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. (1970). *May 25, 1970, memorandum: Identification of discrimination and denial of services on the basis of national origin*, 35 F. Reg. 11, 595.
 U.S. Senate. (1970). *Hearings before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity*, U.S. Senate, Part 9B, 92nd Cong., 4716-4717.

AFRICAN AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH

See EBONICS

ALATIS, JAMES E. (1926–)

Born in Weirton, West Virginia, on July 13, 1926, James Efsthathios Alatis enjoyed a distinguished and influential career in linguistics, fostering the study of foreign languages and promoting bilingual education and the teaching of English as a second language (ESL). His career has extended for over five decades. The child of Greek immigrants, Alatis has become internationally known and honored for his work with the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Department of Education, Georgetown University, and the organization known as Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). His latest appointments were as Distinguished Professor of Linguistics and Modern Greek at Georgetown University; codirector of the National Capitol Area Language Resource Center; and dean emeritus, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University. He is also senior adviser to the dean of the Georgetown College for International Language Programs and Research and executive director emeritus of TESOL. He has also served as interim president of TESOL's International Research Foundation.

After serving in the Navy during World War II, Alatis earned a BA in political science and English from West Virginia University and an MA and PhD in

English linguistics from The Ohio State University. Raised as bilingual in English and Greek, he began his language career in 1955 as a Fulbright lecturer in linguistics and English at the University of Athens, where he also taught modern Greek to Americans and conducted field research in northern Greece. Shortly thereafter, he joined the U.S. State Department as an English Teaching and Testing Specialist. During this time, he helped in the design of the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). He would later serve as an adviser for the Educational Testing Service's TOEFL unit. With passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 (NDEA), Alatis moved to the U.S. Office of Education as a specialist for language research and eventually became chief of the Language Research Section, at a time when foreign languages were a national priority.

In 1966, Alatis moved to Georgetown University to become an associate professor and associate dean of the School of Languages and Linguistics, the country's oldest and largest such school. Widely known as "the Father of TESOL," that same year, Alatis was instrumental in founding this organization and became its first executive secretary (director), a position in which he served for the next 21 years. During his stewardship, TESOL grew from an initial 337 members to an organization of over 12,000 members. Traveling with great frequency, he helped to develop over 60 affiliates in the United States and abroad. Under his watch, the *TESOL Newsletter* and *TESOL Quarterly* were created as informational and scholarly publications, and TESOL's annual convention grew to be one of the language profession's largest and most comprehensive meetings. Today, two key components of the annual convention are the James E. Alatis Plenary Session and the presentation of the Alatis Award. Not only did he write the book about TESOL's history, *Quest for Quality: The First 21 Years of TESOL*, Alatis led the association in defining the very nature of the profession.

Serving as dean of Georgetown University's School of Languages and Linguistics from 1973 to 1994, Alatis developed and nurtured some of the nation's most respected language programs, adding new programs in sociolinguistics and translation and interpretation, as well as creating a master's of arts in teaching in ESL and bilingual education. Under Alatis's leadership, Georgetown university's Language Roundtable became the premier language conference of Washington, D.C., with participants from government, business, and

academia. He also served as director of the Title-VII-funded doctorate program for specialists in bilingual education.

In 1976, as executive director of TESOL, Alatis was the driving force in joining with seven of the nation's largest language associations to create the Joint National Committee for Languages (JNCL) to promote the development of national language policies in a unified manner. Four years later, following the *Report of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies* (PCFLIS), as president of JNCL, Alatis spearheaded the effort to create the Council for Languages and Other International Studies (CLOIS, later to become the National Council for Languages and International Studies, NCLIS). Consistent with the PCFLIS recommendation that the language profession(s) establish a "Washington presence," this association became JNCL's affiliate to advocate on behalf of national language policies. JNCL/NCLIS has grown from 8 to 64 associations and has been responsible for hundreds of millions of dollars nationally in support of legislation and programs for languages and international education.

Author and editor of dozens of books and articles, Alatis has been the recipient of numerous awards, including the National Association for Bilingual Education's President's Award and Pioneer in Bilingual Education Award, the Northeast Conference Award for Distinguished Service and Leadership, and the Georgetown University President's Medal and Patrick Healey Award.

J. David Edwards

See also Teacher Preparation, Then and Now; TESOL, Inc.

Further Readings

Alatis, J. (1991). *Quest for quality: The first 21 years of TESOL*. Alexandria, VA: TESOL, Inc.

AMENDMENT 31 (COLORADO)

Amendment 31, a proposed change to the Colorado constitution, titled "English Language Education for Children in Public School," was presented to voters on November 5, 2002. Had it passed, that amendment would have constituted the most rigid and restrictive

antibilingual education bill in history. Its passage would most likely have led to the demise of bilingual education and dual-language programs in the state and to the denial of parents' rights to select their preferred educational programs for their children. Further, it would have set a precedent for the establishment of equally restrictive in other states. Colorado voters soundly defeated Amendment 31 by a margin of 56% to 44%. This defeat was the final part of a Colorado saga that had begun 2 years earlier.

Prelude

In March 2000, an early version of Amendment 31 was brought to Colorado. The proposed initiative, then titled "English for the Children," was officially sponsored by Joe Chávez and Charles King; however, it was publicly championed by Colorado Congressman Tom Tancredo and former Denverite Linda Chávez, president of the Center for Equal Opportunity, a conservative Washington think tank. Proponents of this early version of Amendment 31 were hoping to get their proposal on the 2000 ballot. The first victory for opponents of the initiative in Colorado came on June 30, 2000. On this date, the Supreme Court of Colorado unanimously ruled that the initiative could not go forward because it contained language that was "deceptive" and "misleading."

This court ruling was significant for several reasons. First, the wording of the court's decision provided language that could be used in future political campaigns. Second, Colorado's initiative process allows for voter-initiated referenda to be floated only in even-numbered years, thereby giving the campaign 2 additional years to further organize and solidify its strategies. Third, the extra time also allowed opponents to plan a better defense against the initiative.

Provisions of the Amendment Proposal

Two years later, in January 2002, Rita Montero and Janine Chávez (daughter of Joe Chávez, a sponsor of the 2000 initiative) submitted Amendment 31. Amendment 31 would have required that "children who are learning English be placed in an English immersion program that is intended to last for 1 year or less and, if successful, will result in placement of such children in ordinary classrooms." As in other states,

Amendment 31 was intended to replace bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) programs with a 1-year "Sheltered English Immersion Program," the latter being only vaguely defined in the amendment. The amendment proposal purported to allow for parent waivers so that parents who wished could have their children continue bilingual or ESL classes. Parent waivers were to be granted to families whose children met one of three conditions: (1) They were already proficient in English; (2) they were 10 years of age or older; or (3) they had special individual needs. As with other states, Amendment 31 also included clauses to allow parents to sue schools and teachers for enforcement of the amendment, while concomitantly denying these educators the right to third-party indemnification. Parents' right to sue for enforcement or damages suffered by their children would have been granted for a period of 10 years. Finally, the amendment required that a standardized, nationally normed written test of academic subject matter be given each year to all children in Grade 2 or higher who were English language learners.

From the outset, official publications characterized Amendment 31 as having at least three major problems, including (1) a waiver process that, as critics pointed out, was not legitimate and made waivers difficult, if not impossible, to obtain; (2) legal consequences to educators that were severe and more punitive than those in any other state (including a 10-year statute of limitations); and (3) an undetermined cost to public schools that were already short of funding.

Opponents' Responses

In Colorado, the strategies to defeat Amendment 31 were multifaceted and broadly defined. "No-on-31" became the official name of the political campaign, but the strategies were much broader and went beyond the purely political. Approaches included legal tactics and challenges, and educational strategies. Within the educational component, there were specific projects to educate the state legislature, the general public, the media, the voters, and educators in general. Within the political component, there were specific activities designed to raise money and to build a broad-based, bipartisan coalition. The educational and legislative components of the campaign were focused on defending and strengthening bilingual education programs. Campaign workers used public debates, letters to the editor, and various research reports and monographs

to demonstrate support for bilingual education and to educate the public about the benefits of bilingual education. From the outset, it was necessary to create a message that would appeal to all Colorado voters, to devise a strategy to get the message out across the state, and to conduct a well-organized grassroots campaign.

The campaign recruited credible and visible local leaders and political strategists. United in the effort to defeat Amendment 31 were religious, civic, educational, business, and political organizations. Bitter political rivals found themselves united in their anti-Amendment 31 stance. Thirty-six educational organizations, including school boards, took official positions against Amendment 31. In addition, a political consultant firm, Welchert and Britz, was retained to conduct research via focus groups in order to develop a message that could be used to educate voters about the need for multiple instructional program options for English language learners.

The creation and dissemination of a campaign message that appealed to all Coloradans was critical to devising a winning strategy. The Feldman Group, a national political research firm, suggested two strategies that could potentially result in the defeat of the amendment: (1) argue that the initiative would not accomplish what it claimed and (2) focus voter attention on unintended consequences. Campaign messages reflected these suggestions and were created from research conducted on Colorado focus group interviews. Ultimately, the message focused on the unintended consequences of Amendment 31 and became known as PPC:

- *P*—Parental involvement and choice would be eliminated with this dangerous amendment.
- *P*—Punitive measures in the amendment (e.g., suing teachers) were too extreme for Colorado.
- *C*—Cost to the taxpayers would skyrocket if the amendment passed.

The message resonated well with voters from a variety of ethnic, economic, age, and political groups, and the general public found it easy to understand. It was brief, simple, and substantive.

Staying on message required substantial discipline. It involved not engaging in or responding to overtly racist comments that were leveled at opponents of Amendment 31. In addition, No-on-31 strategists refrained from framing the arguments as being about racism or linguistic restrictionism. This disciplined approach enabled the campaign to establish a record

of being civil in behavior and thoughtful in consideration of the issues. Grounded in PPC, the following basic submessages were communicated to the broad voting constituencies:

- Amendment 31 would force all school districts into a “one size fits all” instructional program for 1 year. Neither parents nor teachers would have the range of educational opportunities that were currently available in Colorado.
- The amendment would impact all students in Colorado schools, not just those who were second-language learners.
- The amendment would create segregated classrooms.
- Teachers could be fired and banned from teaching for 5 years under the amendment.
- The Colorado Supreme Court itself had previously described the waiver option as a “sham.”
- The amendment would add another layer of testing for schools that already had too much testing to do.
- The amendment would create yet another unfunded mandate.

The effectiveness of this message reinforced for the public the unintended consequences of the amendment. Evidence of the effectiveness of these messages can be seen in the fact that the popular print and broadcast media used the message and its subtexts when writing and reporting stories about the amendment. Further evidence of the effectiveness of the message is found in polling data. According to the Feldman Group, in July 2002, a statewide voter survey on the English immersion initiative in Colorado found that 80% of voters supported the proposal. Three months later, in September, prior to a broad media campaign, that number had dropped to 60%. By November, only 44% of voters approved the amendment.

Funding the Campaigns

It is axiomatic that successful political campaigns require funding. The No-on-31 campaign was very successful in raising the money needed to fight the amendment. Evidence that the campaign attracted a broad-based coalition is found in the number of financial contributions it received. In contrast to the 12 individuals or groups that contributed to the Yes-on-31 campaign, the No-on-31 campaign received donations from between 800 and 1,000 different individuals

and organizations. Parents and teachers held fundraisers throughout the state to piece together the financial resources needed. The largest donation was a \$3.3 million donation made by Colorado heiress Pat Stryker. The money contributed to the campaign's ability to extend its already effective message to a broader voting audience. One week before the announcement of the large donation, polls revealed that support for Amendment 31 was down from 80% to 60%. Support was waning before Stryker's large donation funded a media blitz. The No-on-31 campaign had money, and more: a well-run campaign, an effective message, and grassroots support that extended across the state. Money helped, but money alone would not have been sufficient to defeat the initiative.

In contrast, the primary financial support for the Yes-on-31 campaign came from Ron Unz, a resident of California who had successfully backed similar legislation in California and Arizona. Unz loaned the campaign \$350,000 to help pay lawyers to write the amendment and to defend it in the Colorado Supreme Court. This money also provided support to pay signature gatherers to get the initiative on the ballot and to support salaries of the English for the Children staff. Although the campaign garnered enough signatures to be on the ballot and initially seemed to have overwhelming public support, it did not gather large-scale institutional support. Not a single school district, educational organization, civic or religious organization, or news agency took a position in support of Amendment 31.

The Vote and Its Impact

The impact of winning a No-on-31 vote was enormously important for the morale of teachers, parents, and children in the state. In fact, the implications were important for multilingual families throughout the United States. When the vote was finally counted, Coloradoans voted down Amendment 31 by a 56% to 44% margin. Only 10 of Colorado's 64 counties voted "yes" on Amendment 31. In these 10 counties, the largest margin of support was 58% "yes" to 42% "no" (Elbert County). Most counties voting "yes" had a very slim victory of 51% to 49%. Amendment 31 was soundly defeated in historic areas of Colorado where Latino roots go back 500 years. For example, in Alamosa County, 71% of the voters voted "no"; in Costilla County, 73% of the voters voted "no"; and in

Conejos County, 73% of the voters voted "no." Contrary to the claims of Ron Unz and Rita Montero, Latino families in Colorado were not clamoring for an end to bilingual education and the establishment of English immersion programs. Colorado voters voted down Amendment 31 by a margin of 66% to 44%. Amendment 31 was also defeated in counties that are historically conservative. In El Paso County, 55% of the voters voted "no"; in Weld County, 51% of the voters voted "no"; and in Larimer County, 65% of the voters voted "no."

The defeat of Amendment 31 preserved local control and educational choice in Colorado schools. The victory was important for all Colorado families—language majority and English language learners—as it helped to protect the educational rights of language minority children and their parents. More important, however, this campaign, and the ensuing defeat, ensured Colorado's importance as a model for others throughout the United States resolved to support linguistic diversity and educational opportunity for English language learners. The No-on-31 victory seems to have discouraged Unz and his supporters from mounting similar efforts. Since the Colorado defeat, no other initiatives have been launched in other states.

The bipartisan coalitions and partnerships developed during the No-on-31 campaign remained vigilant in their efforts to protect the rights of children and their families. Shortly after the defeat of Amendment 31, Republican Representative Bob Decker announced that he would submit an English immersion bill to the state legislature in January 2003. The bill never made it out of committee, due in part to the work of Colorado Common Sense, a nonprofit organization that remained in existence to prevent further attempts to float amendments such as Amendment 31. In the summer of 2006, a legislator from Greeley, Colorado, submitted a proposal for an antibilingual education ballot initiative, known as Amendment 95, for consideration in the November election. As an English-only initiative, this amendment, too, would have sought to eliminate bilingual education in the state of Colorado. The bill's proponents raised little money, had no out-of-state support, and were unable to collect sufficient public support in the form of signatures to get the bill on the ballot. Nevertheless, the coalitions formed in support of educational diversity were prepared to join forces to defeat them. They had already begun filing legislative challenges and planning fund-raising events.

English Plus, the political arm of the campaign, disbanded in December 2002 after the campaign ended. Colorado Common Sense, the educational branch of the campaign, voted to continue its activities, including its work with the state legislature to develop measures to avoid future Unz-like initiatives in Colorado. Maintaining communication with the coalition of organizations that helped to defeat Amendment 31 was also part of the long-term strategy to ensure local control and multiple program options for students learning English. Professional education organizations, such as the Colorado Association for Bilingual Education and the Associated Directors of Bilingual Education, continued their efforts to improve the state's instruction, assessment, and policy relating to second-language learners.

Kathy Escamilla and Susan Hopewell

Portions of this entry have appeared, in a slightly different context, in: Escamilla, K., Shannon, S., Carlos, S., & García, J., 2003, Breaking the code: Colorado's defeat of the anti-bilingual education initiative (Amendment 31). *Bilingual Research Journal*, 27, 357–382. Printed with permission.

See also Chávez, Linda; English-Only Organizations; Language Restrictionism; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 227 (California); Question 2 (Massachusetts); Unz, Ron

Further Readings

- Escamilla, K., Shannon, S., Carlos, S., & García, J. (2003). Breaking the code: Colorado's defeat of the anti-bilingual education initiative (Amendment 31). *Bilingual Research Journal*, 27, 357–382.
- Feldman Group. (2002). *A statewide voter survey on the English immersion initiative*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Unz, R. (2000, August 6; 2002, July 17, September 30, October 3). *Dear friends message*. Available from <http://www.onenation.org>

AMERICANIZATION AND ITS CRITICS

The concept of *Americanization* is defined by the *American Heritage Dictionary* as the assimilation into American life or culture “in form, style, or character.” Throughout most of their history, public schools have

performed that function in our society. They have played a major role in moving immigrant children and youth into the American way of life, another way of saying Americanization. Perhaps no one has been as clear and forthright about the perceived need to Americanize immigrant students as the educator and sociologist Elwood P. Cubberley, who, in 1909, asserted the need to disperse immigrant settlements with their foreign manners and customs and to “assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order and our popular government,” with the goal of instilling in immigrant children “a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth” (p. 2972).

Although Americanization is often portrayed as benign and useful, many contemporary scholars argue that this is not the case. Especially for linguistically and ethnically diverse children and families, the Americanization process may bring social and psychological conflict. Bilingual educators and proponents of multicultural education are among the strongest critics of the concept of Americanization and the underlying assimilation it implies. Some of these alternative perspectives on Americanization are examined in this entry.

Resistance and Conflict

In schools, the nature of the relationship between subordinated bicultural children and families, on one hand, and the educational system, on the other, sometimes involves resistance and conflict and, at other times, submission and acceptance. This reflects the dynamic and dialectic nature of education. Antonia Darder argues that to achieve a full understanding of the role of education, we need to regard schools as sites of both conflict and empowerment. That is, the plight of bicultural children and families within the education system is not one that is doomed to complete despair or failure. Particular school policies and practices, as well as individual and collective actions on the part of the agents (parents, students, administrators, and teachers) can promote more democratic schools in which the process of acculturation is far less traumatic.

Throughout the public education experience of immigrant and language minority youngsters, there

are assumptions on the part of educators that explain the lack of success of students whose home language is not English as being rooted in an inability to assimilate into the mainstream culture, which is evidenced by their failure to learn English. Often, the relationship between bicultural families and the school system is a microreflection of societal tensions and conflicts in the areas of economic and social inequality. Issues of cultural dominance appear to take place at four levels: societal, institutional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal. To examine how education functions as a mechanism for legitimating social inequality, it is necessary to understand how these four levels of interaction create pressures to assimilate to the cultural and social norms of the majority. This occurs because an asymmetrical relationship often exists in terms of power and status between diverse families and, in the case of the public school system, a structure and tradition of dominance. The formal process of schooling is the gateway to entering the “American dream,” and the price it exacts of new immigrants is often high.

Complexity of Acceptance

The Americanization process (i.e., acculturation and eventual assimilation into American life) is often dependent on being accepted or rejected by society. Gordon Allport suggests seven conditions that contribute to the process of social integration or rejection. The first condition is the heterogeneity of the society, a condition that hinders or promotes Americanization; as a society becomes more ethnically diverse, the level of tolerance toward diversity diminishes. The second condition is the degree of access to vertical mobility, which is often limited and thus diminishes acceptance. As more immigrants or less-privileged people achieve a college education, the competition for jobs becomes a threat for groups that traditionally held the preferred jobs in the past; those groups retaliate by limiting access. The third condition relates to rapid social changes that transform the job market and create tension between dominant and subordinate cultural groups, in the form of direct competition and in the reallocation of available resources. The fourth condition involves ignorance and barriers to communication, the propensity to act on the basis of stereotypes as opposed to actual interaction with people of ethnically diverse backgrounds, which often leads to social rejection. The fifth condition has to do with the size and density of the cultural group. As the size of the new group

increases, its social acceptance declines. The sixth condition takes the form of cultural devices to ensure or prove loyalty. This can happen even when no question has ever arisen about a low level of loyalty to the country. The seventh condition is the dominant society’s view of differences in the ideology of cultural pluralism and assimilation, or the use of policies that promote social inclusion versus policies that demand one mode of behavior.

According to Allport, if immigrants or ethnically diverse persons can maneuver the above social conditions to the satisfaction of the dominant culture, the societal acceptance or ability to blend into American society increases. Likewise, for those persons who cannot engineer the expected social conditions because of poverty, immigration status, level of income, skin color, linguistic preference, or level of education, their acceptance into American society is low or tentative.

Tensions in the Americanization Process

The tension of Americanization becomes more visible as the cultural diversity of a school community increases and concerns are raised about underachievement, home language use, and the integration of bicultural children in the process of schooling. To explain immigrant children’s underachievement, or failure to assimilate in the schooling processes, the notion of cultural deficiency or deprivation is often assumed to be operative, even when it is not spoken of using those terms. What is assumed is that the lack of Americanization, academic failure, and even poverty are due to failure by the immigrants themselves. In short, the victims are blamed.

Economists Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, among others, have documented the existence of differential treatment in American public schools regarding resources, attitudes, and outcomes provided to students from lower-socioeconomic backgrounds or class. Wittingly or otherwise, schools engage in practices that favor middle- and upper-class English-speaking students, through the hidden curriculum (the “unofficial” learning that happens at schools that is not overtly taught; for example, rules of conduct) and the allocation of cultural resources. The result is an educational pipeline that is often inaccessible to low-income immigrant and ethnically diverse students. Differential educational treatment for students who are perceived as failing to assimilate, or at least to

acculturate, contributes to the existing achievement gap for a large number of bicultural children. This discrepancy between bicultural and mainstream student academic success has led to a number of theories attempting to explain this phenomenon. These theories range from economic exploitation, such as (a) the economy's influence on the schools related to socializing children to fill in subordinate roles in a society based on economic needs; (b) cultural conflict and issues of power between subordinate and dominant culture groups; and (c) genetic, intelligence, and cultural inferiority and deficiencies on the part of the bicultural child. For example, the last assumption argues that immigrant bicultural families are lacking or missing important social and academic skills based on their "inferior" culture. Therefore, efforts need to be made to minimize these deficiencies. In schools, this is often promoted via compensatory education programs that are stigmatized as being remedial. In extreme cases, schools put minority children in low-status, low-prestige training programs, such as "food handling," which essentially prepares them for becoming waiters or waitresses.

Under the same scrutiny, these theories have been used to identify the role of the immigrant bicultural family in the academic achievement of students of color. While educators, such as James Banks, James Cummins, and Enrique Trueba, have focused on the strengths, possibilities, and knowledge that immigrant parents possess that benefit their children, contemporary educational and social models are still greatly influenced by the deficit-based hypothesis. Immigrant parents are blamed for their children's academic shortcomings, thus relieving the schools of their responsibility to provide an escape route out of poverty and deprivation. In sum, the prevailing discourse is about the failure of children to learn English, rather than the failure of the schools to teach that language effectively. Cummins argues that this form of discourse defines culturally diverse students and parents as inferior in various ways and therefore makes them responsible for their own school failure and inability to benefit economically.

Along with having a deficiency in knowledge, bicultural children are also viewed as having a deficiency in culture. Thus, the inability of bicultural students to succeed in school is not regarded as a problem with the education system, but rather the inability of the family to Americanize or acculturate into the dominant culture and its benefits.

Richard Valencia claims that the deficit theory operating in many schools is largely responsible for the failure of immigrant children and families to Americanize quickly enough to suit the culture of the schools. Educational deficit thinking is a way of blaming the victim that views the alleged deficiencies of poor and immigrant students and their families as being responsible for the students' academic failure, while holding blameless much of the structural inequality in schools and society. Deficit thinking can be found in the very popular "at-risk" construct that now underlies both conservative and liberal approaches to educational reform.

Formal Education and Bicultural Children

Educators experienced in working with linguistically and ethnically bicultural immigrant parents share a common desire to have their children succeed in school: progressing in the content academic areas, mastering English, and planning to attend college. These beliefs represent an interest in schooling and a legitimization of the American schooling process. Thus, despite the cultural differences, immigrant parents clearly accept the notion that in order to progress in this country, one must have a formal education.

The desire to succeed in formal education and in society generally runs across cultures as well as socioeconomic classes and groups. Yet for those who come from lower-socioeconomic groups, there is an obvious disadvantage in achieving their goal. Darder argues that American schools are grounded in the cultural capital (certain types of knowledge, attitudes, or dispositions that families regarded as having a certain status) of the dominant group and in the preparation of middle-class European American children to participate in their own culture. Hence, bicultural parents and their children often find the American schooling process completely alien to them. This frame of reference is transmitted to the parents, who are also expected to follow the parenting strategies of the dominant cultural group. Often, this can be a difficult task for bicultural parents who view schooling from a different cultural perspective.

Since many of the diverse parent populations in the United States come from Third World nations that tend to hold education and educators in very high regard, cultural norms prohibit them from questioning the school, the schooling process, and the school

personnel. Consequently, they and their children are unable to navigate the industrialized schooling system, in which parent advocacy is not only expected but also demanded for student success. For parents who fail to participate in this expected American behavior of open advocacy for their children, this may be interpreted by school personnel as indifference, lack of interest, and incompetence. Hence, the children's academic shortcomings are further legitimized by a system that is culturally alien to parents who view teachers and educators as the people who know best for their children.

Diversity, Complexity, and Assimilation Pathways

In examining the complexity of assimilation and Americanization, one finds an enormous range of diversity among the immigrant populations of the United States. Immigrants reflect different kinds of attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and identities. Furthermore, while the nation's immigrant community is increasing, their socioeconomic profiles point to both promising and troubling conditions. Few immigrants come from well-to-do families in which both parents have been to high school or college. A large proportion come from working-class or poor families in which neither parent has finished high school.

As of 2006, 1 of every 5 students in public schools is either an immigrant or the child of an immigrant. Immigrant children are the fastest-growing sector of the U.S. child population. Research in the field suggests that while many immigrants today are achieving high levels of education and social mobility, there are many others who are poorly educated, semiskilled, or unskilled. Although European immigrants in the past were largely unskilled, they could rely on abundant factory jobs that allowed them to establish a foothold in the economy. Current economic changes as a result of globalization, however, have relegated the least fortunate immigrants to persistent poverty and racial segregation. A new surge of resegregation in many cities is contributing to a growing gap in educational quality between the schools attended by White students and those serving a large proportion of ethnically diverse students. Under such conditions, an inferior education compounds the persistent gap in educational attainment levels between immigrant (particularly Latino) and other students. This provides even more evidence that current conceptions of

Americanization are not working in the ways they are purported to function by their advocates.

The research on immigrants also documents that social success is not necessarily found through education, the professions, or even extraordinary entrepreneurship, but rather through stable families acting collectively to achieve economic goals. The classic assimilation process that previous European immigrants underwent no longer applies to the new immigrant wave, as the U.S. economy has shifted from an industrial model of production to an informational model of mining conceptual space and information. Another salient condition that contributes to being incorporated or rejected into the fabric of American society is cultural capital. Cultural capital has to do with the general cultural background, knowledge, disposition, and skills that are passed down from one generation to the next. It includes ways of talking; modes of style, acting, and socializing; understanding expected behaviors; forms of knowledge; values; and language practices. The more cultural capital one acquires, the easier it is to blend into American society. Enrique Trueba argues that whereas Latino immigrants have often been seen as lacking the necessary cultural capital to succeed in the mainstream population, they, in fact, possess more cultural capital through their ability to master different languages and to cross racial and ethnic boundaries and through their general resiliency to endure and negotiate social, political, and economic hardships.

Immigrants from many nations come to the United States hoping that their children will realize dreams that they themselves could not achieve in their native countries. Karin Aguilar-San Juan reminds us that we are left with the task of asserting our language, culture, and race and at the same time challenging the categorization of people by language, culture, national origin, or skin color.

Alberto M. Ochoa

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Biculturalism; Cultural Capital; Culturally Competent Teaching; Deficit-Based Education Theory; Language and Identity

Further Readings

- Allport, W. G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1977). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.

- Cubberley, E. P. (1909). *Changing conceptions of education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. New York: Multilingual Matters.
- Darder, A. (1991). *Culture and power in the classroom: A critical foundation for bicultural education*. New York: Bergin & Garvey.
- Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: New Press.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Valencia, R. (Ed.). (1997). *The evolution of deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*. London: Falmer Press.
- Zou, Y., & Trueba, E. T. (Eds.). (1998). *Ethnic identity and power: Cultural contexts of political action in school and society*. New York: SUNY Press.

AMERICANIZATION BY SCHOOLING

The history of Americanization through education and schooling provides invaluable insights into the contemporary debates that surround bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States. The political and educational responses to increasing immigration at the turn of the 20th century served to delineate the ideological parameters that shape the debate to this day. Tony Johnson asserts that a certain mythology of Americanization has developed that forms the root of current ideologies about immigration and assimilation. The first assumes that past generations of immigrants willingly and rapidly sacrificed their cultural and linguistic heritage as a rite of passage in becoming Americans; the second singles out Latinos both historically and in present times as bucking this trend, thus representing a threat to cultural and national unity. A closer look at the history of Americanization in schools, however, may serve to dispel both of these loaded assumptions.

One complicating factor in such an overview is that the term *Americanization* has been used in the literature to refer both to the general approach to assimilation that characterized the period roughly from 1880 to 1950 and to a self-conscious movement that emerged at the time of World War I. Each is considered in turn in this entry.

Social and Historical Context

Johnson reports that some 35 million immigrants entered the United States between 1815 and 1915. Until the turn of the 20th century, the vast majority of these immigrants were German. Terrence Wiley documents that between 1870 and 1900, 2.8 million Germans immigrated to the United States, a number that fell dramatically in the first years of the new century. However, Johnson writes, there was a significant shift in immigration after 1885, as more people migrated from southern and eastern Europe. He also reminds us that immigration to the western United States increased at this time as people from Mexico and East Asia relocated in significant numbers. Bernard Weiss documents that immigrants to the East Coast were predominantly from Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkans; and, in contrast to previous waves of immigrants, most who entered the United States after 1885 were Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, or Jewish. By 1900, this wave of immigration grew to 1 million people per year.

In addition to the shift in immigration patterns, the United States was undergoing an important transformation caused by rapid urbanization and the industrialization of the economy. Weiss maintains that among the most profound effects of this transformation was the reconceptualization of formal schooling. Past generations had considered education primarily a project of self-improvement. However, by the turn of the 20th century, formal schooling was increasingly seen as serving the needs of the community, particularly as an institution that could contribute to the solution of social problems. Not only would public schools produce workers equipped with the skills required by an industrial, urban economy, they would also provide a common experience for the considerable ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity of immigrant children and shape them into responsible citizens. To underscore the scope of the challenge, Weiss cites a U.S. Immigration Commission report claiming that “in 1909, 57.8 percent of the children in the schools of the nation’s thirty-seven largest cities were of foreign-born parentage. In New York City, the percentage was 71.5, in Chicago 67.3, and in San Francisco it was 57.8” (p. xiii). Educators, politicians, and social critics of all ideological persuasions placed great expectations on schools to forge one society out of many peoples and traditions.

Perspectives on Assimilation

Foremost among the expectations placed on schools was their central role in the process of assimilation. Weiss discusses a common distinction in sociology between different conceptions of assimilation. He defines *behavioral assimilation*, also known as *acculturation*, as a process in which individuals and groups from various ethnic backgrounds adopt the attitudes and practices of the dominant, national culture, often at the expense of their home cultures. He contrasts that to *structural assimilation*, which he defines as the way immigrants and their descendants integrate into the social groups, organizations, and institutions of the host country.

This distinction between behavioral and structural assimilation helps us to understand important differences in the response by politicians, social commentators and activists, and educators to increasing immigration at the turn of the 20th century. If we look beneath the surface of the broad term *Americanization*, we find that it was a fairly large tent that encompassed nativists and outright racists, as well as liberal reformers sympathetic to immigrants. Terrence Wiley defines the former as those who sought to define and impose the rights of Anglo-Americans over those of immigrants. McClymer labels the latter as the “more sedate and pacific wing” of the movement. However, as Robert Carlson reminds us, even those Americanizers more sympathetic to immigrants nevertheless expected that immigrants would ultimately learn to accept dominant Anglo-Saxon attitude and behaviors. Although this entry will discuss how similar the actions of nativist and liberal Americanizers were toward immigrants, they will be treated as distinct and each group’s practice will be discussed in turn.

Finally, Weiss identifies two further responses to the wave of immigration in this period, the “melting pot” metaphor and cultural pluralism, and contrasts them with the tradition of Americanization. In both cases, he describes them as more sympathetic toward immigrants, even though they were still theories of assimilation. The “melting pot” metaphor, coined by English playwright Israel Zangwill in 1908, rejected the demand on immigrants to subordinate their home cultures to dominant Anglo-Saxon mores and instead put forward the goal of forging a new, distinct American ethos from the mixture of its many peoples. By contrast, cultural pluralism envisioned ethnic minorities retaining their cultural traditions while

participating in the American mainstream, although it was never clearly identified whose culture, values, and traditions would constitute that mainstream in the first place.

The Nativists and Schooling

Carlson describes in detail the nativists and their decades-long push to restrict immigration into the United States. Their efforts culminated in the passage of the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which established strict quotas on immigration from countries beyond northern Europe. With respect to formal education, nativism led to the outright segregation of ethnic and linguistic minority students from White students, especially in the West and Southwest. Johnson argues that the attitude of Anglo elites to Latinos and Asians paralleled the Jim Crow system developing in the South, namely, that certain races needed “special education” in vocational and technical skills. A dual system of segregated schools was established throughout the West and Southwest that prepared White students for their futures role as leaders and owners, while training Latino and Asian students for their lives as workers.

Sol Cohen includes in his 1974 collection of primary sources on the history of U.S. education an excerpt from Merton Hill’s program from 1928 for Americanizing Mexican American children. Hill identified “the Mexican element” as “the greatest problem confronting Southern California today” (p. 2931). Far from setting up segregated schools for Latino students and then forgetting about them, however, Hill called on these separate schools to Americanize what he labeled “the Mexican peon” (p. 2931). Hill’s plan centered on the following: teaching English, “to replace the Spanish [language] as the medium of use”; simple arithmetic; penmanship; hygiene, health, prenatal care, and parenting skills; art and music; “home-owning virtues . . . regarding thrift, saving and the value of keeping the money in the banks” (pp. 2931–2932); for boys, industrial arts; and for girls, training as domestic servants. Many of the above topics were to be taught by drill. To teach thrift, Hill recommended “successive copying of Poor Richard’s sayings” (p. 2933). For gifted students, Hill described a leadership program of student government so students became familiar with American civic life.

Segregation applied to Asian students as well. Cohen reprinted a resolution by the San Francisco

School Board from 1905 reaffirming its commitment to exclude Japanese and Chinese students from school. Part of the resolution reads,

It is the sense of the members of the Board of Education that the admission of children of Japanese or Mongolian descent as pupils to our common schools is contrary to the spirit and the letter of the law and that the co-mingling of such pupils with Caucasian children is beneful and demoralizing in the extreme. (p. 2971)

Cohen follows this resolution with an editorial from the November 6, 1906, edition of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, supporting the board's decision. The following is among the many reasons the publication cited in support of the board:

There is also the objection to taking the time of the teachers to teach the English language to pupils. . . . It is a reasonable requirement that all pupils entering the schools shall be familiar with the language in which instruction is conducted. We deny either the legal or moral obligation to teach any foreigner to read or speak the English language. And if we choose to do that for one nationality, as a matter of grace, and not to do the same for another nationality, that is our privilege. (p. 2972)

Given such sentiments, it is little wonder that a court case against the San Francisco school system some 65 years later, *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), would lead to the Supreme Court decision that provided the strongest legal basis for bilingual education.

Americanizers and Schooling

Clearly, what drove the nativist response to immigration around the turn of the 20th century was racism. Still, chauvinist and paternalistic attitudes toward immigrants were just as integral to the cause of Americanization. In a 1987 publication, Carlson captures this tension with his description of Americanizers as activists who "were advocates of the unfair exchange. In return for an education that offered a way into the middle class, they expected the immigrant to repudiate cultural *particularism* eventually and to adopt the American civic religion" (p. 60). Johnson, in a 2002 publication, portrays the condescension inherent in Americanization as follows: "Common school

teachers served as middle class mothers for immigrant children, giving them baths, teaching them proper manners and appropriate dress, and instilling in them the values of hard work, perseverance, and thrift" (p. 152).

Formal schooling was at the heart of the Americanization process, both for immigrant youth and their parents. Descriptions of the content of the Americanization program for schooling are remarkably consistent among the various primary sources from the era. Again, San Francisco provides an excellent example of the relationship between schooling and Americanization. Cohen reprints in a 1974 publication an excerpt by Dr. Ellwood P. Cubberley, former superintendent of San Francisco schools, and his views on the education of immigrants:

These southern and eastern Europeans are of a very different type from the north Europeans who preceded them. Illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative, and not possessing the Anglo-Teutonic conceptions of law, order and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civic life. . . . Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as a part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government. (p. 2162)

Even more-liberal campaigners for Americanization held fairly patronizing opinions of the immigrants on whose behalf they claimed to work. Carlson discusses what he calls the "humanitarian Americanizers," such as Jane Addams and Robert Woods, and their efforts on behalf of immigrants. Their work centered on what were known as "settlement houses," such as the famous Hull House in Chicago, in which reformers like Addams could demonstrate to immigrants the practices and customs of American home life. Carlson, in 1987, writes as follows:

Attempts to demonstrate the "gracious living" that the middle class associated with the "higher" Anglo-Saxon civilization were common in the [settlement houses] and often led to incongruous situations. Settlement house lessons on the proper handling of the silver tea service gave immigrant women an excuse for time away from the tenements, but were hardly the most helpful use of that time. (p. 62)

Nonetheless, according to Carlson, these more liberal Americanizers saw schooling as the primary means to integrate immigrants, and they openly embraced John Dewey's ideas about education to deal with immigrant children. John McClymer discusses the contradictory ideas Dewey held about immigration and education. While Dewey was famous for his progressive notions of project-based learning and democratic education, he also viewed with suspicion the maintenance of ethnic cultures in the United States. In a speech before the National Education Association in 1916, as cited by McClymer in a 1978 publication, Dewey contrasted the "real Americanism" of "unity of feeling and aim [and] a freedom of intercourse" to the "dangerous thing" of ethnic groups trying to "live off their past" and refusing "to accept what other cultures have to offer" (p. 109). In Carlson's discussion of the link between liberal Americanizers and Deweyan education, we see how the grand ideas behind project-based learning ultimately translated in practice into limited vocational education for immigrant youth.

Three points stand out as remarkable about many primary sources that describe the goals of Americanization. First among them is the consistency in their description of what constituted a "typical Americanization program." The most important goal of Americanization was not just that students acquire English but also that English should serve to replace the home language. As one example, Selma Berrol relates the story of a New York City school district administrator, Julia Richman, and her efforts to enforce the use of English in New York schools. Although Richman herself was of German Jewish origin, she forbade the speaking of Yiddish in the schools she administered and assigned teachers to monitor the lunch hall and playground to enforce the rule even during breaks. In addition, Americanization also meant teaching American styles of dress, habits, and manners; American housekeeping and personal hygiene; and basic civics.

A second feature common to primary accounts of Americanization is the glaring absence of academics (e.g., the study of literature, the sciences, mathematics beyond simple arithmetic, etc.). The absence of academics from the Americanization program underscores the paternalistic, elitist attitude toward immigrants and their perceived aptitude. One might think that the study of the English language may have opened the door to more academic study in schools.

On the contrary, most primary accounts of English language study at the time reveal that language learning was reduced to reciting and copying lists of isolated vocabulary words.

Finally, replacing traditional habits of food and dress with American versions was paramount to Americanizers and betrays their privileging of behavioral over structural assimilation. One revealing, if humorous, example is the profound suspicion of ethnic food. Helen Varick Boswell, in 1916, called for a cadre of "domestic educators" to conduct home visits to Americanize immigrant mothers by teaching them the "preparing of American vegetables, instead of the inevitable cabbage." John McClymer cites a 1924 work about Americanization in a company town and the efforts taken by company officials to train Polish wives to stop preparing so much cabbage soup, as the "continual flow of steam from the kitchen stove" led to a dampness they found dangerous. In his account of anti-German hysteria in the wake of World War I, Wiley recounts the panic over German sausage. The *Denver Post* had warned their readers in an article that German sausages might contain ground glass and urged its readers not to eat them anymore.

Cultural Pluralism and Schooling

The literature reveals fewer examples of the direct impact that proponents of cultural pluralism had on schooling at the turn of the 20th century. However, there is much commentary from that period suggesting that a significant minority of Americans at the time rejected the chauvinism and paternalism inherent to the Americanization program. One stunning example comes from a U.S. Bureau of Education evaluation, reprinted in Cohen's collection of primary sources, of an adult Americanization program in Passaic, New Jersey, from 1920. The evaluation reveals a commitment to what nowadays would be called "student-centered instruction" and a deep respect for the knowledge and values that immigrant students bring with them to the classroom. The report sharply criticizes the disconnected nature of English lessons and uses negative attendance data to call for the use of immigrants' schedules and stated needs to drive the scheduling and topics of class.

Frank Thompson framed the issue in especially acute terms. In his 1920 work, *The Schooling of the Immigrants*, he asked whether we should assimilate

immigrants by compulsion or persuasion. His argument questioned the “American values” allegedly at the heart of Americanization:

A curious paradox seems involved in estimating the advantages of either method [of assimilation]: to democratize our newer brethren we must resort to autocratic procedures; the democratic method does not promise to democratize. But the democratic method at least has permitted the immigrant to Americanize himself. (p. 2372)

Thompson continued by identifying the central contradiction of assimilation, namely, that coerced assimilation often leads to maintenance of ethnic heritage as a form of resistance.

The Americanization Movement: 1914–1925

The work of John McClymer focuses in particular on one moment in history when Americanization emerged as a self-conscious movement. The advent of World War I produced an explosion of nativist reaction across the United States. Although the United States would not enter the war until its third year, the outbreak of war led to a generalized denouncement of past assimilation efforts. McClymer argues that the war forced native-born Americans to come to terms with the country’s vast diversity; in a later work, he labels this coming of terms a *negative revolution* based on racism and reaction. This is the era when “100% Americanism” became the clarion call of the nation. War, writes McClymer, lent the Americanization crusade urgency; diversity, in the context of war, smacked of disloyalty.

To be sure, the Americanization movement was not the only reactionary development at this time. Instead, as McClymer documents, it developed alongside the 1916 presidential campaign, in which Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson attempted to outdo each other in taking a tough stance on assimilation; the sedition and espionage prosecutions of 1916/1917; the Red Scare of 1919/1920; two anti-immigration laws passed in 1921 and 1924; the “American Plan” of anti-unionism, including the infamous Palmer Raids in 1919, which merged anti-immigrant and anti-Communist sentiment to deport thousands of immigrants suspected of radical left activism; the growth of the American Legion; the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan; and the trial of Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti.

The Americanization movement declared past efforts at assimilation a failure. To ensure success, this generation of Americanizers called for a mixture of professionalism and legislative action to finally solve the problem of assimilation. Carlson focuses on the professionalization of the movement, especially at the hands of Frances Kellor, a New York attorney he identifies as the primary propagandist of the movement. Kellor advocated reframing Americanization on a scientific basis so that the best methods of assimilation could be investigated and propagated.

McClymer’s work on this era focuses on the bitter infighting among various federal agencies, especially between the Bureau of Education and the Bureau of Naturalization (itself a part of the Bureau of Labor), for control of the movement. In the end, few of the legislative proposals put forth by bureaucrats in either agency became law. However, the first textbooks on Americanization did emerge from the Bureau of Education in this era. Because Congress had given no authority to the bureau to lead Americanization efforts, the early textbooks were merely compilations of lessons from Americanization programs in adult schools across the country.

McClymer stresses that the Americanization movement of this era had no center. Frank Thompson’s work from 1920 made the same claim. In an effort to identify various federal, state, and local programs, Thompson listed no fewer than five federal agencies, two agencies established in each state, and various county and municipal agencies that took on Americanization activities, including private councils of defense formed throughout the country to investigate local breaches of loyalty.

Despite the hydraulic nature of the movement, the Americanizers were extremely effective in pushing their agenda. McClymer documents that by 1921, more than 30 states had Americanization laws, which led to the establishment in thousands of school systems of English and civics classes for immigrant adults. He estimates that some 1 million immigrants participated in these classes during the period of 1914 to 1925. Thousands of private employers and labor unions followed suit in leading English and civics classes for immigrants. Naturalization increasingly became synonymous with Americanization, and naturalization hearings were transformed into public ceremonies. Finally, the Fourth of July was proclaimed “Americanization Day” by groups such as the American Legion and the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution.

The impact of this generation of Americanization on schooling was threefold. First, programs for adult immigrants expanded rapidly throughout the country. For immigrant children, schooling had long been the primary site of Americanization. However, this period shifted the political dynamics of Americanization to equate learning English not just with elevating oneself to Anglo-Saxon standards. Instead, as Carlson describes, Americanization was equated with loyalty, and diversity was denounced as unpatriotic.

A final consequence of this era of Americanization was the criminalization of non-English languages across the country. Wiley recounts the most infamous case, that of German, and the various campaigns to eradicate the language. With the advent of World War I, private and parochial English-German bilingual schools closed; German was removed from the curricula in public schools; and in at least two cases (Nebraska and Iowa), laws were passed making instruction in German illegal. To get a sense of the impact of anti-German hysteria, Heinz Kloss documents that around the turn of the 20th century, some 600,000 children in the United States were receiving at least a portion of their education in German; the Americanization movement that grew with the advent of World War I essentially put an end to that. Wiley concludes that the Americanization movement was likely more effective in stigmatizing linguistic and cultural diversity than at achieving anything like assimilation. Thomas Ricento spells out one important consequence of this movement: Not until 1994 would the percentage of children (42.2%) in U.S. schools studying languages other than English reach the same level as in 1928.

Resilience and Difference

Weiss makes the critical point that the process of Americanization was not a unidirectional one. That is, despite the overwhelming pressure in the years 1885 to 1925 on ethnic and linguistic minorities to assimilate, there was not a single, monolithic response by immigrants. In some cases, certain immigrant groups seemed to embrace assimilation, engage in the “unfair exchange” identified by Carlson, and begin to experience significant social mobility. Weiss identifies, however, a growing body of research challenging the assumption that schooling was responsible for the entrance into the middle class of some immigrant groups. In other cases, there was more resilience among immigrants and an insistence, despite the odds, of

maintaining traditional values, practices, and language use. Factors that shaped immigrants’ responses to assimilation included their social class backgrounds, education, and professional levels in their home countries; their aspirations and expectations for life in the United States; and dominant U.S. attitudes toward them after their arrival. Weiss concludes with two points that can serve us well in navigating debates about bilingualism and bilingual education today. The history of Americanization has left a profound mark on this contemporary debate but still needs to be researched further. Finally, a proper understanding of assimilation cannot be based simply on the dominant society’s understanding of immigrants but must also place the needs, aspirations, values, and goals of immigrants themselves at the center of the research.

Donald Jeffrey Bale

See also Americanization and Its Critics; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Deficit-Based Education Theory

Further Readings

- Boswell, H. V. (1916). Promoting Americanization. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 64, 204–209.
- Carlson, R. A. (1987). *The Americanization syndrome: A quest for conformity*. London: Croom Helm.
- Cohen, S. (1974). *Education in the United States: A documentary history* (Vols. 4–5). New York: Random House.
- Cordasco, F. (1976). *Immigrant children in American schools: A classified and annotated bibliography with selected source documents*. Fairfield, NJ: Augustus M. Kelly.
- Johnson, T. W. (2002). *Historical documents in American education*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Herbst, J. (n.d.). *Bibliography of the history of American education, America and the urban age: Americanization and the response to immigration*. Retrieved October 22, 2007, from http://www.zzbw.uni-hannover.de/HerbstHist/Herbst41_4.htm
- Kloss, H. (1998). *The American bilingual tradition*. Washington, DC, and McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics/Delta Systems. (Reprinted from *The American bilingual tradition*, by H. Kloss, 1977, Rowley, MA: Newbury House)
- McClymer, J. F. (1978). The federal government and the Americanization movement, 1915–1924. *Journal of the National Archives*, 10(1), 23–41.

- McClymer, J. F. (1980). *War and welfare: Social engineering in American, 1890–1925*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- McClymer, J. F. (1982). The Americanization movement and the education of the foreign-born adult, 1914–1925. In B. J. Weiss (Ed.), *American education and the European immigrant: 1840–1940* (pp. 19–116). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Ricento, T. (2005). Problems with the “language-as-resource” discourse in the promotion of heritage languages in the U.S.A. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9, 348–368.
- Thompson, F. V. (1920). *Schooling of the immigrant*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Weiss, B. J. (1982). Introduction. In B. J. Weiss (Ed.), *American education and the European immigrant: 1840–1940* (pp. xi–xxviii). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Wiley, T. G. (1998). The imposition of World War I era English-only policies and the fate of German in North America. In T. Ricento & B. Burnaby (Eds.), *Language policies in the United States and Canada: Myths and realities* (pp. 211–241). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Wiley, T. G. (2004). Language planning, language policy, and the English-only movement. In E. Finegan & J. Rickford (Eds.), *Language in the U.S.A.: Themes for the twenty-first century* (pp. 319–338). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

ANDERSSON, THEODORE (1903–1994)

Theodore Andersson was a language professor and visionary who helped initiate the FLES (Foreign Language in Elementary Schools) movement in the 1950s and the bilingual education movement in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. A lifelong interest in languages and cultures was awakened in his childhood; later, he earned a PhD in romance languages and literatures from Yale. Born to Swedish immigrants in New Haven, Connecticut, Andersson accompanied his mother to Dalarna, Sweden, in 1907, and they remained there with her family until his father had found work. Having arrived in Sweden a monolingual English speaker, he returned to New Haven 2 years later—just in time for first grade—speaking only Swedish. These and related events planted an appreciation of immigrants’ experiences, a love of Swedish, and a spirit of internationalism. They also served throughout his life as touchstones for his work,

which was grounded in convictions about the personal, political, and educational benefits of bilingualism; the remarkable ability of children to acquire new languages; the challenge for immigrant families to maintain a heritage language; and the shamefulness of schools’ disregard for students’ heritage languages.

Andersson held positions at American University, Wells College, and Yale. At the end of World War II, he served as educational adviser for the State Department in international capacities: Western Europe, International Exchange (1945), and Vietnam, the Mutual Security Agency (1952). These opportunities illustrated his conviction that knowledge of foreign languages is fundamental for maintaining healthy communication among nations.

During the 1950s, Andersson argued for teaching languages earlier—in elementary school—documenting the existence of programs, interviewing participants, and writing about the necessary qualifications of teachers. In 1953, he directed the UNESCO Seminar on the Teaching of Modern Languages in Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, and broached the topic there by adding his own session. Andersson’s paper, expanded, was published as a book later that year.

In 1957, while Andersson was director of the Modern Language Association’s Foreign Language Program, the Soviet Union’s successful launch of *Sputnik*, the first artificial satellite, jarred the nation into concern about improving education. Andersson was a liaison for the Modern Language Association with the U.S. Office of Education and the congressional committees that assembled the 1958 National Defense Education Act.

When he moved to the University of Texas in 1957, Andersson was appalled to observe that Mexican American children from this state were stigmatized and demeaned for their Spanish instead of valued for their knowledge of a “foreign” language; and so he began sowing the seeds for bilingual education. In 1959, he intrepidly proposed to the state education agency that migrant Spanish-speaking children be taught in Spanish as well as English, but he received a chilly response. That same year, Andersson chided Spanish language professors and teachers for the prevailing academic prejudice against the Spanish spoken by Mexican Americans. In the same writing, he lauded an experimental bilingual instructional program in four local schools.

Andersson approached school districts about creating bilingual programs for Spanish-speaking children.

When experimental efforts started up in San Antonio and Laredo, Texas, he provided frequent consultation. He participated in state and national hearings, working with Senator Ralph Yarborough on the 1968 Bilingual Education Act and with Texas Senator Carlos Truán in the creation of the state law.

Chairing the Department of Romance Languages beginning in 1959 and noting the omission of a Mexican American scholar, Andersson created a position for an outstanding Texas high school Spanish teacher. Marie Esman Barker, George Blanco, and Albar Peña, whom he recruited consecutively, completed doctorates and became educational leaders in their own right.

In 1968, following the completion of a book on FLES, Andersson and Mildred Boyer conducted a yearlong study of bilingual education, visiting programs around the country featuring a variety of heritage languages. This culminated in a two-volume foundational text published in 1970 and a second edition in 1978.

Already in the 1970 volume, however, the authors lamented shortcomings of the federal law. Over the next decade, Andersson increasingly lost faith in the political will of the government and schools to provide the quality programs that would allow students to develop confident, academic proficiency in the non-English languages. As his hope for the schools waned, he turned to heritage language parents, exploring with them the process of teaching their preschool children to read in their mother tongues. Andersson created research projects for interested parents, directed doctoral theses on the topic, collected case studies, and ultimately wrote a guide for heritage language parents.

Carol Evans

See also Peña, Álbar Antonio; Zamora, Gloria

Further Readings

- Andersson, T. (1969). *Foreign languages in the elementary school: A struggle against mediocrity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Andersson, T., & Boyer, M. (1970). *Bilingual schooling in the United States* (Vols. 1–2). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Andersson, T., & Boyer, M. (1978). *Bilingual schooling in the United States*. Austin, TX: National Educational Laboratory.

Evans, C. (1995). *Scholar with a mission: The career of Theodore Andersson and his contributions to language education*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

ARIZONA PROPOSITION 203

See PROPOSITION 203 (ARIZONA)

ARMY LANGUAGE SCHOOL

See DEFENSE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE

ASPIRA CONSENT DECREE

The 1974 consent decree between the New York City Board of Education and Aspira of New York, Inc., established bilingual education as a legally enforceable entitlement for New York City's non-English-speaking Latino students. Aspira, a Puerto Rican community organization in New York City, had filed a federal lawsuit in 1972, known as *Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education*, to address what it contended was the deficient education of Spanish-speaking children in the city. The Aspira consent decree was a negotiated settlement, in lieu of continuing the suit in court. It mandated that the city's public schools provide core content instruction in Spanish for Puerto Rican limited-English-proficient students along with English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction.

Federal laws such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA) of 1974 helped to shape local and federal language policy for *English language learners* (ELLs), the term now used in lieu of *limited-English-proficient* students. The history of bilingual education was also shaped by court decisions such as the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 1974 in *Lau v. Nichols*, by compliance plans developed pursuant to *Lau*, and by legally enforced negotiated settlements like the Aspira consent decree.

In *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court required that the San Francisco Unified School District address the English language "deficiencies" of non-English-speaking Chinese students. The Court, citing Title VI

of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, declared that by providing all students with the same instruction in English, school administrators failed to provide equal educational opportunities to non-English-speaking students. In light of this federal precedent, on August 29, 1974, under the guidance of U.S. District Judge Irving Frankel, the City Board of Education and Aspira signed a legally binding consent decree. Aspira was represented in court by the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF), an organization founded in 1972 to represent the Puerto Rican community in court cases.

The consent decree required the board of education to establish a *transitional bilingual education* (TBE) program, defined as an instructional program using a student's native language to teach language arts and core subject matter while also providing ESL instruction. The goal of TBE programs is to move ELLs into English mainstream classes as soon as they have acquired sufficient English language proficiency to allow them to participate meaningfully in such settings. The agreement included language arts and other core content learning subjects (mathematics, science, and social studies) taught in Spanish, as well as ESL instruction.

A Puerto Rican Vision of Bilingual/Bicultural Education

In the years before the consent decree was signed, Puerto Rican parents and educators in New York City had faced institutional resistance to the implementation of bilingual and ESL instruction and to their demands for community participation in the governance of neighborhood schools. While the Puerto Rican community was struggling for bilingual/bicultural education programs, African Americans sought to obtain desegregated, high-quality schooling in community-controlled public schools. Encouraged by the civil rights victories of African Americans, Puerto Rican leaders created organizations like Aspira and PRLDEF and engaged in protracted negotiations with the central school board. These measures led to the 1974 consent decree compromise. Concurrently, both Puerto Rican and African American communities participated in the 1960s community control "school wars" that led to another political compromise, New York State's 1969 School Decentralization Law.

Puerto Rican community support for bilingual education in New York City had always been high. It was

motivated by a dedication to cultural survival, reflective of their struggle for identity in New York City, the quintessential "melting pot" American city. Puerto Ricans embraced bilingual/bicultural education as an expression of a pluralist philosophy that respects the language and culture of their children and families. This was in direct opposition to the deficit models of education embedded in many compensatory programs of the 1960s. Puerto Rican community leaders and educators argued that their children and youth, as native-born citizens of the United States whose native language was Spanish, had a right to be taught in a language they understood and that this type of instruction should prevail until they could acquire sufficient proficiency in English to enable them to learn alongside their English-speaking peers.

A Limited Mandate

The TBE program resulting from the Aspira consent decree was a political compromise. It was something less than the developmental or maintenance bilingual program that was supported by the Puerto Rican and Latino community and that the Aspira plaintiffs had wanted. TBE was never established as a legal right for all Latino pupils, only for those whose command of English was deemed inadequate. Later commentators faulted Aspira's leaders and the PRLDEF lawyers for adopting a narrow litigation strategy; many community activists and bilingual advocates viewed the consent decree as founded on an assimilationist model of education that would lead to a deficit-based, remedial type of bilingual education. Over the years, this compromise created a rift between two groups: On one side were the bilingual professionals responsible for implementing and administering TBE and ESL instructional programs, along with grassroots education reformers; on the other side were the community leaders who continued to embrace developmental bilingual program models, including late-exit "maintenance" bilingual programs and, later, dual-language or two-way immersion programs.

Many Latino educators and community leaders also regarded the limited TBE mandate as a weakness of the consent decree because it did not address all the endemic conditions faced by the larger Latino student population. As a negotiated compromise, the decree was based on the then-reigning ideology that regarded the acquisition of English as the paramount social and educational imperative.

The board of education had insisted on keeping a smaller proportion of Latino ELLs in TBE programs. Approximately 40% of Latino students were to be included in the programs mandated by the decree. But the cutoff for ELL eligibility was set at the 20th percentile, a significantly low test score based on the Language Assessment Battery (LAB), a norm-referenced test of English proficiency. Most important, there were no new services or any changes in mainstream monolingual English instruction for most Latino students. Despite these limitations, the consent decree recognized the legitimacy of the Latino community's concerns and its interest in having Spanish as a medium of instruction.

From a Puerto Rican/Latino perspective, the historical context for bilingual education in New York City included a set of persistent conditions, many of which arguably still exist. Among these were the disproportionate Latino drop-out rate, Latino academic underachievement, the lack of adequate and culturally appropriate guidance and support services, the discouragement of parent and community involvement, and the low representation of Puerto Ricans and Latinos in teaching and school administrator roles.

Impact of the Aspira Consent Decree

Scholars who have studied the Aspira consent decree, such as Isaura Santiago and Sandra del Valle, have analyzed the support for bilingual/bicultural education as part of a broader effort to gain an equal educational opportunity and address the high drop-out rate among minority group children. They also regard it as part of the struggle to gain greater community control of the schools. Antonia Pantoja, who founded Aspira in New York City in 1961, believed that the Puerto Rican communities of New York City, like other Latin American communities, understood that Spanish-English bilingualism and biliteracy (the ability to read and write in two languages) were indispensable tools for personal growth, community development, and sociocultural advancement. Thus, there was ample reason for the criticism of the consent decree that surfaced. Many community leaders were not satisfied with the transitional nature of the programs to be mandated by the decree.

Aspira's mission was that of helping to develop new leaders in New York among the city's high school Puerto Rican youth. As other Latino immigrants arrived

in large numbers, they too were incorporated into the programs operated by Aspira in pursuit of this same goal. Biliteracy was seen as tied to academic achievement and also to ethnic awareness, self-affirmation, and an ethic of social responsibility and problem solving.

While Aspira was intended to represent non-English-speaking Puerto Rican and other Latino students, students from other ethnic and linguistic minority groups also benefited from the provisions of the consent decree, because the *Lau* compliance plan mirrored the consent decree's key elements. The fact that Spanish-speaking ELLs were separated from other ELLs as a plaintiff class in the Aspira lawsuit and that the case was pursued as a Puerto Rican/Latino community effort has had unexpected consequences over the years. The absence of non-Latino ELL plaintiffs has led many to see the issue of bilingual education in New York City primarily as a concern of the Puerto Rican community and other emerging Latino groups. In later years, the linguistic diversity of other ELL populations and their presumed differences regarding the desirability of bilingual instruction would be used by school officials to argue for more choice in instructional models, especially for English immersion options.

Shortly after signing the Aspira consent decree, the New York Board of Education also signed a separate *Lau* plan with the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Civil Rights, on September 15, 1977. This plan was required of the district because of the *Lau* decision. It effectively expanded the TBE program to serve students from other language groups whose limited command of English hindered their ability to learn in mainstream classrooms and whose home language was other than English. In 1974, Puerto Ricans made up the majority of Latino ELL students, whereas by 2006, most Latino students were Dominican and Mexican. The total ELL enrollment in New York City in 2006 stood around 141,000, two thirds of whom are Latino ELLs. The other one third represented more than 140 language communities.

In 1986, the Educational Priorities Panel reported that up to 40% of eligible ELLs were not receiving any mandated instruction. Collective advocacy efforts in 1989, however, resulted in a significant improvement of instruction for ELLs who were eligible to receive ESL or bilingual instruction. Also, in 1989, the State Board of Regents decided to raise the eligibility cutoff score on the English language proficiency

assessment to the 40th percentile. As mentioned previously, the LAB, used earlier in New York City, had originally set the eligibility criterion at the 20th percentile. The State Board of Regents' narrower eligibility policy was based on evidence presented to them by bilingual education researchers. The eligibility cutoff score was revised despite opposition mounted by U.S. English, a national antibilingual education group.

The 1990s brought efforts by New York City's mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, to sunset the consent decree mandates. He succeeded only in getting Aspira to drop the decree's opt-out mechanism in favor of a mechanism allowing parents to opt their children into programs of their choice. In effect, children identified as ELLs would no longer automatically be placed in bilingual classes. Michael Bloomberg, successor to Giuliani, later saw a dramatic shift of ELL student enrollment from TBE to ESL program models.

By 2006, only 30% of New York City's ELLs participated in TBE programs, while 67% were enrolled in ESL programs. The reasons for this decline in student participation in TBE are complex, but the diminished emphasis on bilingual education in New York City mirrored what was happening in other parts of the country, such as Arizona, California, and Massachusetts. In these states, bilingual education was seen as suffering severe blows as a result of the "English for the Children" campaign. History has not yet rendered a judgment as to the severity of effects brought about by these measures.

Luis O. Reyes

See also Acculturation; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Dual-Language Programs; Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s; English for the Children Campaign; Language Socialization; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs

Further Readings

- Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education, 394 F. Supp. 1161 (S.D.N.Y. 1975).
- de Jesús, A., & Pérez, M. (in press). From community control to consent decree: Puerto Ricans organizing for education and language rights in NYC. In F. Matos-Rodríguez & X. Totti (Eds.), *Puerto Ricans in America: 30 Years of activism and change*. New York: Palgrave.
- del Valle, S. (1998). Bilingual education for Puerto Ricans in New York City: From hope to compromise. *Harvard Educational Review*, 68, 193–217.
- Fitzpatrick, J. P. (1987). *Puerto Rican Americans: The meaning of migration to the mainland*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Latino Commission on Educational Reform. (1992). *Towards a vision for the education of Latino students: Community voices, student voices* (Vols. 1–2). Brooklyn, NY: New York City Board of Education.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- New York City Board of Education. (1958). *The Puerto Rican Study, 1953–57*. New York: Author.
- Pantoja, A., & Perry, W. (1993). Cultural pluralism: A goal to be realized. In M. Moreno-Vega & C. Y. Greene (Eds.), *Voices from the battlefield: Achieving cultural equity* (pp. 135–148). Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Reyes, L. O. (2006). The Aspira Consent Decree: A thirtieth-anniversary retrospective of bilingual education in New York City. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76, 369–400.
- Santiago-Santiago, I. (1978). *A community's struggle for equal educational opportunity: Aspira v. Board of Education*. Princeton, NJ: Office for Minority Education, Educational Testing Service.
- Santiago-Santiago, I. (1986). *Aspira v. Board of Education revisited*. *American Journal of Education*, 95, 149–199.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (1976). *Puerto Ricans in the continental United States: An uncertain future*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Willner, R. (1986). *Ten years of neglect: The failure to serve language-minority students in the New York public schools*. New York: Educational Priorities Panel.

ASSIMILATION

Assimilation is a voluntary or involuntary process by which individuals or groups completely take on the traits of another culture, leaving their original cultural and linguistic identities behind. The absorption of European immigrants into U.S. society and their adoption of American cultural patterns and social structures has generally been described as a process of *assimilation*. For many years, school programs in the United States strove to assimilate minority children. The process has also been called *Americanization*. The education of American Indian youth, for example, focused on enabling them to blend into the majority culture, while discouraging the retention of their tribal customs, beliefs, and languages. As late as the 20th century, many Native American children were physically removed from their families and transplanted to distant towns and villages, where they lived with White families in order to speed up this process.

The concept of assimilation continues to polarize teachers, school administrators, academics, researchers, politicians, and others with an interest in the place of schools in public life. On one side, there are those who feel strongly that in a democratic, pluralistic, and egalitarian society embedded in an interdependent world, the primary mission of public schools is to promote the intellectual, social, linguistic, and personal development of all students, whatever their background. According to this camp, public schooling should promote social justice; caring and advocacy for students, their parents, and their communities; curriculum reform; prejudice reduction; linguistic fairness; and respect for the cultures of those who differ from ourselves. The assimilation research literature suggests that culturally, linguistically, and socially responsive schooling produces students who feel less alienated and who tend to do well academically, socially, and emotionally. According to this view, students who take pride in their backgrounds and are able to maintain their original languages and cultures have a greater chance of doing well in school and society, while maintaining important intergenerational communication patterns in their homes and communities. This set of beliefs is common among bilingual educators.

On the other side are those who feel equally strongly that the public schools should continue to emphasize the assimilation of minorities into society and the modern economy by focusing on the core intellectual and cultural values of the Western world. Those who hold this position still believe in the notion of the “melting pot,” our best-known assimilation metaphor. Although it was originally intended as a metaphor for leveling the sociocultural and racial playing field in the United States, the melting-pot concept has been criticized for being discriminatory in practice. (The author once asked the Black civil rights leader Jesse Jackson Jr. whether he believed in the melting pot—to which Jackson responded that in his opinion, most Blacks were stuck on the side of the pot.)

Advocates of the melting pot claim that multiculturalism lowers academic standards by establishing preferential policies for minority students for admission to colleges and universities; substituting “feel-good” learning for academic rigor by overemphasizing self-esteem gained through reverence for one’s ethnicity and linguistic traditions; and dividing U.S. society by segregating students and teaching them competing ethnocentrism through curricular approaches, such as

Afrocentric education and bilingual/bicultural education. These critics believe that such programs undermine U.S. common culture by denying its Western roots, teaching the “wrong” values, and deemphasizing traditional moral authority based on Western religious principles.

Choosing to leave one’s cultural and linguistic heritage behind can be a sad and difficult experience. Others in the family may not understand the decision and may not speak the new language. In addition, individuals who choose to assimilate are often accused by their original communities and other marginalized groups of having “sold out.” Thus, for example, Black youngsters who are said to “act White” may be stigmatized as “Oreos”: Black on the outside and White on the inside. There are also no guarantees that an individual who has chosen to cut off his or her original roots will be accepted by the dominant society if there is a history of prejudice and discrimination against individuals and groups from certain racial and cultural backgrounds.

The ideology and processes of assimilation thus have profound implications for school and society. In states such as California and Arizona, with restrictive English-only language policies, schools face tough ideological and curricular decisions regarding the use of other languages for instructional purposes. In such situations, teachers must work with students, parents, colleagues, and community members at each end of the spectrum—those who believe that schools have a duty to help students assimilate as a way of preparing them for life in the dominant society and those who believe in the value of pluralism—to strike a balance. Although the need to balance everyone’s interests can be a daunting task for teachers, it can also be a valuable opportunity to learn more about opposing views in an area where great understanding is sorely needed.

Carlos J. Ovando

See also Acculturation; Biculturalism; Boarding Schools and Native Languages; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Enculturation; Ethnocentrism; Melting-Pot Theory

Further Readings

- Chávez, L. (1991). *Out of the barrio: Toward a new politics of Hispanic assimilation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ovando, C. J., Combs, M. C., & Collier, V. P. (2006). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (4th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

- Ovando, C. J., & McLaren, P. (Eds.). (2000). *The politics of multiculturalism and bilingual education: Students and teachers caught in the crossfire*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Peyton, J. K., Griffin, P., Wolfram, W., & Fasold, R. (2000). *Language in action: New studies of language in society in honor of Roger W. Shuy*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Ravitch, D. (1995). Politics and the schools: The case of bilingual education. In J. Noll (Ed.), *Taking sides: Clashing views on controversial educational issues* (8th ed., pp. 240–248). Guilford, CT: Dushkin. (Reprinted from *Proceedings From the American Philosophical Society*, 129[2], 1985)
- Salins, P. D. (1997). *Assimilation American style: An impassioned defense of immigration and assimilation as the foundation of American greatness and the American Dream*. New York: Basic Books.
- Webster, Y. O. (1997). *Against the multicultural agenda: A critical thinking alternative*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

Although language diversity is not a new phenomenon in the United States, understanding contemporary attitudes toward language diversity can be a more complex undertaking than is commonly assumed. This entry describes selected factors related to people's attitudes toward language diversity and explores implications of these factors for understanding attitudes toward language diversity in education.

Attitudes represent people's internal thoughts, feelings, and behavioral tendencies in various contexts. Attitudes can predispose people to certain thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, and they can also be an outcome. For example, those with positive attitudes toward language diversity may be attracted to live in linguistically and culturally diverse settings, even though they themselves may be monolingual or struggling to become multilingual. Sometimes people develop positive attitudes toward language diversity in the course of fitting into a new community characterized by two or more languages. But a changing community, culturally and linguistically, could also have the opposite effect: negative attitudes toward those who are considered atypical. When that happens, those with negative attitudes toward the shift may move away; those who embrace it may choose to stay and be transformed by the changing environment.

An oft-quoted aphorism, attributed to linguists Joshua A. Fishman and Max Weinreich, states that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy. Tucker Childs points out that ultimately all languages are dialects. History and politics often decide which dialect will rise to a level warranting the term *language*. Those factors also decide people's attitudes toward languages, their own and those of others. One's own language may be understood to be of higher or lower status than the languages of others, whether to oneself or another or both. This differential may influence attitudes toward language diversity. The more powerful or historically significant the group, the more likely their dialect will be considered a language. From the perspective of the more or less powerful, or both, the language of the less powerful may not be a language at all, but a lower-status dialect. Despite the notion that all languages are dialects, people's attitudes toward other languages may result in giving one language a greater value and higher status than another.

Attitudes toward language diversity can be proxies for attitudes about other people, the people who speak those languages that are regarded negatively. Factors such as the nation the speakers came from, the socio-political relationships between the sending nation and the receiving nation, the reasons for emigration, the length of stay in the receiving nation, and the likelihood of returning to the sending nation influence people's attitudes toward language diversity. These factors shape the social order among diverse languages in contact and the ways in which people who already live in the receiving nation behave toward diverse languages, including their expectations that newcomers will learn a dominant language.

Those who ascribe to a nationalistic worldview (e.g., the long-standing notion of the United States as melting pot) whereby involuntary immigrants have historically shed their heritage to take on the identity of their new homeland may feel threatened by a voluntary influx of transnational speakers of other languages who do maintain their heritage language and culture. People with such nationalistic views may behave negatively toward the languages of the newcomers and to the newcomers themselves. Conversely, for those who live a comfortable, transnational existence, language diversity may elicit positive attitudes: language diversity is a natural part of life that is readily negotiable for people who may already be conversant in more than one language.

Language Diversity in U.S. History

Historical accounts provide insight into possible reasons for particular attitudes toward language diversity in the United States. Researchers such as Heinz Kloss and Marc Schell paint a picture of polyglotism during U.S. history. From pre-Colonial times to the dawn of the Republic, there were fewer English speakers than is generally assumed. Among the inhabitants in the pre-colonial and colonial eras and at the birth of the United States were many speakers of German and of aboriginal and African languages. Outside of the colonies, there were also speakers of French and Spanish.

Carol Schmid asserts that the founding fathers probably considered language an individual matter and did not consider diversity to be a problem to the degree it is seen to be today. Newcomers could use a heritage language as long as they did not intend to retain the language for a long time. Politically significant groups, such as the Germans, were accommodated in exchange for their loyalty to the cause of independence. In the revolutionary era, federal documents were published in English and in other languages.

Schmid further points out that the new U.S. Constitution was completely silent on the subject of official language and language diversity. Though the English and their descendants constituted less than half of the population at the time of the first census, Schmid notes that James Madison made no reference at all to language, culture, or ethnicity in his essays about diversity. In the *Second Federalist Paper*, John Jay wrote this often-quoted statement: "Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to our united people—a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government. . . ." The same language was assumed to be English. Inexplicably, Jay overlooked the many speakers of other languages living in and around the colonies.

The ambivalence that Schmid notes among the founders has persisted throughout U.S. history and has shaped attitudes toward language variation. The struggle between the notion that foreigners are an asset to society or, alternatively, a threat when they attempt to preserve their language and cultural heritage continues to this day. This ambivalence and the consequent dialectic—rather than language diversity in itself—is at the core of associated dissension and social division that has been feared throughout U.S. history, when newcomers arrive in large numbers and

preserve their language and culture in the new land. Both have been played out on numerous occasions in many public settings including schools and the workplace, and in the media. Although difficult to prove, it may well be that the fears connected with language and cultural diversity are what creates problems in the society, rather than diversity itself.

Influences Shaping Responses to Language Diversity

We know that individual listeners' attitudes toward language diversity generally parallel their attitudes toward the speakers themselves, but it can be difficult to locate the trigger for negative organizational or institutional responses to language diversity. Does a person's negative attitude toward other languages in the workplace reflect that person's distaste for other languages per se or for other things related to the speakers of the particular language at issue? For instance, might a person's negative attitude toward a particular language be a proxy for unease with changing demographics brought about by large numbers of immigrants who speak that language? Do negative attitudes about language diversity reflect distaste for the way people talk, or do they reflect distaste for the speakers themselves, who may be seen as a threat to employment or cultural norm? Rosina Lippi-Green attributes the root of negative attitudes in the United States toward languages other than English to a monoglot language ideology that favors one form of English. She maintains that the ideology is introduced in schools, promoted by the media, and institutionalized in the workplace. Consequently, many of those who deviate from this ideology and are members of groups held in disfavor by mainstream speakers of English can expect lesser educational opportunities and outcomes and similar limitations in the workplace.

Unexamined attitudes toward language diversity can have grave consequences in school. Deborah Byrnes, Gary Kiger, and Lee Manning point out that teachers' attitudes toward children's languages and dialects influence teachers' expectations of students' academic achievement. They also noted that teachers' negative attitudes toward language minority children are exacerbated by the disproportionate number of children who are found in lower socioeconomic groups. Being in poverty and not speaking English natively are thus linked in the minds of many people. An unwarranted cause-and-effect relationship is established.

Most public-school teachers have little or no formal training in teaching English as a second language and are not fluent in other languages. Teachers' frustrations over not understanding children's languages and cultures can easily turn into negative feelings that affect their academic expectations for these students. Moreover, an English-only movement can influence education policy and practice, further feeding the development of negative attitudes toward language diversity by education professionals. All of these factors, in combination, can lead to less than optimal educational outcomes for students.

Geneva Smitherman and Victor Villanueva note that although most teachers accept language diversity, acceptance is not necessarily translated into classroom practice or into the preparation of teachers by colleges and universities. In Smitherman and Villanueva's study, teachers who reported having received training in topics related to language diversity were more likely to have positive attitudes toward language differences and bi/multiculturalism. Smitherman and Villanueva also found a correlation between educational level and racial or ethnic background, and positive attitudes toward language diversity. The higher the level of education, the more likely a positive attitude toward language diversity is to exist. This finding is consistent with that of Byrnes, Kiger, and Manning, who assert that earning a graduate degree that includes training in teaching linguistically diverse children equips educators with greater sophistication in thinking about social, political, and educational issues related to language diversity and is associated with educators' positive attitudes toward language diversity. Contact with different languages without this preparation does not lead to positive attitudes.

In addition to external factors that influence responses to language diversity, Lippi-Green reports an internal factor—language insecurity—that affects one's attitudes toward one's own language in a linguistically diverse context. Demonstrating negative attitudes toward one's own language invites similar attitudes to the language and its speakers by others. To the degree that speakers of a regional variety (e.g., New York, Midwest, southern accents) are less than proud of that variety, other persons who speak other varieties of regional English may acquire the same negative attitudes. Further research into this factor may provide insight and additional questions, for example, regarding differences between German immigrants to the United States in the 19th century and today's

Spanish speakers with respect to linguistic security each demonstrated in their own languages. In the 19th century, the German language was considered a pathway to college within the German-speaking community, and English was the pathway to lesser pursuits in business and commerce. In the 21st century, with respect to Spanish, the situation is reversed. Those aspiring to a college education must speak English to be equipped to participate fully in higher education pursuits. The German-speaking community of the 19th century appeared to hold German as having equal status with English, despite pronouncements from outside that opposed this view. Neysa Luz Figueroa's study of the language attitudes of speakers of high- and low-prestige varieties of Spanish suggests that today's Spanish-speakers in the United States may not be as unanimous in their thinking about the status of their Spanish relative to other variations of Spanish used in Latin America and Spain. These attitudes among Spanish speakers bear on their attitudes toward English as well as others' attitudes toward language diversity that includes varieties of Spanish.

Attitudes toward language diversity are shaped by multiple influences rooted in personal, professional, and ethnic identity; social politics that involve skin color, immigrant status, and political economic power; and other social norms that assign different status to different languages. People's attitudes toward language diversity are shaped by their attitudes toward others and by their attitudes toward themselves with respect to the dominant language and culture. External and internal factors can confound efforts to investigate attitudes toward language diversity by particular people or groups of people at a particular point in time and in a particular setting. When any of these factors are left unexamined and omitted from analyses, they can mask how attitudes shape language ideologies to discriminate against groups of people who do not speak "normal" English in the United States.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Accents and Their Meaning; Languages and Power; Latino Attitudes Toward English; Transformative Teaching Model

Further Readings

Byrnes, D. A., Kiger, G., & Manning, M. L. (1997). Teachers' attitudes about language diversity. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 13*(6), 637–644.

- Childs, T. (n.d.). What's the difference between a language and a dialect? In *The Five Minute Linguist*. Retrieved from the College of Charleston and the National Museum of Language, http://www.cofc.edu/linguist/archives/2005/08/whats_the_diffe.html
- Figueroa, N. L. (2003). *"U.S." and "Them": A study of the language attitudes of speakers of high- and low-prestige varieties of Spanish toward "World Spanishes."* Unpublished dissertation, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana.
- Hamilton, A., & Rossiter, C. (Ed.). (1961). *The Federalist Papers*. New York: New American Library.
- Kloss, H. (1998). *The American bilingual tradition*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Schell, M. (1993). Babel in America; Or, the politics of language diversity in the United States. *Critical Inquiry*, 20(1), 103–127.
- Schmid, C. (2001). *The politics of language: Conflict, identity, and cultural pluralism in comparative perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Smitherman, G., & Villanueva V. (2000). *Language knowledge and awareness survey*. CCCC Language Policy Committee. National Council of Teachers of English Research Foundation and the Conference on College Communication and Composition.
- Weinreich, M. (1945). YIVO and the problems of our time. *YIVO Bleter* 25(1), 13.

AUDIO-LINGUAL METHOD

The audio-lingual method of teaching second languages has a long history in bilingual education and English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction. It has its roots in World War II, when the U.S. military developed the army method for teaching foreign languages so that students would learn them quickly. Charles Fries, of the University of Michigan, was instrumental in developing this method, which is also sometimes referred to as the "Michigan Method." It was also widely called the "aural-oral" method, because students were to listen first before speaking. It was developed in reaction to the grammar-translation method predominant at the time, the effectiveness of which had come into question because so many students had failed to achieve foreign-language

speaking and listening proficiency. The audio-lingual method became the dominant method for teaching modern foreign languages in U.S. schools from approximately 1947 to 1967 and was especially prominent during the immediate post-*Sputnik* era (late 1950s and early 1960s), when, galvanized by dramatic advances in the Soviet Union's rival aerospace program, the National Defense Education Act promoted increased attention to foreign-language teaching and learning.

Foundations and Objectives

Practitioners in the audio-lingual method for ESL and bilingual education were governed by a number of key principles:

- Language learning involves attending to form and structure.
- The aim is for linguistic competence and accuracy.
- Errors must be prevented at all costs in the course of instruction.
- Teachers must specify what language the student will use and control student interaction with the language.

The audio-lingual method is based on the structural linguistic and behavioral psychological view of language learning. Particular emphasis is laid on mastering the building blocks of language and learning rules for combining them. The theory of behaviorism assumes that (a) language learning is mechanical habit formation and language is verbal habit; (b) mistakes should be avoided, as they result in bad habits; (c) language skills are learned better when practiced orally first, then in writing; (d) analogy is an important foundation for language learning; and (e) the meanings of words can be learned best in a linguistic and cultural context, not in isolation.

The audio-lingual method adheres to the natural presentation of skills in this order: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. It places priority on the development of listening and speaking skills first, and reading and writing skills development is introduced after listening and speaking skills are mastered. The method is also based on the premise that students' native language patterns interfere with the learning of a second language and, consequently, use of the native language should be minimized and used primarily for clarifying information. Deriving from its roots in structural linguistics, the audio-lingual method emphasized the

explicit presentation of grammatical structure and based the curriculum on a *contrastive analysis* of the grammar of the learners' native language and the target language.

The language learning environment should be a "cultural island," with realistic use of the target language. In this instance, *culture* is defined as the everyday behaviors and lifestyles of the speakers of the target language. For example, in a German classroom, if the lesson were on German foods, students would learn not only vocabulary about food in general but also about table manners and related customs of German speakers that make up the context in which food-related vocabulary and structures are situated. Also, because language acquisition is considered a matter of habit formation, the instructor makes generous use of positive reinforcement techniques to encourage good language habits and rapid pacing of drills to encourage overlearning of language structures so that students can answer automatically, presumably without stopping to think.

Some of the objectives of the audio-lingual method are accurate pronunciation, linguistic accuracy, quick and accurate response in speaking, and a sufficiently large vocabulary to use with grammar patterns to express oneself in practical, everyday situations. These objectives are achieved through memorization of dialogues and recombination of structures introduced through dialogues in drills. The development of a large vocabulary is of secondary consideration. Absent from the audio-lingual method's objectives are (a) an emphasis on using language or vocabulary to create meaning, (b) recognition of errors as a useful part of language learning, (c) student interaction with each other and with native speakers of the target language while using the target language, (d) attention to grammatical explanations in instruction, (e) attention to the emotional aspects of learning, (f) acknowledgment of one's native language as a foundation on which to base learning a second language, and (g) acknowledgment of what some call "large C" cultural artifacts, such as masterpieces of the culture's literature, performing arts, and visual arts.

The audio-lingual method is a teacher-centric approach. The teacher controls interaction in the target language and directs classroom language learning drills and other activities. The typical instructional procedure in the audio-lingual method begins with students listening to the teacher modeling a dialogue. Students repeat each line of the dialogue after the teacher. Certain key words or phrases may be changed

in the dialogue. Key structures from the dialogue are the basis for pattern drills of different kinds that follow. Students expand on the elements in the dialogue through substitutions in the pattern drills, which are organized in a particular sequence to lead students from simple repetition to more complex manipulations of language forms and structures. Typical drills beyond the repetition drill include backward buildup drill, chain drill, single-slot substitution drill, multiple-slot substitution drill, transformation drill, question-and-answer drill, and minimal pairs.

The backward buildup drill helps students learn accurate placement of sentence stress and pitch patterns by starting from the end of an utterance and gradually building up to the beginning of the utterance. In a chain drill, the teacher asks one student a question, and after the student answers the question, he or she asks it of another student in the class. The drill continues until everyone has answered and asked the question. Single-slot substitution drills present students with a model sentence from the dialogue and cue words that students substitute into the dialogue line. Multiple-slot substitution drills supply more than one cue word to substitute in the sentence. In a transformation drill, students transform model sentences from one form to another (for example, from affirmative to negative, from active to passive, or from statement to question). In a minimal-pairs drill, students distinguish between words that differ from each other by only one sound. By drilling the difference, it is thought that students will improve their perception of the distinction and, consequently, their pronunciation.

Critique and Current Trends

Apart from its strength in structuring instruction, the audio-lingual method has its limitations. Because the basic teaching method is repetition, students learn to reproduce many things but never create anything original or use patterns fluently in natural speech situations. Mechanical drills of the audio-lingual method have been criticized as boring at all levels and judged to be counterproductive when used beyond initial introduction to a new structure. Additional methods were needed to transition students from imitators to initiators of spoken communication, a detail that was often overlooked by teachers in the audio-lingual tradition. There was also a tendency to disregard content while manipulating language. Because the method also relied heavily on advanced technologies of the time, including reel-to-reel tape recorders,

movie projectors, and language labs, the method created logistical problems for teachers in setting them up for instruction and during occasions when the equipment failed to function during instruction.

Its weaknesses notwithstanding, the audio-lingual method introduced the technological age to bilingual education, ESL, and foreign-language instructional practice, especially through the introduction of the language laboratory. Language laboratories were installed in many high schools and colleges throughout the United States in the 1960s. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 was the funding mechanism, and the impetus for increased interest in foreign language study to ensure national security came about during the post-*Sputnik*, cold-war era. Language students used the language laboratory for drill-and-practice sessions that were characteristic of the audio-lingual method's behaviorist and structural-linguistic-oriented approach to good language habit formation via imitation and memorization. The language laboratory generally consisted of rows of stations, each equipped with a headphone and a microphone. Students listened, responded, listened to their recorded responses, and compared their responses with a model response. The teacher sat at a console at the front of the room, where he or she could listen in on individual students and offer additional feedback or guidance. The audio-lingual method also introduced important language learning tools, including visual presentations and the use of visual cues to elicit language. In addition, it ushered in the use of a foreign language in the classroom by both teacher and pupil, and the language employed was of greater use for practical purposes than for understanding the great masterpieces of the target language culture in the target language.

In the 1960s, American linguistic theory began to change with linguist Noam Chomsky's rejection of structural linguistics and behaviorist learning theory and, along with them, the audio-lingual method. Chomsky maintained that language is not merely a habit structure; linguistic behavior involves innovation and creativity. Because language behavior is a creative enterprise, language learning must also draw from human creativity and not simply rely on behavioral conditioning. Students learn how to create new sentences not through imitation and repetition, but by generating them via their underlying competence.

As teachers began to recognize the limitations of the audio-lingual method, enthusiasm for it lessened, and its use waned. It was not immediately supplanted

by any particular other method. There were a number of years of adaptation and experimentation with a variety of alternative methods, including total physical response (TPR), the silent way, and counseling-learning. None of these approaches achieved widespread acceptance. Various learning theories outside of the second-language teaching community, such as multiple-intelligences theory, whole language, cooperative learning, and competency-based teaching, influenced the acceptance of similarly oriented second-language teaching methods, including the communicative approach, which sought to address the limitations of relying solely on the audio-lingual method in teaching and learning second languages, including English in bilingual education settings. Vestiges of the audio-lingual method, including the aim for linguistic accuracy in second-language learning, are still evident in some bilingual education and ESL programs today, especially in programs espousing an eclectic approach that incorporates a variety of instructional methods reflective of multiple linguistic theories in teaching and learning a second language. After a long period of suppressing grammatical instruction in the communicative approach, the pendulum has begun to swing back to inclusion of grammar in the curriculum.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Defense Language Institute; English as a Second Language (ESL) Approaches; English Immersion; Four-Skills Language Learning Theory; Grammar-Translation Method

Further Readings

- Brooks, N. (1964). *Language and language learning: Theory and practice* (2nd ed.). New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Fries, C. C. (1945). *Teaching and learning English as a foreign language*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. (1986). *Techniques and principles of language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- McDonough, S. (1981). *Psychology in foreign language teaching*. London: Allen & Irwin.
- Richards, J., & Rodgers, T. (2001). *Approaches and methods in language teaching* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Skinner, B. (1957). *Verbal behavior*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Stern, H. (1983). *Fundamental concepts of language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

B

BABY TALK

At birth, human infants are prepared to make the sounds of any language in the world. In their moments of quiet chortling as they awaken or before they go to sleep, it is possible to hear infants “practicing” many sounds. Most of these sounds will seem familiar, but some will strike the listener as decidedly foreign. An attentive listener may be able to detect sounds that are not used in the family’s language.

Within a few weeks, the infant’s repertoire of language sounds will begin to narrow. As the child hears the sounds coming from adoring family and friends who hover around her admiringly, the baby begins an involuntary process of screening out of her active repertoire all of the sounds she does not hear around her. The highly efficient computer that is her brain is programmed to conserve energy and effort. In this case, it is as if the brain “assumes” sounds that are not being heard are probably unnecessary and so the child will not continue to practice them. Slowly but surely, the infant will discard the “extra” sounds and rhythms, focusing in on only those she continues to hear from the people around her.

This is the reason experts in child development recommend that babies be spoken to in adult language rather than in “baby talk”: Children will learn to speak using the accent and intonation they hear. Learning baby talk first means that, inevitably, all children must devote time to unlearning those sounds, replacing them with sounds actually used by adult members of their language community or that of their immediate caretakers.

It is important to remember two related concepts: First, baby talk does not usually result in permanent damage, and families should not worry when they hear it. The second point is that the extraneous sounds that are not continued are not lost forever. They simply become inactive. For years to come, the developing child will be able to call up the sounds associated with other languages he or she attempts to learn.

Josué M. González

See also Accents and Their Meaning; First-Language Acquisition; Interlanguage; Language Acquisition Device; Raising Bilingual Children

Further Readings

- Caldas, S. J. (2006). *Raising bilingual-biliterate children in monolingual cultures*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cunningham-Andersson, U., & Andersson, S. (1999). *Growing up with two languages*. London: Routledge.

BAKER, COLIN (1949–)

Colin Baker is perhaps best known for being the author of a widely read textbook on bilingual education, *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, which has undergone four editions. The book has sold over 60,000 copies and has been translated into Japanese, Spanish, Latvian, Greek, and Mandarin.

For Baker, early experience was no predictor of his later career. Born on October 1, 1949, in Danbury, a

hilltop village in southeastern England, he remembers only one bilingual person in that village. She was a Belgian refugee speaking French and English, considered by villagers as “different.” In elementary school, teachers and students were monolingual English speakers, matching his nuclear and extended family.

In high school, Baker learned Latin and French through the grammar-translation method. Conversational French was regarded as nonacademic and insufficient as a brain-developing activity; hence, it was largely avoided. All students were native English speakers and were required to use a prestigious variety called “the Queen’s English.”

Despite encouragement from his high school principal to attend a top English university, Baker’s main interest was walking mountains. Having traversed the highest peaks in England, he wished to walk the higher Welsh mountains. Bangor is located very near those mountains, and Bangor University became Baker’s home. The university overlooks a small city. The many surrounding villages are populated with bilinguals, with the great majority of the indigenous population speaking both Welsh and English fluently and some immigrants from England learning Welsh for employment or cultural enjoyment. University students can take some humanities subjects through the medium of Welsh, and bilingual education is predominant in all elementary and most high schools. In this context, bilingualism is a natural topic for study.

One of Baker’s tutors, W. R. Jones, was a world expert on the relationship between bilingualism and IQ and on empirical studies of the effectiveness of bilingual education. Jones also taught Baker advanced statistical analysis for his PhD, although Jones’ “teaching” mostly meant Baker’s self-teaching. Thus, for young Baker, the foundations had been laid.

Another event was probably more influential in precipitating a lifelong interest in studying bilingualism. As a freshman, Baker sang in a church choir and fell in love with his future wife across the choir stalls. Anwen was the daughter of the pastor of that church, and her family lived their lives speaking mostly Welsh. Students were warmly welcomed to the house, and Baker found a second home. The seamless and effortless movement in that family between two languages, two literacies, and two cultures was in stark contrast to monolingual Danbury. The diversity and value-addedness of bilingualism became apparent and appealing. In years to come, it bore fruit in a thoroughly bilingual Baker household, with three children who were educated in two languages.

After teaching in high schools for 3 years, Baker returned to Bangor University as lecturer and subsequently as full professor (a personal chair of the University of Wales). In 1983, he read an early book on languages published by Multilingual Matters and decided he could do something similar on the Welsh language in Wales (*Aspects of Bilingualism in Wales*, published in 1985). The sheer enjoyment of publishing a book led to an early survey of bilingualism and bilingual education in 1988 (*Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*) and then, in 1992, a research book, titled *Attitudes and Language*.

Baker embarked on writing the *Foundations* book at the request of the managing director of the Multilingual Matters publishing company. Ofelia García, from New York, was appointed as academic consultant for that book and encouraged Baker to develop a more sociolinguistic and political approach to the subject.

Baker’s subsequent *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, written with Sylvia Prys Jones, won the British Association for Applied Linguistics Book Prize Award for 1999 and the California Association for Bilingual Education’s Special Recognition Award for 2000 for research/scholarly activity. The full-color encyclopedia is 758 pages, with over 2,000 references and an abundance of pictures and graphics. It was written entirely by Baker and Jones, was completed in 3 years, and is regarded as having both shaped and promoted the study of bilingual education and bilingualism. Among Baker’s many other publishing achievements are editing three Multilingual Matters book series and being founding editor of the *International Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. By 2007, the series “Bilingual Education and Bilingualism” included over 60 books.

Beyond his academic influence, Baker has been a force in shaping and implementing language policy. He held a government appointment as member of the Welsh Language Board (1997–2007), which has the responsibility in Wales for language planning and has played a major role in reversing language shift in Wales, thereby helping to preserve the Welsh language. Baker produced an overarching plan for the language with the board’s chief executive. Baker’s efforts both utilized and extended language planning theory. The Welsh plan regarded language acquisition planning (in homes, preschool education, and in schools) as the foundation for all language planning, with language reproduction in the family and language production through bilingual education. The policy developed a fourth form of language planning:

usage language planning, which promotes use of minority languages through government funding of youth activities that are not restricted to schools and classrooms.

In 2007, Baker and his colleagues Margaret Deuchar and Ginny Gathercole were awarded approximately \$10 million to create a prestigious international, interdisciplinary research center on “Bilingualism in Theory and Practice” at Bangor University. Baker’s goal is to develop new lines of research on bilingual education in terms of its structures, teaching, and learning methodologies and the outcomes of bilingual education for students and society.

Terrence G. Wiley

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism; Language Revival and Renewal; Raising Bilingual Children; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (1985). *Aspects of bilingualism in Wales*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. (1988). *Key issues in bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. (1993). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (Eds.). (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

BCLAD

See BILINGUAL TEACHER LICENSURE

BENEFITS OF BILINGUALISM AND HERITAGE LANGUAGES

Language competence is an essential component of personal, academic, and economic processes and success. Children of first-generation immigrants, who are raised in homes where a language other than

English is spoken, grow up with a better-than-average opportunity to develop additive bilingualism, that is, proficiency in both English *and* their heritage language. In American schools, many do not realize this potential. Soon after they enter school, the expectations, pressures, and desire to assimilate into the majority culture lead immigrant children to quickly abandon their heritage language for English, as Lily Wong Fillmore and other researchers have found. Studies have also shown, repeatedly, the positive effects of high quality additive bilingualism on immigrant children’s academic achievement, identity development, and family relationships. Richard Brecht and William Rivers, as well as Joshua A. Fishman, Robert Cooper, and Yehudit Rosenbaum, have documented potential benefits the national economy and security. This entry describes the benefits of retaining one’s heritage language.

Heritage language speakers represent more than 175 language backgrounds in the United States. *Heritage language* refers to an immigrant, indigenous, or ancestral language that may have linguistic, ethnic, religious, cultural, or symbolic relevance for a speaker. In the literature, the term has been used synonymously with community language, native language, first language, primary language, and mother tongue although some authors make distinctions among these designations. Despite criticisms (as reported by Colin Baker and Sylvia Jones and by Nancy Hornberger) that *heritage* evokes images of the past and the old rather than images of something modern, valuable, and necessary, the term has continued to be used to reflect the broad range of connections to the diverse heritages that generations of immigrants in our nation retain. Not all heritage language speakers are the same; they differ in achieved proficiency levels, motivations, attitudes, and degrees of ethnic attachment toward the language. Indeed, some persons retain very little of their ancestral languages and are nonetheless known as heritage speakers because they retain some degree of passive knowledge of the language. Furthermore, heritage language speakers differ from traditional foreign-language learners in that they are likely to possess cultural knowledge that enables them to understand subtle nuances and to practice culturally appropriate behaviors more readily perhaps, than do those who study the same language as a foreign language. Often, however, heritage language speakers have not received formal instruction in the language and, thus, may lack the prestige or formal

registers of the language, literacy skills, a highly developed vocabulary, and grammatical accuracy in the language.

Debate exists about the characteristics and linguistic profiles of heritage language speakers because of the broad diversity of life circumstances that can connect an individual to a language. Despite the uncertainties about what constitutes a heritage language speaker, a body of literature has been developing about the effects of heritage language maintenance on the growing population of immigrant children in the United States. One of society's greatest ills is low academic achievement among minority students. This is illustrated by the stark achievement gap between linguistic minority students and majority students and the high school drop-out rates, especially among Latino youth.

The Promise of Maintenance Programs

One mechanism that can overturn these unfavorable outcomes may be the expansion of heritage language maintenance programs. Studies by Carl Bankston and Min Zhou, Russell Rumberger and Kathryn Larson and Wallace Lambert have shown that heritage language maintenance alongside English language acquisition is a significant predictor of greater cognitive flexibility when compared with English monolingual students. Across grade levels, children who continue to develop reading and writing skills in their heritage language have been found to have higher grade point averages, higher standardized test scores in math and in English (see work by David Dolson, and Alejandro Portes and Lingxin Hao), lower drop-out rates and more positive attitudes toward high school (Kathryn Lindholm-Learly and Graciela Borsato; Wayne Thomas and Virginia Collier), higher educational expectations (see work by François Nielsen with Steven Lerner), and more ambitious plans for the future (see work by Homer García) than do their counterparts who have lost proficiency in their heritage language. This is especially noteworthy in families that have a tradition of literacy. The results differ somewhat among children from environments of multigenerational poverty whose families have little or no formal schooling and whose parents are illiterate in the heritage language. There is a suggestion in this regard that biliteracy

makes a greater contribution to education than does bilingualism.

At one point in the past, the prevailing theory was that maintaining one's native language was detrimental to a child's cognitive growth. Teachers were advised to tell parents that they should not speak the heritage language at home, and use only English to facilitate its development. The belief that bilingualism is detrimental for children's cognitive development has affected scores of children, interfered with generations of family relationships, and contributed to the considerable shortage of the nation's pool of proficient heritage language speakers. Researchers such as James Cummins and Kenji Hakuta argue that continued use and development of the heritage language positively contributes to the child's learning of additional languages and subject matter content because skills in the heritage language can transfer to new learning contexts.

Children with proficiency in the heritage language also tend to have greater confidence and self-esteem, and a stronger sense of group identity. Healthy development of ethnic identity is critical for their academic success and their ability to be well adjusted in this society. Because language is a salient marker of one's culture and ethnicity, an undeniable and intricate link exists between heritage language proficiency and group identity. Thus, through the heritage language, individuals can develop a more secure cultural and linguistic sense of self as well as a stronger bond with other co-ethnic members of the community.

Through frequent interactions within networks of co-ethnics, children are likely to gain access to the cultural and societal capital that is available in the community as well as develop a stronger sense of belongingness, which is often missing for minorities. Thus, when heritage language maintenance is positively associated and regarded with a sense of pride, children are better able to embrace both the home culture and the larger culture of school and society. Conversely, when a child's heritage language is seen as a source of shame or a marker of inferiority, the consequential language loss is related to negative self-image and cultural isolation. As immigrant children repeatedly experience the advantages that come from being bilingual, they are likely to perceive their linguistic abilities as resources, rather than as problems to hide. Positive self-image and cultural integration can increase their motivation toward school and reinforce their beliefs that they can succeed in their studies. Such children are more likely

to stay in school, achieve academically, and become thriving members of society.

Role of Family

Another point with which most educators and researchers agree is that parental involvement and strong family relationships significantly influence children's academic success. Studies that have closely examined the quality of family interactions and relationships emphasize the necessity of heritage language maintenance for the children (see work by Portes and Hao and that of Michal Tannenbaum). In cases where English proficiency of the first-generation immigrant (i.e., the parents) may be low, elimination or significant reduction of the heritage language is likely to result in a breakdown in communication between parent and child, creating greater risks for familial isolation as well as cross-cultural and intergenerational conflict. Typically, these factors diminish parental status and authority in the eyes of their children and hinder the ability of the parents to play a guiding role in their children's academic, social, and moral pathways. In other words, inadequate maintenance of the heritage language may create a potential barrier for positive home socialization experiences. Without the ability for parents and their children to communicate openly and freely on a wide array of topics, there will be many missed opportunities for parents to influence and guide their children through critical transitions throughout their life spans and for children to seek guidance from their parents. In addition, for many children of immigrants, the primary caregivers are grandparents because the parents are often working long hours. The tremendous wealth of knowledge and shared wisdom that grandparents can offer children is lost without the heritage language with which to communicate. Researchers have widely documented that when children, parents, and grandparents dialogue with one another beyond routine minimal interactions, they are able to build stronger relationships and have closer family cohesiveness (as reported by the researchers mentioned earlier), which are critical factors for greater academic and social success. Thus, the maintenance and development of the heritage language is useful for second-generation immigrants for their own personal well-being and for that of their families.

Heritage Languages and Societal Needs

Heritage language maintenance has wider implications for our larger society. We live in a nation where multilingual speakers are needed to address the needs of more than 30 million non-English-speaking citizens, the demands of globalization, and concerns for national security. A critical shortage of translators and interpreters exists in hospitals, courts, and businesses, in addition to more than 80 governmental agencies. Moreover, U.S. military personnel are stationed across locations where more than 140 languages are spoken, and thus need language experts to assist them in implementing peacekeeping, humanitarian, and nation-building efforts. The situation is not getting any better; the number of agencies needing language experts has more than doubled during the past 15 years, and annually almost 35,000 governmental positions require foreign-language competence to fill, many of which currently go unfilled. Without the reinforcement of individuals with foreign-language expertise, economic, diplomatic, governmental, and military operations will be negatively affected.

Foreign-language education in the United States has been a low priority for several decades. The lack of incentive and motivation to learn a foreign language, ineffective language curricula and pedagogy, and limited resources and time have all contributed to low achievement outcomes among foreign-language learners. A more immediate and effective approach to addressing this critical shortage of multilingual speakers may be to actively support the learning and teaching of heritage languages. This can be done without infringing on the necessary teaching of English, the nation's first language. Heritage language speakers offer an opportune response to the linguistic needs of our nation. Because of their existing cultural and linguistic knowledge base, they are in a stronger position with proper training to develop superior levels of proficiency in a shorter time than are traditional foreign-language learners.

The irony of the linguistic reality of the United States became starkly apparent immediately following the tragedy of September 11, 2001, when the government was unable to find trained translators for Farsi and Arabic, despite the large numbers of Middle Eastern immigrants living in the country. One

untapped resource in the United States is the pool of heritage language speakers. The nation's security, stability, and vitality rest on our citizens' understanding of different cultures and languages around the world. With each child who loses proficiency in his or her heritage language, society suffers another loss and another missed opportunity to develop a language expert.

Finally, maintenance of the heritage language also contributes to supporting the linguistic and cultural diversity of the nation. One language or culture cannot be labeled more or less valuable than another, and the diverse perspectives and funds of knowledge of each language community provide multiple vantage points that enrich our collective experience.

In the 19th century, most languages and cultures in the United States were European-based; today, much greater diversity exists. For example, more than 50% of the heritage language speakers in the United States speak languages from Latin America (Spanish, Portuguese, French), and another 25% are Asian or Southeast Asian languages (Chinese, Hindi, Khmer, Korean, Lao, Tagalog, Urdu, Vietnamese, Japanese) or from Africa and Oceania (Amharic, Arabic, Fijian, Hausa, Yoruba, Swahili), in addition to the 162 native American indigenous languages, many of which are down to a handful of native speakers. Thus, a national policy that views these languages as resources to be preserved and developed could contribute significantly to the nation's economic, political, educational, and technological advancements.

Jin Sook Lee and Debra Suárez

See also Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism; Dual-Language Programs; Heritage Language Education; Paradox of Bilingualism; Spanish, Proactive Maintenance

Further Readings

- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bankston, C., & Zhou, M. (1995). Effects of minority-language literacy on the academic achievement of Vietnamese youths in New Orleans. *Sociology of Education*, 68(1), 1–17.
- Brecht, R. D., & Rivers, W. P. (2000). *Language and national security in the 21st century: The role of Title VI/Fulbright-Hays in supporting national language capacity*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- Dolson, D. (1985). The effects of Spanish home language use on the scholastic performance of Hispanic pupils. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 6(2), 135–155.
- Fishman, J. A., Cooper, R., & Rosenbaum, Y. (1977). English the world over: A factor in the creation of bilingualism today. In P. Hornby (Ed.), *Bilingualism: Psychological, social and educational implications* (pp. 103–109). New York: Academic Press.
- García, H. (1985). Family and offspring: Language maintenance and their effects of Chicano college students' confidence and grades. In E. García & R. Padilla (Eds.), *Advances in bilingual education research* (pp. 226–243). Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Hakuta, K. (1986). *Mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2005). Heritage/community language education: U.S. and Australian perspectives. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8(2–3), 101–108.
- Lindholm-Leary, K. J., & Borsato, G. (2001). *Impact of two-way bilingual elementary programs on students' attitudes toward school and college*. Santa Cruz, CA: Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.
- Nielsen, F., & Lerner, S. (1986). Language skills and school achievement of bilingual Hispanics. *Social Science Research*, 15, 209–240.
- Peal, E., & Lambert, W. (1962). The relation of bilingualism to intelligence. *Psychological Monographs*, 76(27), 1–23.
- Portes, A., & Hao, L. (2002). The price of uniformity: Language, family and personality adjustment in the immigrant second generation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(6), 889–912.
- Rumberger, R., & Larson, K. (1998). Toward explaining differences in educational achievement among Mexican American language-minority students. *Sociology of Education*, 71(1), 68–92.
- Tannenbaum, M. (2005). Viewing family relations through a linguistic lens: Symbolic aspects of language maintenance in immigrant families. *Journal of Family Communication*, 5(3), 229.
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2002). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement*. Santa Cruz, CA: Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6, 323–347.

BENNETT, WILLIAM J. (1943–)

William J. Bennett is a political commentator, best-selling author, and popular radio show host who has held important government positions, including chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities and secretary of education during the Reagan administration. His tenure in the Department of Education was marked by controversy over what was widely perceived as his opposition to bilingual education. He is also known for his role as “Drug Czar” under the George H. W. Bush administration and for his current status as unofficial moral authority of the Republican Party.

William John Bennett was born on July 31, 1943, in Brooklyn, New York, to a banker father and medical secretary mother. He attended Williams College in Massachusetts, where he received a BA in philosophy in 1965. He would go on to receive a PhD in political philosophy from the University of Texas at Austin in 1970, followed by a JD degree from Harvard Law School in 1971. Bennett remained mostly in higher education throughout the decade, serving as assistant to the president of Boston University from 1972 to 1976; executive director, president, and director of the National Humanities Center in North Carolina from 1976 to 1981; and associate professor at North Carolina State University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill from 1979 to 1981.

During the 1980s, Bennett emerged as one of the nation’s most prominent and controversial political figures. In 1981, President Reagan named Bennett, then a registered Democrat (he joined the Republican Party in 1986), as chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. As chairman, Bennett moved the agency in a more conservative direction, attacking multiculturalism and affirmative action. In 1985, Reagan appointed Bennett secretary of education, the beginning of a volatile tenure in the department. As secretary, Bennett advocated cuts in financial assistance for higher education, emphasized “character” education, and urged the passage of a constitutional amendment that would allow prayer in schools. He also asked for congressional enactment of a school voucher program, allowing children in failing schools to transfer to other schools.

Bennett also opened a national debate on bilingual education, claiming the high drop-out rate among

English language learners (ELLs) was caused by the bilingual approach and the Title VII requirement that programs make some use of students’ native languages and cultures. Bennett proposed the Bilingual Education Initiative in 1985, meant to spur “local flexibility” by allowing schools to spend federal funds on a wider variety of teaching methods rather than one prescribed method. Opponents viewed this move as a veiled attempt to push alternative instructional programs that used mostly English to instruct ELLs. Bennett pressed for changes in the 1988 version of the Bilingual Education Act that reflected his emphasis on the diversity of ELLs and approaches to their education. The rhetorical war initiated by Bennett’s anti-bilingual education position, between bilingual educators who felt they were deliberately misled and federal officials who felt their motives had been maligned, would last until Bennett left office in 1988.

Bennett’s time in the private sector would be brief. After leaving his post at the Department of Education, Bennett became president of the Madison Center, a public policy forum in Washington, D.C. Soon after George H. W. Bush was elected president, however, Bennett was named the nation’s first director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, or “drug czar,” a position he held from 1989 to 1990.

After exiting the Bush administration, Bennett began to leave his mark on the world of political commentating, contributing numerous editorials on culture, politics, and education to newspapers and magazines, appearing on television shows, lecturing widely on moral issues, and hosting a popular syndicated radio program, *Bill Bennett’s Morning in America*. He became a best-selling author of numerous books, including *The Book of Virtues* and *The Children’s Book of Virtues*, the latter adapted to a highly popular children’s animated series on public television in the United States and in the United Kingdom. During this period, Bennett was also a partner at a law firm and served as national cochairman of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America. In 1993, he also cofounded Empower America, an organization that speaks out on conservative social issues and policies, and cofounded and served as chairman of K12, Inc., a company that designs home-based learning programs.

Persons who offer moral instruction to the public can expect full media exposure should any of their own errors or imperfections come to light. In 2003, it

was reported in several newspapers that Bennett had lost millions of dollars in Las Vegas and Atlantic City casinos over the previous decade. Bennett never disclosed how much he had lost but revealed that he had gambled large sums of money and said his betting days were over. Bennett made headlines again in 2005, when he made controversial statements about race and crime on his radio program. Critics across the political spectrum denounced his remarks as insensitive, but Bennett replied that he was misunderstood.

The recipient of numerous honorary degrees for his years as a public servant and conservative spokesman, Bennett continues to influence America's political and social landscape. In addition to his radio, writing, and speaking duties, he currently serves as Distinguished Fellow at the Heritage Foundation and as the Washington Fellow of the Claremont Institute, both conservative think tanks, and is chair of the organization Americans for Victory over Terrorism.

Gregory Pearson

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; English as a Second Language (ESL) Approaches; English Immersion; Views of Bilingual Education; Appendix A

Further Readings

- Bill Bennett's Morning in America. (n.d.). *Biography*. Available from <http://www.bennettmornings.com>
- CNN. (2003, May 5). *GOP moralist Bennett gives up gambling*. Retrieved October 23, 2007, from <http://www.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/05/05/bennett.gambling/index.html>
- CNN. (2005, September 30). *Bennett under fire for remarks on Blacks, crime*. Retrieved October 23, 2007, from <http://www.cnn.com/2005/POLITICS/09/30/bennett.comments>
- Crawford, J. (1995). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice*. Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Grossman, M. (2003). William John Bennett, 1943– . In *Encyclopedia of the United States Cabinet* (Vol. 1, pp. 241–242). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Sobel, R., & Sicilia, D. B. (Eds.). (2003). William John Bennett. In *The United States executive branch: A biographical directory of heads of state and cabinet officials* (pp. 38–39). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Stewner-Manzanares, G. (1988). The Bilingual Education Act: Twenty years later. *New Focus*, 6. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition. Retrieved October 23, 2007, from <http://www.nclae.gwu.edu/pubs/classics/focus/06bea.htm>

BERNAL, JOE J. (1927–)

Joe J. Bernal, a civil rights leader and community activist who played a key role in establishing bilingual education in Texas, was born in San Antonio, Texas, into a family of nine children. He graduated from Lanier High School in the heart of San Antonio's *barrio* in 1944. Following his service in the armed forces during World War II, he returned to San Antonio in 1946, where, through the G.I. Bill, he completed a BA at Trinity University and earned an MEd from Our Lady of the Lake University. He later completed a PhD in cultural foundations of education at the University of Texas at Austin.

For 14 years (1950–1964), Bernal worked as a classroom teacher in three South Texas school districts, an experience through which he became painfully aware of the intense discrimination experienced by Mexican American children in Texas public schools. He then worked for 10 years in the area of social services, first as a family and youth counselor for a United Way Agency and then as executive director for a community center. Bernal later served as executive director for the Commission for Mexican Affairs at the Archdiocese of San Antonio.

Ultimately, Bernal's dissatisfaction with the appalling state of affairs in the Texas public education system, combined with a strong desire to improve conditions for his community, led him into a political career through which he became known for his passionate struggle on behalf of minorities, seeking social justice and equal educational opportunity. In 1964, Bernal was elected to the Texas House of Representatives, where he served one term before being elected in 1966 as Texas's only Latino senator. During his 6 years in the Texas State Senate (1966–1972), Bernal authored many groundbreaking bills, including the state's first bilingual law in 1969, which, in permitting native-language instruction to occur when pedagogically justifiable, had the effect of repealing existing penal code penalties for teachers using a language other than English in the classroom. During his tenure in the Texas Senate, Bernal was primary author for a number of landmark education bills, such as creating free statewide kindergarten programs, providing teachers a 45-minute planning time period, and establishing the University of Texas at San Antonio. He was also responsible for backing legislation that added dental and nursing schools to the University of

Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio. His legislative contributions extend beyond education, with notable social justice achievements that include authorization of the first minimum-wage law and expunging from state statute all laws supporting segregation of the races.

Following his career as an elected public official, Bernal continued his advocacy efforts on behalf of the Mexican American community through various avenues. He first worked as a researcher and trainer for the Intercultural Development Research Association, focusing on Mexican American educational issues, and later served in the Carter administration as regional director of ACTION, a federal agency that coordinated volunteer activities in Texas and four neighboring states.

Bernal's substantial contributions to bilingual education have extended far beyond his early legislative achievements. For 7 years, he served as an executive board member for the National Association for Bilingual Education, and for 2 years, he served on the executive board of the Texas Association for Bilingual Education as legislative chair. As a founding board member of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), Bernal ensured that bilingual education remain a core agenda item intricately connected to struggles for obtaining equal educational opportunity for language minority students. As the founding chair of Mexican American Democrats of Texas, he led ongoing efforts to address weaknesses in the Texas bilingual education law and to strengthen key eligibility and accountability provisions in the law.

Following his early legislative and legal advocacy efforts, Bernal returned to his initial career as a professional educator, serving in leadership positions in two public school districts, where he guided implementation of bilingual education programs. From 1982 to 1987, he served as principal of an elementary school in the Edgewood Independent School District that, despite being situated in the lowest-income census tract in San Antonio, gained recognition for strong academic gains by students, earning a citation by the Texas Education Agency in 1986 as an exemplary bilingual education school. Bernal continued his role as instructional leader from 1987 to 1992, serving as assistant superintendent for instructional services for the Harlandale Independent School District in San Antonio, where he led efforts to strengthen implementation of bilingual education programs in the district. From 1992 to 2003, he taught a bilingual education foundations course for preservice teachers,

as an adjunct professor in the Division of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Bernal returned to public service from 1996 to 2006 as an elected member of the State Board of Education, where he continued to work on public education issues affecting underrepresented groups in the state.

In recognition of his many achievements on behalf of language minority education and the Mexican American community, Bernal has received numerous awards from professional associations, business groups, unions, and civil rights organizations. His personal papers and publications, covering 40 years of community advocacy and public service, are held at the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin.

Robert D. Milk

See also Texas Legislation (HB 103 and SB 121)

Further Readings

Bernal, J. J. (1994). A historical perspective of bilingual education in Texas. In R. Rodríguez, N. Ramos, & J. Ruiz-Escalante (Eds.), *Compendium of readings in bilingual education: Issues and practices* (pp. 294–300). San Antonio: Texas Association for Bilingual Education.

Joe J. Bernal Papers. (n.d.). Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, University of Texas at Austin.

BEST ENGLISH TO LEARN

When discussing the educational needs of English language learners (ELLs), one of the topics frequently discussed is the kind or variety of English such individuals need to learn to be successful in an English-speaking society. This is not an issue that pertains only to students who speak a language other than English, although for them, the stakes may be somewhat higher. It is not always the case that students of English should learn the same form of English they will use with classmates or on the street.

Most teachers will intuitively choose standard or “correct” language as the most appropriate to teach, although the reasons may be different from those discussed in this entry. Guadalupe Valdés, a scholar

concerned with the education of linguistic minorities, mentions that the “standard English” ideology informs debates on the kind of English taught at school to the student population. This refers to the teaching of a standard variety of English and discouraging the use of other types of English that may be regarded as “incorrect,” “inferior,” or “improper.” This entry reviews some concepts in sociolinguistics and other social sciences for a better understanding of the concept of “standard” English and how and why it is often chosen for classroom instruction.

Dialects and the Notion of Standard English

According to British sociolinguist Peter Trudgill, the term *dialect* usually refers to diversity in the varieties of a language in which vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation may change. For example, British and American English are two different dialects, with differences in lexical items (e.g., *lift/elevator*, *petrol/gasoline*, *bonnet/hood*), syntax (the past tense of the verb *to learn*: *learned/learnt*), and phonology (pronunciation). Dialects are found in other languages, such as the Spanish dialect used in Mexico compared with the Spanish dialect of Argentina, in which features such as verb conjugations and some word meanings differ. Trudgill also compares the concept of dialect with *accent*, explaining that the latter merely refers to differences in pronunciation within a language. Linguist Rosina Lippi-Green explains that geographical location is often used as a boundary to mark different accents (e.g., a Chicago accent), but other features may be used to mark boundaries as well, such as social class, gender, or race. These may also mark different dialects, provided there is variation in other language components, such as different vocabulary or syntax.

In the historical study of dialects, or *language varieties*, a more neutral term, as Trudgill explains, two approaches in linguistics have existed historically: (1) *prescriptivism*, a view that favors a certain dialect to be used and “prescribed,” a standard form of language, and (2) *descriptivism*, a view that focuses on diversity in language and the description of language without placing a higher value on one variety over another. David Crystal has written that grammarians in Europe studied languages from a prescriptive perspective in the 18th century, in an attempt to label language use as correct or incorrect, establishing

grammar rules. He highlights the role of language academies in keeping the use of language “pure,” such as in the case of France, Spain, or Italy. The notion of a standard language to be prescribed implies aspects of power that are not intrinsic to the linguistic structures. They have to do with conferring legitimacy on the language variety spoken by dominant groups in a society, as sociologist Pierre Bourdieu explains. In the case of English, Trudgill explains that the variety known as “standard” was used by the upper classes and became the model to emulate. Standard English, he stresses, is one dialect out of many, the dialect associated with educated and powerful people.

Lippi-Green, in her book *English With an Accent*, regards the notion of a standard language as a myth. She argues that the ideology supporting the existence of a standard language emphasizes the ideal of a homogenous language form and its role in a nation-state, allowing a certain group to control language variation. She also notes that it allows for other dialects to be labeled as “nonstandard” or “substandard.” Sociolinguist William Labov conducted several studies analyzing dialects that were categorized as nonstandard, establishing that they were not to be regarded as inferior to the standard dialect: He argues that they are language systems that are different but closely related, with functional grammatical processes of their own. For example, in African American Vernacular English (also known as Ebonics), the form *be* signals habitual general conditions, as in the example Labov gives: “He always be foolin’ around.” It should not be seen as a mistake when compared with standard English and the use of *is* or *am*. The use of *be* is a syntax rule that is valid and consistent in this particular dialect. Other English varieties, such as Spanglish in the United States or Indian English, have been analyzed similarly, as in the work of Shana Poplack and Braj Kachru, respectively. Not only are these varieties rule governed, they also play a significant role as identity markers for their language communities.

Varieties of English in the Classroom

In his book *The Study of Nonstandard English*, Labov emphasizes the educational disadvantage of Black and Spanish-speaking students in urban areas. He stresses the need to understand English varieties used by these communities—in the latter, what he called

“Spanish-influenced English”—since using them was the best way of communication with these children and young people. Not only is this knowledge important to build bridges between speech communities; favoring and accepting standard English as the only “correct” variety works to reproduce and strengthen its dominant status in society, a role that the educational system has supported historically.

Sociolinguist James Gee addresses the impact of not mastering the ways to use language favored at school for linguistic and culturally diverse students. He gives the examples of African American students whose ways to use narratives in which they have been socialized at home are not valued when brought up at school. He stresses their disadvantage compared with children who have been exposed to academic language before starting school, as part of their socialization at home. For educators, this scenario demands ways to build bridges for students whose first encounter with different ways to use language happens at school. Courtney Cazden, a scholar whose work addresses the functions of classroom discourse, analyzes this dilemma faced by many teachers in negotiating language attitudes held by students and teachers. She recommends the contrast of dialect forms and the conceptualization of the use of “proper” language as a practical and political matter, instead of a judgment of what is right or wrong—hence considering the convenience of language features appropriate for a particular audience but also questioning and reflecting on the power issues attached to the hierarchical status of standard varieties.

In a 1988 classic article published in the *Harvard Educational Review*, the renowned educator Lisa Delpit stressed the need for every student to learn the “codes of power” (ways of talking, writing, or interacting, for example). She suggests when addressing language varieties that students need to learn the variety of power and that schools should take the responsibility to assist them in this process. However, it is necessary to analyze how the codes of power are arbitrary: not better because of intrinsic features, but due to the power associated with them. She described the case of a Native Alaskan teacher who addressed the differences between the “village English” the students spoke in their community and the “formal English” they needed to communicate with those whom she labeled “people who only knew one variety.”

Bob Fecho, Bette Davis, and Renee Moore also stressed the need to involve their students in academic

issues analyzing the social and political nature of language. In their work with African American students, they explored their “switch” to standard English for particular written tasks and discussed with them the implications of appropriating a standard variety for certain audiences and purposes—for example, how using standard English did not necessarily imply adopting White values. They also questioned and rejected the idea that standard English was a “universal” language or that using this dialect signaled superior intelligence.

Whether students are speakers of different varieties of English or languages other than English, the concept of a standard language and its implications should be part of conversations with them about the social, cultural, and political aspects of language. The acknowledgment of different language varieties, their use, and their role in the identity of speech communities play a crucial role in the building of bridges between home and school language practices; but opportunities to analyze, discuss, and be apprenticed to the language variety of power are also instrumental for linguistic minorities to understand the role of standard English in academic environments. At a global scale, where English is taught and widely used as an international language, similar conversations should take place between nations and societies. Different varieties of English are used and appropriated for specific purposes outside the United States, England, Canada, or Australia. Situating the role and power of standard English among other varieties may allow for critical use and understanding for language learners, as opposed to the imposition of a “right” type of English to be used.

Returning to the question of what is the best type of English to teach and learn, and based on the perspectives summarized above, it could be argued that teaching standard English may well be the best choice, but *knowing why* we choose to teach standard English is equally important for students and teachers alike. It is also important for students to understand that the existence of nonstandard forms is a natural phenomenon in all languages and that it is important to value them and the people who speak them. Similarly, English language learners should know that learning English is a wonderful adjunct to the language they already speak and not a substitute or more valuable language.

Silvia C. Noguero

See also Academic English; Accents and Their Meaning; Ebonics; English, First World Language; Languages and Power; Social Class and Language Status; Spanglish; World Englishes

Further Readings

- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cazden, C. (2001). *Classroom discourse: The language of teaching and learning* (2nd ed.). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Crystal, D. (Ed.). (1997). The prescriptive tradition. In *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* (2nd ed., pp. 2–5). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Delpit, L. (1988). The silenced dialogue: Power and pedagogy in educating other people's children. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58, 280–298.
- Fecho, B., Davis, B., & Moore, R. (2006). Exploring race, language, and culture in critical literacy classrooms. In D. Alvermann, K. Hinchman, D. Moore, S. Phelps, & D. Waff (Eds.), *Reconceptualizing the literacies in adolescents' lives* (2nd ed., pp. 187–204). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gee, J. P. (2004). *Situated language and learning: A critique of traditional schooling*. New York: Routledge.
- Kachru, B. (1986). *The alchemy of English: The spread, functions, and models of non-native Englishes*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon Institute of English.
- Labov, W. (1970). *The study of nonstandard English*. Champaign, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Poplack, S. (1981). Syntactic structure and social function of codeswitching. In R. Duran (Ed.), *Latino language and communicative behavior* (pp. 169–184). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Trudgill, P. (2000). *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society* (4th. ed.). London: Penguin.
- Valdés, G. (2004). Between support and marginalisation: The development of academic language in linguistic minority children. *Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7, 102–132.

BICS/CALP THEORY

BICS (basic interpersonal communication skills) and CALP (cognitive-academic language proficiency) are acronyms frequently used in bilingual education to denote types or levels of language proficiency among minority students. Although the BICS/CALP distinction has become widespread among practitioners, it has been controversial among scholars. This entry includes the definition and origins of the BICS/CALP distinction and a summary of the criticisms leveled against this terminology.

Immigrant students often enter U.S. schools without full proficiency in English. At some point in each student's second-language development, a reclassification decision is made, from the status of a "limited English proficient" student to that of a "fluent English proficient" student. How to determine the point at which such reclassification is appropriate is an important and controversial issue. For bilingual educators, a persisting fear is that some children may give the appearance of full proficiency before they actually do know English well enough to get along in an all-English classroom, prompting teachers, administrators, and test developers to reclassify them too soon.

One approach to this problem was the BICS/CALP distinction, introduced in the 1970s by Canadian researcher James Cummins. Cummins believed that language minority children who speak English on the playground or with classmates might display a kind of surface fluency, which he called *basic interpersonal communication skills* (BICS), although they have not necessarily achieved *cognitive-academic language proficiency* (CALP). Cummins identified schooling and literacy as the means by which CALP could be achieved. In monolingual contexts, Cummins explained, the BICS/CALP distinction reflects the difference between the language virtually all 6-year-old children acquire and the proficiency developed through schooling and literacy. In a later definition of CALP, which he also termed *academic language*, Cummins described it as the ability to use spoken or written language without relying on nonlinguistic cues, such as gestures, to convey complex meanings.

Cummins reanalyzed cross-sectional language proficiency data reported in prior research by other scholars; the primary interest was to disentangle age of arrival from length of residence of immigrant children, both factors that could independently influence measures

"BETTER CHANCE TO LEARN"

See U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT

of language proficiency. Previous researchers had found that children who had arrived at 6 to 7 years of age eventually caught up to monolingual peers on grade-level norms, but later arrivals did not. Cummins noted that when grouping students by length of residence rather than age of arrival, one sees that older learners acquire academic second language skills more rapidly than younger learners. However, as Cummins noted, the measures used in the previous research tended to target academic rather than pure linguistic factors. In Cummins's analysis of the data, children required 2 to 3 years to approach native-level ability on language tests but as long as 5 years to approach grade level on academic measures. Cummins used the terms BICS and CALP to characterize these different "levels" of language proficiency observed in students.

Later, in response to criticisms that the BICS/CALP distinction created an artificial and arbitrarily delineated dichotomy, Cummins introduced a four-quadrants model of language proficiency, in which language proficiency was conceptualized along two continua, called *context embedded* and *context reduced*. Context-embedded communication, Cummins stressed, derives from interpersonal involvement in a shared reality that reduces the need for explicit linguistic elaboration of the message. Context-reduced communication, on the other hand, takes place in the absence of a shared reality, hence requiring linguistic messages to be elaborated explicitly.

Criticisms

Although the BICS/CALP distinction is deeply embedded in the bilingual teacher education literature as well as in the literature of bilingual special education, it remains a controversial idea among bilingual education researchers. In particular, Carole Edelsky, Marilyn Martin-Jones, Suzanne Romaine, Terrence Wiley, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan have characterized the BICS/CALP distinction as a kind of deficit theory; this is understood as an explanation of differential achievement that posits that students who fail in school do so because of inherent deficiencies related to their intellectual abilities, linguistic shortcomings, or lack of motivation to learn, typically transmitted by culture, social class, or familial socialization. Because the acquisition of a native language is an inherent human ability and because it reflects aspects of our biology and community lives, appealing to levels of

native-language proficiency appears to explain school failure in terms of a presumed "low ability level" of the child in his or her own native language.

Critics have argued that the properties Cummins associates with the higher-order language of CALP are simply the language of a specific locus of cultural activity, namely, school. Rather than characterize this kind of language as more developed or complex, critics have argued that it should be characterized simply as *different*. There is no independent evidence supporting the presumption that academics are better at explaining their craft than the less schooled are at explaining theirs or that accompanying gestures are less useful to academics than to others. One might imagine a typical professor, for instance, trying to talk in detail about farming, boat building, or auto repair. Academics would typically lack knowledge of relevant vocabulary in these contexts—words that would be "low frequency" for them, but not for many others. Moreover, we might wonder why one would consider academic language to involve "complex grammatical structures," as Cummins believes, in comparison to nonacademic language. No persuasive evidence has been presented to show this. Rather, the evidence Cummins discussed showed a distinction between linguistic assessment, which he interpreted as measures of BICS, and academic achievement assessment, which he took to be measures of CALP.

In Cummins's framework, literacy is an aspect of language proficiency that develops later in life, layered atop the "basic fluency" or "species minimum" (a term borrowed from Jerome Bruner) that is BICS. A more traditional view among linguists, however, takes literacy to be a kind of technology used to represent language graphically. In this view, expertise in the use of print is no more an index of language proficiency than expertise in the use of photography is of visual acuity. Indeed, writing is a very recent human invention, which became widespread and publicly accessible only about 500 years ago with the advent of moveable type, and has been rejected by some societies as unimportant. By contrast, language existed long before the technology of writing and exists in all human societies today. But given Cummins's conception of language proficiency, critics have contended, we are led inescapably to the conclusion that societies that do not use writing systems have relatively "low language proficiency," restricted only to BICS, in contrast to the "highly proficient" language abilities represented in the academy in literate societies.

Hence, rather than viewing CALP (or literacy and related elements of academic achievement) as an aspect of language development, it might make more sense to view academic achievement in language-related domains as specific to the cultural setting of schools, and mastery of them simply as mastery of a domain of cultural knowledge. This permits us to view language growth independently from growth in academic subjects.

For Cummins, the BICS/CALP distinction is specifically related not only to children's developing second language but also to their first language. The association of the BICS/CALP distinction with a child's native language arguably makes the distinction reminiscent of classical *prescriptivism*, the view that some varieties of language are inherently superior to others. However, second-language learners exhibit errors of a sort that school-aged children do not exhibit in their native languages.

Unlike school-aged first-language speakers, second-language learners have developed only partial knowledge of the structure of their target language and exhibit substantial and consistent errors associated with tense, case, grammatical agreement, word order, phonology, and other aspects of structure. Moreover, whereas all normal human beings acquire the language of their speech communities effortlessly and without instruction, second-language acquisition often meets with only partial success and frequently depends on considerable effort and purposely structured input. Evidence suggests, too, that second-language development proceeds with considerable variation in rate and ultimate attainment, whereas native speakers exhibit remarkable uniformity in these respects. Because second-language teaching typically occurs at school, in a context that is outside of children's home language communities, describing a child as having limited ability in a second language does not suggest inherent deficiencies related to the child's genetic makeup, culture, class, or familial socialization, and therefore it should not be viewed from a deficit approach. The second language is specifically not a part of the child's home culture and environment. Thus, limiting the notion of CALP to the second language only, while still seen by many as theoretically dubious, would not spark charges of prescriptivism and deficit psychology.

In sum, critics have argued that notions of language proficiency, in the context of linguistic minority education, crucially must distinguish between

language ability and academic achievement and that blending these constructs in the context of native-language ability, in particular, leads to unintended conceptual consequences. Furthermore, distinguishing between first- and second-language development allows us to clarify that the BICS/CALP distinction implies deficiencies inherent in the child's community only when applied to the first-language context.

SLIC: An Alternative View

Separating achievement and language as distinct psychological constructs allows us to contrast the learning situation of majority language (children in the U.S. who already know English) and minority language children in school. While majority language children have the single objective of mastering academic content (math, social studies, science, reading, etc.) in school, language minority children have two objectives they must meet to be academically successful. Like majority language children, they must master academic content; but unlike children in the majority, they must also learn the language of instruction at school. Bilingual instruction allows these children and youth to keep up academically while they take the time needed to master English. Also, in the course of developing children's knowledge of school subjects, bilingual education provides background knowledge that serves as a context for children to better understand the presentation of new academic subject matter in the second language and also helps them make inferences about the meaning of new words and grammatical structures they encounter in the new language.

An alternative to the BICS/CALP distinction was introduced by Kellie Rolstad and Jeff MacSwan in an effort to avoid some of these pitfalls. They argued that once children have learned English sufficiently well to understand content through all-English instruction, they have developed *second-language instructional competence* (SLIC). Unlike CALP, SLIC does not apply to native-language development and does not ascribe any special status to the language of school. Also, while CALP appears to equate cognitive and academic development, SLIC simply denotes the stage of second-language development in which the learner is able to understand instruction and perform grade-level school activities using the second language alone, in the local educational setting. Children who have not yet developed SLIC are not considered

cognitively less developed; they simply have not yet learned enough of the second language to effectively learn through it. The SLIC concept thus avoids the implication that a child is deficient and still allows us to stress the need for children to continue to receive interesting, cognitively challenging instruction that they can understand during the time needed to achieve second-language competence.

There is little doubt that James Cummins's BICS/CALP theory has been a useful tool for practitioners in assessing where their students are in their linguistic development. At base, however, the construct remains a theory with little empirical evidence of its existence. This does not invalidate the contribution; several other important theories have remained unproven while serving as important bases on which to build additional research. Nonetheless, while critics have applauded the original intent of the BICS/CALP distinction, they have argued that certain refinements are needed to avoid some unintended negative consequences. By distinguishing between academic achievement and language ability and between first- and second-language development in school-aged children, we might be better able to characterize the language situation of linguistic minorities and their achievement in school.

Kellie Rolstad and Jeff MacSwan

See also Academic English; Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; First-Language Acquisition; Measuring Language Proficiency; Second-Language Acquisition; Semilingualism

Further Readings

- Crystal, D. (1986). The prescriptive tradition. In D. Crystal (Ed.), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* (pp. 2–5). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In C. Leyba (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework* (pp. 3–49). Sacramento: California State Department of Education.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Edelsky, C., Hudelson, S., Flores, B., Barkin, F., Altweger, J., & Jilbert, K. (1983). Semilingualism and language deficit. *Applied Linguistics*, 4, 1–22.

- MacSwan, J. (2000). The threshold hypothesis, semilingualism, and other contributions to a deficit view of linguistic minorities. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 20, 3–45.
- MacSwan, J., & Rolstad, K. (2003). Linguistic diversity, schooling, and social class: Rethinking our conception of language proficiency in language minority education. In C. B. Paulston & R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 329–340). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Valencia, R. (1997). Introduction. In R. Valencia (Ed.), *The evolution of deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice* (pp. ix–xvii). London: Falmer Press.
- Wiley, T. G. (2005). *Literacy and language diversity in the United States* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC, and McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics/Delta Systems.

BICULTURALISM

Biculturalism is the ability to effectively navigate day-to-day life in two different social groups and to do so with the anticipated result of being accepted by the cultural group that is not one's own. As human beings live and work in shared spaces, their common experiences produce a set of values and behavioral standards, communicative and cognitive codes, as well as worldviews and beliefs. Taken together, these are the elements of culture—a dynamic, shared, interwoven system of ideas and actions that mediate our choices, values, and actions in our day-to-day lives. Unlike human emotions (e.g., love, hate), which are static and universal, culture is dynamic because it changes with time and space as well as membership. *Biculturalism* refers to the necessary knowledge, skills, and beliefs that individuals can access to participate within their own and another cultural group.

Societal Biculturalism

At the state or macrolevel, *biculturalism* suggests that two cultures merit formal recognition. According to Carol Ware, the term first appeared in *The Cultural Approach to History* and subsequently in journal articles of the 1950s that discussed struggles between Canadian Francophones and Anglophones. After a national or ethnic conflict in which neither faction completely conquers or overpowers the other, a process ensues to accommodate the two opposing ways of existence. One way this is accomplished is through

language policy. Such policies create official domains for language use or diglossia. In colonized countries like India, with dozens of local languages, the end of British colonial control presented the opportunity for language planning and the creation of an official (de jure) language policy. This excerpt from the Constitution of India (November 26, 1949) is an example:

345. Official language or languages of a State.— Subject to the provisions of articles 346 and 347, the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State . . . Provided that, until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the State.

In the absence of an official policy, groups of language speakers often create a de facto language policy to demarcate the accepted domains for a particular language. While the possibility exists to use either of one's available languages in a given domain, there is an implicit understanding shared by members of the bicultural society that one language is more appropriate than the other. Such domains include religious activity, education, family interactions, government correspondence, and banking transactions.

Societal biculturalism can also be seen through religious practices. At times, the beliefs of a recently arriving group may violate the norms and traditions of those who lived there before. The case of American Indians is an illustrative example. Federal laws and policies of the United States frequently violated the beliefs and religious practices of the various native groups. Such policies prohibited access to sacred native religious sites or sanctioned the possession of animal-derived sacred objects. Outsiders were able to desecrate sacred native burial sites with impunity. In 1978, the U.S. Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) to provide some protection for the religious practices that were an integral part of American Indian culture. The act reads in part:

Henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right to freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians,

including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonial and traditional rites.

Outside the United States, examples of bicultural societies are Hong Kong, Hawai'i, New Zealand, Catalonia (Spain), the Philippines, and Belgium.

Individual Biculturalism

Some scholars liken biculturalism to assimilation and acculturation. While all three refer to a transformation in cultural patterns, biculturalism suggests that the change occurs without extensive loss of the ancestral culture, as described by Raymond Buriel. Usually, anthropologists and other scholars see culture as transmitted from one generation to another. In contrast, biculturalism, as a rule, is not inherited, but acquired through meaningful experiences with a culture other than the one in which a person was raised. Virginia Gonzalez, Thomas Yawkey, and Liliana Minaya-Rowe explain how immigrants learn how to bridge the use of their first and second languages in different cultural contexts and, in doing so, achieving a level of biculturalism. This process, they explain, results in the creation of a new bicultural or transcultural identity that differs from both the mainstream and minority identities. These authors describe the different possibilities for biculturalism and transculturalism: balancing the "old self" and the enactment of the "new self" or transforming to a "hybrid self."

In earlier studies, biculturalism was considered to be a necessary place along the continuum toward acculturation and assimilation. Some research studies indicate that biculturalism exists in its own, identifiable space. Conceptual models argue against a unidirectional conception of cultural change or the "either/or" conception of acculturation. In previous generations, it was widely believed that immigrants and minority group members needed to assimilate to the new culture in order to be successful in the dominant society. Research has shown that this is not the case, although some amount of acculturation or adaptation may be necessary.

Dual Frame of Reference

Biculturalism is concomitant with a dual frame of reference. Bicultural individuals possess significant knowledge and skills about more than one culture and have a strong desire to function appropriately in both.

They have a dual framework within which to interpret the actions of others and double set of values and standards by which to evaluate their own behaviors. Such individuals exist in a space with two cultural influences, internal and external, on their lives. For this reason, biculturalism is better understood as a state of mind, a part of one's being, or one's identity.

Educational Considerations

Most children from immigrant families and those from dominated cultures (e.g., Latino, African American) usually learn to live within the cultural constraints of their communities while learning to negotiate the culture(s) of the public schools. Often, the values and beliefs of the school culture (as seen through the official curriculum) are at odds with the students' (minority) home culture. Angela Valenzuela reports that bicultural students, especially from segregated, low-income, urban communities, face the derogation of their family cultures and histories.

Despite the hurdles created by schools and the broader society, some students who are able to maintain strong cultural and linguistic ties to their ancestral groups while acquiring mainstream cultural capital have greater academic success than their monolingual (monocultural) peers in U.S. schools. At the same time, children find it challenging to balance two cultural worlds. Students battle with conflicting expectations between their home culture and mainstream culture. They struggle for acceptance by peer groups. Oddly, they may experience racialization, exclusion, and even rejection by family members after achieving academic success, simply because this suggests a pattern of values and behavior that comes from outside the group itself.

Howard L. Smith

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Culturally Competent Teaching; Enculturation; Hidden Curriculum; Social Bilingualism

Further Readings

American Indian Religious Freedom Act, 42 U.S.C. (1996).
 Buriel, R. (1993). Acculturation, respect for cultural differences, and biculturalism among three generations of Mexican American and Euro-American school children. *Journal of Genetic Psychology, 154*, 531–543.

Gonzalez, V., Yawkey, T., & Minaya-Rowe, L. (2006). *English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching and learning: Pre-K–12 classroom applications for students' academic achievement and development*. Boston: Pearson/AB Longman.
 Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. New York: SUNY Press.
 Ware, C. G. (Ed.). (1940). *The cultural approach to history*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Web Sites

Constitution of India:
<http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/welcome.html>

BILINGUAL CHARTER SCHOOLS

Since the enactment of the first charter school law in 1991, the development of charter schools (sometimes called “public schools of choice”) throughout the United States has become widespread. The chief intent was to allow for the creation of legally and financially autonomous nonsectarian public schools—free from state laws and school district regulations—that would operate as private businesses accountable to children and their parents for the academic success of students. Most charter schools, as stated in individual state laws, exist as contracts that a development team enters into with an authorized entity. Generally, development teams consist of educators, parents, and concerned community members who request permission from a school district or county or state education agency to operate an autonomous public school. The contract, or charter, establishes the goals and vision of the school, and the authorizing entity grants permission for the school to operate for a specified time based on its meeting the goals set forth. Charter schools tend to be small and personalized, on average serving 250 to 300 students, and are licensed to operate for periods of 3 to 5 years before seeking renewal. Their autonomy empowers them to offer an education they believe will garner high academic results for the students they serve.

As of 2007, there were some 4,000 charter schools in 40 states plus the District of Columbia serving an estimated 1.2 million students, and the demand is growing. Public interest in and support for these schools has intensified, and financial backing from

organizations like the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and the Walton Family Foundation have been crucial for meeting the additional expenses not covered by public funds. Scrutiny has intensified as well, especially as the first graduating classes emerge, and a greater number of independent think tanks engage in achievement studies.

The momentum behind charter schools has given rise to a dynamic education reform movement, which aims to demonstrate that basic business principles can create environments that promote successful academic institutions. For instance, with the same dollar allotment per student that traditional public schools receive, charter schools can promote creativity and innovation in educational programs that serve students of diverse backgrounds and of low-socioeconomic levels. In other words, students with the greatest need and with the least opportunities for quality educational experiences have choices not available through the traditional public school system.

The capitalist ideals of supply and demand, specialization, competition, and freedom of choice foster the development of charter schools that are compelled to implement the necessary methods to remain in business. Charter schools, although able to operate with relative flexibility, must serve the needs of parents and students while being held accountable, like any other public school, for student achievement. Ultimately, a charter school must meet the required standards of academic rigor and excellence, or it will be shut down. Several studies of existing charter schools have shown mixed results; however, for those students with the greatest need, gains have been steady and positive.

Considering all of these factors (flexibility, competition, innovation, and diverse student population), charter schools are a natural vehicle for bilingual education. In some instances, charter schools are the only vehicle for bilingual education, especially in states such as California and Arizona, where Propositions 227 and 203, respectively, abolished the right of families to enroll their children in this type of educational program. Although bilingual education in the context of charter schools is generally viewed as a tool that aids in achieving rigorous educational outcomes for English language learners as well as native English speakers, it is also viewed as ensuring equal access to opportunity and fostering positive cultural identity and self-esteem, which can be linked to academic success. In this latter capacity, bilingual charter schools offer an opportunity for students to actively pursue a

meaningful connection with a culture or heritage through language maintenance and development. Although bilingual education has been at the center of heated political discussions, when linked to charter schools, it can be consistent with the concepts of parental choice, freedom from overregulation, and innovation. There are numerous bilingual charter schools in the United States today, serving as testing grounds for finding out whether this methodology works or where and with whom it may work better.

A wide array of bilingual programs exists; however, a common model employed with emerging success by charter schools is two-way, dual-language immersion. This model combines students of the same age or grade level who are native speakers of different languages, with the goal of the children becoming fluent in more than one language. This model is most effective when the number of students in each group is evenly distributed and the proper supports are readily available, such as bilingual teachers, assistants, books, and other materials. Two charter schools exemplify this model: District of Columbia Bilingual Public Charter School, in Washington, D.C., and El Sol Santa Ana Science and Arts Academy Charter School, in Santa Ana, California. Each offers students a dual-language immersion model in Spanish and English and a culturally based education anchored in program enhancements, including the arts, an extended day and year, and additional family support services. Although these are relatively new schools, each having been in operation for no more than a few years, as of 2006, they have embraced bilingual education as their program of choice and offer it in response to the needs and demands of their communities.

Because of the flexibility of charter schools, opportunities exist to implement a well-resourced, high-quality bilingual education model that is effective without the bureaucratic constraints or limitations that can result in diluted and less-effective renditions of the model. By promoting academic success through innovative language and cultural methods in a flexible and accountable structure, bilingual programs in charter schools can have the potential to advance the academic attainment of students when properly resourced and implemented.

Below are descriptions of two schools implementing bilingual education models, profiling each school's philosophy and instructional plan for promoting both academic achievement and bilingualism.

District of Columbia Bilingual Public Charter School

The District of Columbia Bilingual Public Charter School (DC Bilingual) is located in Washington, D.C., and enrolls students from pre-K to Grade 2. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, for the 2005–2006 school year, 75% of the students were of Hispanic descent.

As mentioned on their Web site, DC Bilingual first opened its doors in September 2004 and shares a similar philosophy of a parent organization named Centro Nía. The initial enrollment consisted of 122 students in early pre-K through kindergarten. The mission of DC Bilingual involves the implementation of a dual-language program, with the goal of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy skills. DC Bilingual's philosophy of learning conceptualizes it as a process that focuses on students' interaction with their peers, teachers, school staff, and home community. The school's curriculum model promotes the use of English and Spanish during instruction throughout the school day. Students are grouped according to their dominant languages for literacy instruction, but mixed grouping occurs during other school subjects (e.g., math, science, social studies), as reported on the school's Web site.

El Sol Santa Ana Science and Arts Academy Charter School

El Sol Santa Ana Science and Arts Academy Charter School is located in Santa Ana, California, and is part of the Santa Ana Unified School District. It enrolled students from kindergarten through sixth grade in 2005 and expanded to eighth grade in 2007. According to the California Department of Education, 93.8% of the school's total student population was Hispanic in the 2005–2006 school year. As of 2007, the school had been in operation for 5 years, and the charter was renewed for an additional 5 years, as reported in a message from the principal, Diana Clearwater. El Sol emphasizes and implements a dual-language immersion program in Spanish and English. As noted on its Web page, El Sol's mission involves the preparation of students for high school and higher-education entrance and the promotion of a culture of kindness, creativity, courage, and honesty.

Involvement of parents and the community is embraced at this institution. In addition, the school values the multicultural heritage its students bring and

encourages those skills important for a "global citizenship." Values promoted at El Sol include ethics, integrity, social responsibility, and positive identity, as described in the school's Web site. Its educational focus prepares students to enter high school with competent literacy and math and science skills, including abilities in the arts as well.

Conclusion

The two schools described above are exemplary models of early-design bilingual charter schools. These schools adhere closely to the program quality criteria for high-quality bilingual schools. They demonstrate that given the autonomy allowed in the charter schools system, support and maintenance of bilingual instruction through charter schools may be a viable option for culturally and linguistically diverse student populations and communities.

*Jacqueline Castillo Duvivier
and Irene Cuyun*

See also Culturally Competent Teaching; Dual-Language Programs; Multicultural Education; Oyster Bilingual School; Program Quality Indicators; Proposition 203 (Arizona), Impact of; Proposition 227 (California), Impact of

Further Readings

- Center for Education Reform. (2006). *Getting the word out: Charter schools do succeed: A guide for charter school activists provided by the Center for Education Reform*. Available from http://www.edreform.com/_upload/CER_Charter_kit2006.pdf
- Cortéz, J. D., & Montecel, R. M. (2002). Successful bilingual education programs: Development and dissemination of criteria to identify promising and exemplary practices in bilingual education at the national level. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 26, 1–22.
- Detrich, R., Durrett, D., & Phillips, R. (2002). *Dynamic debate: Determining the evolving impact of charter schools*. North Central Regional Educational Laboratory. Available from <http://www.ncrel.org>
- Godard, T. M., & Hassel, B. C. (2006). *Charter school achievement: What we know*. Washington, DC: National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. Retrieved October 23, 2007, from <http://www.publiccharters.org/content/publication/detail/1363>
- Menken, K., & National Council of La Raza. (2000). *A descriptive study of charter schools serving limited*

- English proficient studies*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Moore, T. O. (2006). *Charter schools defined*. Fort Collins, CO: Edspresso.
- Mulholland, L. A. (1996). *Charter schools: The reform and the research*. Tempe, AZ: Morrison Institute for Public Policy.
- Ovando, C. J. (2003). Bilingual education in the United States: Historical development and current issues. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 27, 1–24.
- Public School Review. (n.d.). *What is a charter school?* Retrieved from <http://www.publicschoolreview.com/charter-schools.php>
- Zavislak, A. (2002). Where did charter schools come from? *National Charter School Clearinghouse News*, 1(5). Retrieved from http://www.ncsc.info/newsletter/May_2002/history.htm

Web Sites

- California Department of Education, Data and Statistics: <http://www.cde.ca.gov/ds>
- DC Bilingual Public Charter School: <http://www.dcbilingual.org>
- El Sol Science and Arts Academy: <http://www.elsolacademy.org>
- National Center for Education Statistics: <http://nces.ed.gov>
- U.S. Charter Schools: <http://www.uscharterschools.org>

BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT

See TITLE VII, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, KEY HISTORICAL MARKER; APPENDIX B

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AS LANGUAGE POLICY

Language policy and language planning are two areas of applied linguistics that are intended to be used hand in hand to assess communication problems in education and society. Unfortunately, language planning and policies have sometimes been used in ways that have actually increased communication problems, such as when, for example, their effect has been to suppress communication in particular languages or when policies to

promote mainstream education in the United States only in the English language have been poorly planned or poorly implemented. The implementation of language policies usually requires a formal plan of action based on guiding principles designed to promote, accommodate, maintain, protect, or restrict the use of languages in education or society. Although formal language policies imply planning, much of the debate and implementation of policy related to bilingual education in the United States have occurred without extensive language planning.

Language acquisition planning is a form of language planning used to determine which language(s) or language varieties are promoted through schools. Bilingual education, in the broadest sense, falls under this form of planning because of the importance of formal education in determining the status and spread of languages. Traditionally, language planning also involves *corpus planning*, which deals largely with issues of selection of vocabulary, grammar, and standardization. Corpus planning typically has been more of an issue for debate among publishers and stylists, but it can also involve issues related to the identification and selection of a standard variety or varieties of language. In the early history of the United States, the lexicographer Noah Webster exerted tremendous influence on English spelling, word choice, and grammar—largely through his personal authority as a publisher. Webster was also determined to promote a distinctly “American” form of English and went to lengths to ensure that some spellings would deviate from those used by the British.

When dealing with the choice of dialects and languages, whether for use in dictionaries or school curricula, language planning also invariably involves *status planning*, which attempts to reconcile choices about which varieties are to be used, and it involves attitudes about them. Obviously, the choice of one language or variety over another has social and political implications for those who are relegated to the minority. In the early 19th century, Noah Webster also was on a personal mission to eradicate regional dialects. In recent years, there has been debate over whether social dialects, such as Ebonics (also known as African American Vernacular) or Hawaiian Creole, should be considered in instruction for the promotion of standard English. Some linguists have argued that these home and community varieties of language are rule-governed varieties that need to be considered when planning instruction for those children who

speak them. Unfortunately, attempts to consider home language varieties have been misconstrued as attempts to promote them. This misperception has largely resulted from a misplaced concern over the status of one or more languages. Most experts on language acquisition believe that it is necessary to acknowledge the language varieties children bring to school in order to facilitate the acquisition of standard English but do not advocate for promoting them as varieties of wider communication. Others, however, have noted their influence on popular culture.

Formal language planning and policy prescription typically are carried out by governmental agencies or schools that have the authority to prescribe and impose rules, regulations, and guidelines in order to shape or control language behavior. Beyond formal planning, however, informal practices often have the force of policy. Thus, in addition to formal policy, those implicit, tacit, or covert prescriptions that affect language behavior should also be considered as de facto policies.

The absence of translation or appropriate curricular materials, for example, for speakers of languages other than English can exclude access to schools or needed services, whether or not there is an official policy regarding translation. The decision to promote one or more common or official languages may have a detrimental impact on the status and maintenance of others and may generate unintended consequences. In Canada, for example, the failure to seriously implement French-English bilingual policies during the 1970s helped, some observers say, to fuel the Québec separatist movement. The mere existence of a policy does not mean that it has been well planned or well implemented.

In the United States, the debate over bilingual education has occurred in the absence of serious language planning. The debate has largely been framed by opponents of a federal policy that has allowed for limited use of bilingual education as a strategy for promoting English language use and immigrant assimilation. Within this context, and often without apparent regard for facts, some opponents have maligned bilingual education as a “failed policy” and blamed it for students’ low academic achievement, although the majority of eligible students have never been enrolled in bilingual programs. Further complicating matters is the fact that the media have not often provided the public with an opportunity to understand the positive benefits of bilingual education as a way to add to the nation’s

language resources. Proponents have championed it as an important policy alternative to English monolingual education that has the potential to enhance the language resources of students and the country itself. Regrettably, much of the debate over bilingual education has resulted in an ambiguous discourse about the “bilingual” label, without clear definitions of policies, program goals and types, or benefits to society as a whole.

Types of Bilingual Education Policies

With specific reference to bilingual education in the United States, the question arises as to what extent bilingual education has reflected a formal policy or set of policies. To address this question, it is useful to think of the ways in which bilingual education policies can be analyzed in terms of language aims and goals. Bilingual education policies may, for example, be designed to (a) promote English and one or more additional languages; (b) accommodate speakers of minority languages in English-only instruction; (c) restrict the use of some languages, as in the case of German during World War I; or (d) repress or even eradicate languages, as during the late 19th century, when American Indian boarding schools were used for that purpose.

Among additional factors to consider, Colin Baker, for example, suggests (a) the type of program, (b) type of child, (c) language(s) to be used in the classroom, (d) broader societal aims or goals, and (e) the language and literacy aims or goals. Baker’s classification scheme (see Table 1) also juxtaposes types of bilingual education into two broad categories: *weak forms*, or those that promote monolingualism and/or limited bilingualism, and *strong forms*, or those that promote bilingualism and biliteracy.

Identifying policies associated with specific types of programs is useful because the bilingual education label has been too elastic and ambiguous. Federally sponsored transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs, for example, have typically fallen under the former *weak* category. Voluntary programs, such as two-way or dual-language programs, more typically offered through elite schools, have typically fallen under the *strong* category. Under Title VII, TBE, submersion, also known as *structured English immersion* and *structured English immersion with English as a Second Language (ESL) pull-out*, was the most common approach. The latter two types of programs did

Table 1 A Typology of Bilingual Education*Weak Forms for Promoting Bilingualism and/or Bilingualism*

<i>Policy Aim for Languages Other Than English</i>	<i>Type of Program</i>	<i>Typical Child</i>	<i>Language of the Classroom</i>	<i>Societal and Educational Aim</i>	<i>Language and/or Literacy Aim</i>
Restrictive	Submersion (structured immersion)	Language minority	Majority language	Assimilation	Monolingualism
Restrictive	Submersion (with pull-out ESL)	Language minority	Majority language	Assimilation	Monolingualism
Repressive	Segregationist	Language minority	Minority language (forced, no choice)	Apartheid	Monolingualism
Accommodation-oriented	Transitional	Language minority	Moves from minority to majority language	Assimilation	Relative monolingualism
Weakly promotion-oriented	Majority language plus foreign language	Language majority	Majority language with L2/FL lessons	Limited enrichment	Limited bilingualism
Promotion-oriented (but it excludes access to dominant language)	Separatist	Language minority	Minority language (out of choice)	Detachment/ autonomy	Limited bilingualism

Strong Forms of Education for Promoting Bilingualism and/or Bilingualism

<i>Type of Policy Relative HL/CL</i>	<i>Type of Program</i>	<i>Typical Child</i>	<i>Language of the Classroom</i>	<i>Societal and Educational Aim</i>	<i>Language and/or Literacy Aim</i>
Promotion-oriented	Immersion	Language majority	Bilingual with initial emphasis on L2	Pluralism and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Promotion-oriented	Maintenance/ heritage language	Language minority	Bilingual with emphasis on L1	Maintenance/ pluralism and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Promotion-oriented	Two-way/ dual-language	Mixed language minority and majority	Minority and majority languages	Maintenance/ pluralism and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Promotion-oriented	Mainstream bilingual	Language majority	Two majority languages	Maintenance/ pluralism and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy

Sources: Adapted from Baker (1996, p. 172); Kloss (1998).

Note: L1 = First Language; L2 = Second Language; FL = Foreign Language; HL = Home Language; CL = Community Language.

not involve the use of the primary language of the home. Nevertheless, because students enrolled were speakers of minority languages, these programs were often depicted as being bilingual, thus adding to the public's confusion over the types of programs in which the children were actually enrolled.

As noted in the opening definition, language planning and policies are typically intended to solve communication problems. If programs are evaluated to this end based on their goals, it is clear, critics say, that many of the programs that wear the bilingual label have neither been well-informed by language planning nor clearly connected to the goal of solving communication problems of language minority students. Structured English immersion (SEI), for example, as required in several states that have restricted bilingual education, draws more from political mandates than from any clearly articulated body of research on language acquisition. It is not clear that many SEI programs require any extensive knowledge or training that would distinguish them from failed, unplanned, "sink or swim" English-only programs of the past.

In the United States, most politicized discussions of bilingual education policy have focused on language minority children. Frequently, their backgrounds in languages other than English are assumed to be the cause of their educational deficiencies. Title VII policies were largely predicated on this view, even though advocates of bilingual education tend to see minority languages as personal and societal resources rather than as detriments. At best, the deficit view has tended to result in policies aimed only at accommodating children from home backgrounds in which languages other than English were spoken and lower expectations for their academic achievement were accepted. Under the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001, there has been much fanfare regarding the need to promote higher expectations for all children. Nevertheless, as critics have pointed out, NCLB has provided no clear direction on how to promote equitable programs and meaningful assessment of language minority children. Thus, NCLB has left language minority children in a policy limbo. The primary debate has been over whether to assess children through English and how quickly to do so, although it has been widely recognized that most language minority children will not perform well on tests administered in English when these children have not had sufficient time to develop English and academic skills. Proponents of NCLB have countered that all children must be held to high standards to ensure

accountability. A possible danger in this scenario is that high standards, along with underfunded and poorly planned programs, fail to result in the level playing field needed for high achievement.

Again, a negative note in the history of federally supported bilingual education is that even as opponents of bilingual decried the "failure" of bilingual education, the vast majority of children eligible for Title VII services were not receiving instruction in their home languages and often received no specially designed instruction to develop the English language skills needed for advanced academic instruction. In some states restricting bilingual education, such as in California even prior to the passage of its Proposition 227, teachers in so-called bilingual programs often did not speak the home language of many children. Again, these programs were labeled "bilingual" merely because the children came from homes where languages other than English were taught. Thus, based on the erroneous assumption that children in "bilingual" programs were receiving instruction in languages other than English, rather than in English alone, bilingual education policies were blamed when language minorities underperformed on standardized tests in English.

Bilingual Education Policy and Societal Aims

Given the prevalence of Spanish as the second major language in the United States and because of the misconception that federal bilingual education policies were designed to promote the minority language of the home, Title VII and TBE programs were criticized as being "Spanish-only" programs designed to promote Spanish rather than English. These misperceptions also fueled the baseless fear that the English language was somehow being threatened by the presence of bilingual programs.

Fears of minorities' alleged unwillingness to learn English have done much to preclude any serious, well-informed debate about the value of bilingualism for the monolingual majority, particularly in the much-acclaimed age of globalization. Over a quarter century ago, the late Senator Paul Simon decried what he saw as the "foreign-language crisis" in the United States, in his popular book *The Tongue-Tied Americans*. More recently, the idea that minority languages might legitimately serve as national resources was recast under the label of *heritage* languages and has been championed largely within the context of national

security and the need for languages other than English to promote economic competitiveness in the global economy. Meanwhile, with the possible exception of students studying Spanish, the portion of the “educated” population that studies “foreign” languages has dramatically declined over the past several decades. From a policy perspective, the deficit framing of bilingual education under Title VII and the lack of emphasis on it and foreign-language education under NCLB has done little, critics say, to advance the societal aim of promoting a more linguistically adept population in the United States.

Bilingual Education Policy and Language and Literacy Aims

The primary differentiation among bilingual education policies and programs relates to the aim of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy. So-called mainstream bilingual programs, or immersion programs, hold this aim for majority language children. Often, such programs are those of choice for parents who can afford to provide their children with an elite education. Thus, unlike federally supported Title VII programs, which no longer exist, there has been no stigma of deficiency associated with these programs. There have been some attempts to combine biliteracy and bilingualism as a goal for both majority and minority children. To date, the most successful programs have fallen under the label of “two-way” or “dual immersion.” From a policy standpoint, these programs help to promote the status of minority languages; however, this is not always achieved when languages other than English are presented as “foreign” rather than as living community languages of the United States and the world. There has also been some concern that students in such programs can be differentially positioned based on the perceived status of their languages. For example, concerns have been raised that Spanish-speaking students of lower socioeconomic status may be “servicing” language majority English-speaking children by providing them with native-speaker modeling of the target language. In other words, in the programs’ implementation, the needs of children of the majority are addressed, but not those of minorities. Given the status differential between English and Spanish, there is a need for programmatic policies that are designed to ensure that students are treated equitably. For extensive reviews and recommendations on effective dual-language

models of instruction, readers are referred to the resources provided by the Web site of the Center for Applied Linguistics.

Beyond Deficit-Based Bilingual Education Language Policies

A review of federal bilingual education policy in the United States indicates that there is substantial room for improvement if biliteracy and bilingualism are valued as educational aims for both language minority children and the general population. There is a need to consider policies that promote both the individual and societal benefits of bilingualism. Such policies also need to ensure that language minority students have adequate access to a quality education that includes the development of English for successful participation in school and society.

Moving beyond policies that merely aim to accommodate immigrant and indigenous language minority students, many believe that there is a need to develop and implement policies that value community languages and expand national language resources. Such policies need to recognize the linguistic reality of a country in which nearly 1 out of 6 people speak languages in addition to English. Constructive language policies would also need to recognize that languages other than English are used daily in the linguistic life of the country. Policies based on our linguistic reality would do well to acknowledge that the United States is not only among the largest English-speaking nations in the world—rivaled only by India, a multilingual nation with millions who can speak English—but that it also has millions who can speak Spanish and numerous other indigenous and immigrant languages and that these languages can be resources for both language minority students and the nation as a whole.

Terrence G. Wiley

See also Dual-Language Programs; English Immersion; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III; Status Differences Among Languages; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs; Views of Bilingual Education

Further Readings

Baker, C. (1996). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

- Kloss, H. (1998). *The American bilingual tradition*. Washington, DC, and McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics/Delta Systems.
- Simon, P. (1980). *The tongue-tied American*. New York: Continuum.

Web Sites

Center for Applied Linguistics: <http://www.cal.org>

BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE PRESS

In today's society, the distribution of information is controlled largely by the print and electronic media. Directly and indirectly, media affect the way in which people learn about their world and form opinions on the salient topics of the day, heavily influencing the process of social relations and the slant or spin applied to the news. This becomes most apparent when one analyzes the ways in which the media guide people's relationships with social institutions (e.g., educational, religious, governmental). Lacking the time and ability to interact personally with every social institution, individuals depend on the media for information about a variety of issues. Media may not always be largely responsible for public opinion, but there are many documented cases in which this has occurred.

When the bulk of collective knowledge of a given issue is determined by the news media, the press becomes a major factor in the formation of social attitudes and beliefs. According to David Fan, has it been suggested not only that media shape public views of political issues but that they also mold opinion within specific agenda items. Michael Herzfeld maintains it is no exaggeration to say that in the United States, media are a major force in society: They create as much as they reflect the events taking place in the nation. While individual, seemingly insignificant messages conveyed in the media might appear to have minimal effect, they may accrue over time and form long-term trends of public opinion that affect the outcome of public debate. This entry examines the portrayal by media of the relationship between bilingual education and immigration and provides a context for it in the broader dynamic of society and the press.

Given that media play an important role in the construction of public opinion and have the potential to directly affect the political process, it is important to

understand the impact that individual media forms have and how they are consumed by the public. There are special characteristics of newspapers that help to shape public opinion. While many people elect to watch television and/or listen to the radio for their news and information, the printed format of newspapers offers specific advantages. Newspapers are not limited by time. Readers can afford to devote more time to read and review print news and editorializing and to choose when and where they will do so. This lack of time constraint also allows newspapers to present many more stories than broadcast news on radio or television. This entry focuses on print media in one state and how it influenced the public's view of a ballot initiative to abolish bilingual education in that state.

Jeffery Mondak argues that research on the media has demonstrated that newspapers outperform broadcast media in conveying information to their audiences. Apparently, newspapers are more efficient in transmitting detailed information and enable readers to learn more about topics than do broadcast media. This suggests that people who get their information from newspapers may feel better informed and that they have learned more than people who rely solely on television news. This premise is based on the assumption that newspapers make a unique contribution to the socially shared knowledge base. Mondak also asserts that it has been reported by researchers that people who rely on newspapers as their primary source for political and social information tend to have higher levels of education, prior knowledge of politics, and a stronger interest in current affairs. It is not clear whether these factors (rather than the actual influence of newspapers) cause such individuals to seek out information from various sources and participate more actively in the political process. Whatever the case, there is little question that newspapers make a contribution to the formation and/or construction of public knowledge. Issues and topics privileged by the press in some way are more likely to become the bases for political preferences and decision making by readers who rely on this source for whatever reasons.

Media and the Construction of Social Norms

David Croteau and William Hoynes maintain that these dynamics may be seen to intensify when examining the ways in which media construct images of minority

communities, their problems, and the programs designed to help them. Historically, mainstream American media sources have generally chosen “Whites” as the group norm to which all other racial groups are compared. For example, “White culture” or the “White community” is not commonly singled out in the press. However, it is not unusual for the media to reference “Black culture” or the “Latino community.” Absence of a racial classification in the press usually denotes “Whiteness,” or the majority culture. It is implicitly the position from which all other groups are analyzed and judged. The pervasiveness of the White perspective in media is a powerful and influential feature in the formation of public opinion. In effect, this perspective emphasizes media bias without recognizing it as such. In this sense, news media may be seen exist within a socially bounded set of values and determiners of success. Teun van Dijk argues that while many messages relayed through the media are overtly polarized, there are also covert ways of casting minorities and their preferences in an unfavorable light. Van Dijk claims that some of the following prevailing commonalities have been found in studies of the news media:

- Many of the dominant topics are directly or more subtly associated with problems, difficulties, or threats to the dominant values, interests, goals, or culture.
- Ethnic events are consistently described from a White, majority point of view.
- Topics that are relevant for the ordinary daily life of ethnic groups, such as work, housing, health, education, political life, and culture, as well as discrimination in these areas, are hardly discussed in the press unless they lead to “problems” for society as a whole or when they are spectacular in some way.

These general trends apply directly to language minority concerns. Press coverage of the recent antibilingual education ballot measures in California, Arizona, Massachusetts, and Colorado reveals some insight into how information about bilingual education is circulated.

Media Images of Bilingual Education

Whereas newspapers are only one of several media resources available to researchers, recent studies have demonstrated a direct correlation between the representation of bilingual education in newspapers and

public voting trends in the cases mentioned above, as claimed by Otto Santa Ana and Eric Johnson. Although such studies might effectively display how periodicals tend to project images of bilingual education to the public, one must consider the many elements that constitute a newspaper article, and their various types, in order to understand the issues clearly. From the broad perspective of readership demographics to the minute detail of the individual journalist’s own perspective, the final print version of a newspaper article has been wrought by multiple influences. A specific example of this can be seen in the media coverage of the 2000 Arizona Proposition 203 campaign, also known as the “English for the Children” ballot initiative. Supporters of Proposition 203 promoted the end of bilingual education in favor of a “sheltered English immersion” approach to language minority education. Arizona media coverage surrounding this political battle reveals how newspapers communicated messages concerning bilingual education, subtly or directly.

In the months leading up to the public vote, between January 2000 and November 2000, the two largest newspapers in the state, the *East Valley Tribune* and the *Arizona Republic*, produced a combined 73 articles that directly focused on Proposition 203 and/or bilingual education. An examination of these newspaper articles reveals certain stylistic and rhetorical features that were brought to bear on this controversial issue in favor of the ballot measure. It is possible to discuss the potential influence of newspapers by looking at this specific context from multiple vantage points. Factors such as the slant of an article, the wording of a headline, the specific text in an article, and inherent variations between newspapers play a significant role in the construction of social opinion. Some brief examples of these features will demonstrate the complexity of their relationship in the portrayal of bilingual education and language minority students.

Reading an article with a critical eye allows researchers to discern whether the information is being presented in a straightforward manner or whether there is a particular slant either for or against the issue at hand. This is most obvious when comparing news stories with editorials. Articles that convey basic information (e.g., dates, times, locations) are generally straightforward or politically neutral. Even in news stories, however, journalists may include their own opinions or value-laden statements. At this

point, the news article starts to take on the characteristics of an editorial even though it was slated to be a news story.

Out of the 73 articles involved in the Proposition 203 campaign, only 9, or 12%, could be considered neutral by researchers (i.e., they did not place value on either side of the debate). It was found that the remaining 64 articles had a clear slant. With a total of 48, or 66%, the vast majority of the articles took on a negative slant (i.e., denigrating the opposition's perspective). The remaining 16, or 22%, conveyed a positive message concerning either the value of bilingual education or English immersion. When the slanted articles are broken down according to their portrayal of bilingual education, it is easy to see the potential impact on public opinion: Of the 64 slanted articles identified, 41, or 64%, contained negative depictions of bilingual education.

Headlines, Text, and the Communication of Bias

Assuming that most people will not read every article in a newspaper, the communicative impact of newspaper headlines is important in capturing the reader's attention. Some headlines are able to deliver a message potent enough to grab the reader's perspective with great power. In general, editorial letters often contain the most heavily slanted headlines. It is easy to see from the headline alone that the authors of "Time to End Bilingual Education," by Johanna Haver (*Arizona Republic*, June 12, 2000, p. B7), and "Prop. 203 Gives Students Help With English, Shot at Success: My Turn," written by Jeff Flake (*Arizona Republic*, September 6, 2000, p. 4), convey strong opinions against bilingual education. Headlines like "Teaching Limited-English Pupils in Arizona: It's Just a Mess," written by Lori Baker and Kelly Pearce (*Arizona Republic*, January 20, 2000, p. A1), and "Bilingual Ed. Must Go, Arizona Voters Say in Poll: English Immersion Programs Favored," written by Robbie Sherwood and Lisa Chiu (*Arizona Republic*, September 22, 2000, p. A1), also make definite statements against bilingual education. Considering that both of the latter headlines appeared on the front page, their exposure and communicative potential may have been greater than those of the editorials. Even though these articles might contain positive information about bilingual education, when someone merely scans the headlines, they might see only the negative viewpoint

and miss out on the reasons for the conclusion stated in the headline.

Beyond the thematic slant of an article (including the headline), the text of the article may be loaded with multiple messages and images. Even though an article might have an overall positive depiction of bilingual education and/or the needs of language minority students, individual quotations might accentuate a socially negative stereotype. For example, when a journalist quotes individuals favoring the ballot initiative as saying, "Bilingual education is an evil system of racial discrimination that has destroyed the education of countless Hispanic children in our state," the reader may think about bilingual education in terms of "evil" and "discrimination." When bilingual education is portrayed in a positive light, however, the significant details of how it benefits children are often missing. Daniel González, an editorial writer for the *Republic*, asserted that "scrapping bilingual education would especially hurt Hispanic and Native American children with limited English proficiency" (July 6, 2000, p. B1), but he does not explain how this might happen.

This relationship between the positive and the negative often taps into what we think of as "natural," speculate David Croteau and William Hoynes. According to this view, nature is something that we define in contrast to culture. Unlike culture, nature is understood to be beyond human control. If social structures and relationships are perceived as natural, they take on a certain degree of permanency and legitimacy that makes them seem uncontested. For example, readers may assume that it is only "natural" that the difficulties experienced by language minority students are rooted in their home language and condition, which is, in turn, aggravated by the continued use of the language via bilingual instruction. For example, according to González, Congressman Matt Salmon blamed bilingual education for the high dropout rate among Hispanic students in Arizona. The *Republic* made no mention of the fact that there is no research evidence supporting this assertion.

The Role of Editorial Choices

While that which is included or excluded from an article depends heavily on the individual journalist, the editorial staff has the ultimate say. Since different editors have different perspectives, it is common to see some variation between different newspapers. For

example, the *East Valley Tribune* ran a total of 30 articles covering the bilingual education debate, 63% of which were in direct support of Proposition 203 (i.e., against bilingual education). On the other hand, only 51% of the *Arizona Republic*'s 43 articles were in support of Proposition 203.

The editorial section provides a clear lens through which to view a newspaper's political agenda. Beyond the opinion-editorial letters that are written by the public, editors and editorial staffers frequently write articles expressing their own viewpoints. During the bilingual education debate, the *Arizona Republic* published only one editorial article, "Education Dominates Mailbag" (July 1, 2000, p. B15), that did not express any opinions for or against bilingual education. The *East Valley Tribune* published two editorial articles directly opposing bilingual education: "Plugging the Bilingual Rathole" (February 2, 2000, p. A14) and "Bilingual Bunk" (August 24, 2000, p. A14). The *East Valley Tribune* includes a disclaimer on every editorial page stating that the "opinions expressed in editorials are those of the newspaper. All other opinions on this page and on the opinion 2 page are those of the authors or artists." Realizing that newspapers openly support or oppose social issues can enable readers to understand why certain articles are being published; however, many people do not think of newspapers as having a certain agenda and simply believe that what they read is factual.

Like many social issues, bilingual education receives the most attention in the press when legislation is being contested. Although newspapers do include sound information that directly supports bilingual education, such as "Facts Elude Politician's Perspective" (*East Valley Tribune*, September 13, 2000, p. 4), written by Jeff MacSwan, and "Bilingual Ed Foe Unz Used Distorted Facts" (*East Valley Tribune*, September 13, 2000, p. A19), by Stephen Krashen, readers may react differently to research-derived statistics, facts, and discoveries as presented by experts in the field of education. Many articles published in these two papers were quickly responded to by university professors and others familiar with the research literature. Aside from publishing their letters, both papers failed to publish information from research reports in favor of bilingual education.

Finally, it must be mentioned that even though there are easily identified trends in the way bilingual education is represented in the press as a whole, individual newspapers alone cannot be held responsible for the formation of social opinions. Newspapers do contribute

to the construction of social knowledge, but they also reflect certain social interests. Multiple factors drive the articles that are published; readership demographics, sponsorship, and the layout of the newspaper also contribute to the circulation size and, ultimately, the potential influence that a newspaper can have on a community's social views. Ultimately, though, it is the spread of information through everyday interpersonal interaction that reinforces social views and attitudes. Regardless of their slant, newspapers provide a platform for discussing important issues like bilingual education. It is up to the reading public how they receive such information, what they choose to do with it, and how they represent it to others.

Eric Johnson

See also Attitudes Toward Language Diversity; English for the Children Campaign; Languages and Power; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Croteau, D., & Hoynes, W. (1997). *Media/society: Industries, images, and audiences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.
- Fan, D. P. (1988). *Predictions of public opinion from the mass media: Computer content analysis and mathematical modeling*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Herzfeld, M. (2001). *Anthropology: Theoretical practice in culture and society*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Johnson, E. (2005). Proposition 203: A critical metaphor analysis. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29, 69–84.
- Mendoza, M., & Ayala, H. (2000, October 11). Republic editorial is wrong: Bilingual education is an utter failure, our turn. *Arizona Republic*, p. B9.
- Mondak, J. J. (1995). *Nothing to read: Newspapers and elections in a social experiment*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Santa Ana, O. (2002). *Brown tide rising. Metaphors of Latinos in contemporary American public discourse*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- van Dijk, T. (1987). *Communicating racism: Ethnic prejudice in thought and talk*. London: Sage.

BILINGUALISM IN HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Worldwide, most people speak two or more languages, simply because multiple languages are used in their environments. Researchers and educators in

the field of bilingualism and bilingual education have been interested in defining what *bilingual* means and how a bilingual person's competences can be measured. Among the several views of bilingualism, two have predominated in the field: the fractional and the holistic perspectives. The *fractional* view describes bilinguals as being the equivalent of two monolinguals in one person. This view considers bilinguals as developing parallel linguistic competence in both languages simultaneously, and studies following this perspective often compare bilinguals with monolinguals. The *holistic* view, proposed by François Grosjean, argues that each bilingual is a unique individual who integrates knowledge of and from both languages to create something more than two languages that function independently of each other. This view holds that the total of the two languages is greater than their sum, because the two languages interact with each other to increase the functionality of each. Both perspectives describe as ideal the development of *balanced* bilingual competence in speaking, thinking, reading, and writing, meaning equivalent fluency in the two languages.

Bilingualism in Social Context

Balanced bilingualism is a concept that is not easily achievable; instead, bilingualism must be understood as a continuum in which language ability changes constantly in relation to the individual's social, educational, and linguistic contexts. In addition, bilingualism may be described as simultaneous or sequential. *Simultaneous bilinguals* grow up learning two languages in their environments from infancy. *Sequential bilinguals* develop mastery, or at least some proficiency, in their native languages before acquiring a second language.

Bilingualism emerges when two different language communities come into sustained contact. Language contact in different communities creates a variety of bilingual discourses that meet the needs of the members of those specific communities. Bilingualism is more valuable when some members of each language group are not bilingual. Logically, if everyone in a particular space were bilingual, there would no longer be a need for anyone to know both languages purely for communicative purposes. Some communities and countries have a policy of official acceptance of bilingualism, and, consequently, both languages are taught and have fairly equal status in society. For example, Belgium has an official policy of bilingualism in

French and Flemish, not only on paper but also in practice. Thus, in the school and community, people receive training and motivation to learn both languages and use them in the public sphere.

In some countries, majority language speakers generally associate their language with nationalism and label the widespread use of other languages as a problem rather than an asset. An example of this dynamic in the United States is the so-called English-only laws that restrict the use of languages other than English in public schools. As critics have pointed out, such laws are motivated by political and ideological considerations rather than sound pedagogical theory or societal benefit. They have little if anything to do with what constitutes a good education or an adequate linguistic preparation for the future.

Research Findings

The research in this field shows that the child's native language is a good foundation on which to build the second language. In addition, it has been shown that English-only policies often have unrecognized impact beyond education when speakers of other languages absorb negative attitudes toward their home language (or varieties of their home language) and culture that are prevalent in mainstream society. The effects of these attitudes are apparent in that historically, immigrant families in the United States have tended to preserve their native languages as an important part of their cultures. Immigrants traditionally have been bilingual for two or three generations after immigrating but eventually abandon the immigrant language altogether. Today, immigrants evidence a stronger preference for speaking English and less motivation for preserving their native languages, so that the shift to English monolingualism occurs more rapidly, in most cases in two generations. In this context, English-only rules seem to be unnecessary since there is no threat to the English language posed by the new immigrants and their linguistic orientations. Ironically, while English-only campaigns in the public schools promote having minority children abandon their home languages and make the transition to English as soon as possible, private corporations that now tend to operate in several countries at once regard second languages as a valuable job skill that increases a firm's competitiveness in the international marketplace.

It is important to note that in addition to its purely communicative value, bilingualism has social, psychological, and cognitive benefits. In terms of their

social communicative competence, bilinguals are able to maintain family communication and interaction across generations; psychologically, the identity of belonging to a particular language and culture group can increase bilinguals' self-esteem as well as the cohesion of their families. In terms of cognitive competence, studies have shown that young bilingual children have greater semantic flexibility than their monolingual peers in specific tasks such as object labeling. The findings of various studies differ on whether some cognitive benefits (e.g., metalinguistic awareness) may be temporary rather than permanent, adding to the existing societal ambivalence about whether the effort to maintain or develop bilingual competence is worthwhile. This ambivalence is due in large part to the fact that the researchers have not controlled for the effect of partial bilingualism as opposed to full mastery of both languages. There are indications in the research that fully bilingual and biliterate individuals benefit more from being bilingual than persons who are haphazardly or informally bilingual. Even if there is no easy answer to this question, however, there is no harm in a child's being able to communicate with members of his or her family in their first language.

Bilingualism as Social and Cultural Experience

For whom is it most important to develop communicative competence in two languages, and why? Bilingualism develops when people participate in day-to-day activities that require them to use two languages. For example, it may be an asset to be able to address family members in the native language but be able to use the second language when necessary in the broader community. Beyond the linguistic competence aspect of bilingualism, it is also necessary to consider sociocultural and political aspects. Bilingualism is more than just speaking two languages. Specifically, when people, children, and adults become bicultural through diverse sociocultural experiences, this affects their levels of bilingualism. For bilinguals who live in the linguistic borderlands, whether geographically or ideologically, a primary goal is to develop and maintain their bicultural identities through preserving their customs, values, and ways of speaking among members of their communities. Bilinguals who grow up in these borderlands develop a bicultural worldview and identity that governs when, with whom, and where

they use each of their languages. From a negative perspective, the bilingual may be viewed as being "caught" between two languages and two cultures, proficient in neither. From a borderlands perspective, in contrast, the bilingual can be viewed as the creator of hybrid spaces where experiences and knowledge in two languages and cultures contribute to his or her abilities to negotiate the social, political, and economic environment.

The languages people speak influence the cultural values they acquire as part of their bilingual worlds. Each language one learns brings with it a set of values, beliefs, and attitudes that belong to the members of a language community at a given time. Among immigrant communities, therefore, language is seen as a symbol and instrument of group identity. Moreover, the relationship between language and group identity varies as a function of the power relations between the different groups in a particular society. Children who attend schools in areas where their languages are not valued and validated tend to learn early that the language of school is the one that holds power; as a result, they typically become dominant in this second language, since most of their spoken and written instruction occurs in that language. In general, this type of ethnocentric environment leads to a form of subtractive bilingualism in which bilingual children and youth feel continual pressure to assimilate by using their native languages less and less. Children in such a situation may become either passive first-language bilinguals, able to understand but not use their native languages, or reluctant monolinguals in the majority language. When one's native language is devalued (as, for example, with indigenous languages) and speaking the majority language is key to achieving economic and social success in the mainstream society, there is little motivation to retain one's first language. This is why speakers of low-status languages typically do not resist the pressure to assimilate linguistically and culturally into the dominant society, which typically leads to rapid loss of bilingualism.

Code Switching

When individuals succeed in becoming fluent bilinguals, their sociopsycholinguistic competences in the two languages overlap, creating a hybrid. One instance in which this hybrid competency manifests itself is when speakers use both languages in the same conversation, a phenomenon known as *code*

switching. Historically, and to some extent even today, critics have described code switching pejoratively as reflecting an inability to speak either language properly (hence leading to epithets such as “Chinglish,” “Spanglish,” or “Portuñol,” a mixture of Portuguese and Spanish). Even parents who are raising bilingual children have expressed concern that mixing the two languages may have negative educational consequences. There is no evidence, however, that code switching has negative effects on children’s cognitive or linguistic development. Instead, research has identified code switching and borrowing as instruments that competent bilingual speakers use deliberately as symbols of group identity. They may switch from one language to the other for pragmatic reasons, for example, to subtly convey their attitudes toward the topics under discussion. Or, they may engage in code switching purely for fun, as is common with teenagers in many cultures.

Policy Implications

The experience of becoming bilingual has effects not only at the individual level but also at the levels of family, community, and society. The circumstances of linguistic and biliteracy acquisition are in many ways unique to each individual child, because he or she is able to draw from two sets of linguistic and cultural resources. In terms of educational policy, it is not enough for teachers, educators, and policymakers to consider only the linguistic aspect of bilingualism. A comprehensive understanding of how children become bilingual, how they acquire a second language, and how they use each of the two languages in similar or different ways must incorporate knowledge of how social, cultural, and linguistic factors interact and influence their sociopsycholinguistic development.

Iliana Reyes

See also Attitudes Toward Language Diversity; Code Switching; Language and Identity; Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; Maintenance Policy Denied; Metalinguistic Awareness; Status Differences Among Languages; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad; Views of Bilingual Education

Further Readings

Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.). Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.

González, N. (2001). *I am my language: Discourses of women and children in the borderlands*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Santa Ana, O. (2004). *Tongue tied: The lives of multilingual children in public school*. Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

BILINGUALISM STAGES

Bilingualism is not an absolute condition, especially at the societal level. In the same way that saying a person is bilingual does little to describe actual language ability, labeling a community as bilingual overlooks the diversity of experiences within bilingual and diglossic societies. Joshua A. Fishman has been active in researching bilingual communities and promoting the reversal of language shift (in which a community gradually replaces one language with another, usually more dominant language). His work is based on the premise that most minority languages will not survive without active support from the community. Fishman has developed a continuum of eight stages, called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages (GIDS), which describes the functions and uses of the minority language for its speakers and communities and also offers a general guideline for language revival.

Individual Versus Societal Bilingualism

Bilingualism can be understood on two levels: individual and societal (or social). Discussions about *individual bilingualism* use the individual person as a reference point and usually focus on characteristics such as age of acquisition, level of attainment, language dominance, and ability. Often, these characteristics are largely removed from their broader social context and do not take the language community into account. *Societal bilingualism*, on the other hand, refers to the way multiple languages are used in and by a community. One example of societal bilingualism is the availability of newspapers and other print media in more than one language. Another example, common in the United States, is when the home language is a

minority language different from the language used in school (i.e., the majority language, English). Societal bilingualism is frequently referred to as *diglossia*, which indicates the use of two languages within one community in which the two languages have different functions. It is important to note that not all individuals in a diglossic community are necessarily bilingual. It is possible to have two groups of monolinguals living in a community where bilingualism is rare, such as in modern Switzerland.

In understanding diglossia and societal bilingualism, it is useful to examine what is meant by majority and minority languages, which are also sometimes referred to as high (status) and low (status) languages. The *majority language* is the language spoken by the majority of the population, but, more important, it is the language with the most social, economic, and political prestige. The majority language is also frequently seen by speakers of both the majority and minority languages as the key to educational and economic success. This perception can contribute to the loss of the minority language among bilinguals. A *minority language*, then, is a language that is less prestigious and has fewer political and economic uses than the majority language. The minority language is generally seen by majority language speakers as “less valuable” than the majority language, an idea that may be internalized by speakers of minority languages. However, a minority language can also serve as a symbol of identity and a source of pride for its speakers, who may claim their right to speak and maintain the minority language. In the context of the United States, the majority language is English, and minority languages are the languages of immigrant communities, such as Spanish or Yiddish, and Native American groups, such as Navajo or Yaqui.

Individual and Group Rights in the United States

Within the discussion of societal bilingualism, it is also useful to briefly visit the ideas of individual and group rights. While the United States has a long history of emphasizing individual rights, group rights have also been repeatedly recognized. For example, freedom of speech and religion are individual rights that are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, but the Americans with Disabilities Act recognizes a particular group of people and grants them specific rights. Similarly, many laws recognize children as a group. In these cases, membership in a group guarantees certain

rights beyond those of the individual. In the case of language maintenance, some minority language communities are recognized as having the right to maintain and revive the minority language, but this right does not extend to all language minority groups (e.g., Welsh in the United Kingdom and Native American languages in the United States).

Languages are not static, and their existence depends on the willingness of the speakers not only to speak the language but also to pass it on to younger generations. When fewer and fewer people speak a language, the language along with the associated culture is in danger of dying out, a process called *language shift*. *Language revival* is concerned with reversing language shift, and *language maintenance* refers to the prevention of language erosion or shift. These distinctions are important in terms of societal bilingualism as they reflect the processes of increasing and maintaining the use of two languages within a community.

Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages

In the early 1990s, Fishman developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages (GIDS), which depicts different stages of societal bilingualism from the perspective of the minority language (see Table 1) and also serves as a guideline for reversing language shift. Fishman's GIDS is meant to support bilingualism and cultural pluralism and is based on the idea that culture and language are closely intertwined. It is important to note that Stage Eight is the worse-case scenario for a minority language, and Stage One is the best-case scenario, representing cultural and linguistic pluralism. The minority language gradually moves from being obsolete to gaining social, educational, economic, and political functions.

The Eight Stages

Stage Eight

At this stage, the language is not being spoken to younger generations, and only a few members of the oldest generation still speak the language. The language has broadly fallen into disuse, as any remaining speakers tend to be isolated from each other. The language at this point has died out; it is not used in many

Table 1 Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages (GIDS)

Stage One	Minority language is used in the national media, higher education, and the government.
Stage Two	Local mass media is available in the minority language, along with some governmental services.
Stage Three	The minority language is used both in school and in the workplace, especially where there is interaction with majority language speakers.
Stage Four	Education is available through the school system in the minority language, and those educational programs are controlled by members of the minority language community.
Stage Five	Literacy in the minority language is common across all generations, although it is not supported through the school system.
Stage Six	The minority language is spoken by all generations and, importantly, is learned by children as a first language. The minority language is also used in the community.
Stage Seven	Speakers of the minority language belong to the older generations. Younger generations, including those of childbearing age, do not speak the minority language.
Stage Eight	The few remaining speakers of the minority language are socially isolated. At this point, it is necessary to record and research the language for future revival.

Sources: Adapted from Baker & Jones (1998); Fishman (2004).

daily interactions and is not a part of the daily lives of people who identify with the community and language. It is necessary to bring in linguists and anthropologists to record the language and collect as much information as possible in order to reconstruct the language and its community at a later time.

Stage Seven

The language is used daily by members of the older generations but is not being learned by younger generations. Although parents may be bilingual, they speak the majority language to their children rather than the minority language. Unless precautions are taken, the language will move on to Stage Eight and eventually die out. At this point, raising children in the minority language becomes necessary, and plans must be implemented that support the community in maintaining its language. However, it is not enough that children learn the minority language as a first language; they must also continue to use it throughout their lives and pass it on to their children.

Stage Six

At this crucial stage, the language is being passed on to younger generations and is used among all

generations for daily interactions. Once the language is used within the family, it will also likely be used for interactions in the community, thus establishing a language community. However, the language is used largely for informal functions, such as shopping and talking to relatives, and not for more formal functions like education or government. This stage is crucial in reversing language shift because maintaining the language at this stage is largely dependent on family decisions to speak the language, which are difficult to influence.

Stage Five

The language is being used daily among all generations both at home and in the community at this stage, but more important, literacy in the minority language is also prevalent. Literacy is crucial because it raises the status of the minority language, increases the number of functions the language can serve, and allows for communication across distance and time, which enables the minority language community to communicate its own viewpoints, beliefs, and values in the media. At this point, minority language literacy development is supported largely through home and community efforts, whereas majority language literacy is developed through formal schooling.

Stage Four

During this stage, the minority language starts to move into more formal functions, possibly at the expense of the majority language. Schools are established that support minority language development, and these schools may be controlled solely through the minority language community, or they may also be partially controlled by the central majority language government.

Stage Three

At this point, the language is spoken in the home, in the community, and at school. Literacy in the minority language is widespread, and the minority language will be used in workplaces outside of the community. In previous stages, the minority language may have been used at workplaces within the community as part of daily activity, but Stage Three is important because the minority language is used in workplaces that have national and international influence and are outside the minority language community.

Stage Two

After achieving use in the workplace in Stage Three, the minority language begins to be used in lower functions of local and national government. For instance, legal services may become available in the minority language, along with health services, electoral procedures, and so on. However, the main language of the central government is still the majority language. At this stage, mass media, such as radio and television, also become available in the minority language. Not only does this increase access to the minority language and culture, but the minority language also gains some measure of prestige through mass media.

Stage One

At this final stage, many nationwide government functions are conducted in both the minority and the majority languages. Higher education is also available in the minority language, and the minority language is widely used in a variety of functions. At this point, linguistic and cultural pluralism has been achieved. It is important to realize that the minority language has not replaced the majority language, but rather the two languages share relatively equal status.

Drawbacks

Although Fishman's GIDS is comprehensive, it is not universal. Language communities have different social, political, and historical contexts and do not necessarily achieve societal bilingualism to the same degree or in the same ways. Also, the stages in GIDS are not as linear as they may appear on paper and are, in fact, overlapping and interdependent. Finally, the stages in GIDS do not address the political and social conflicts that may arise in moving from one stage to another.

Significance for Education

Within Fishman's GIDS, schools clearly play a role in language revival and maintenance. This role, however, is secondary to that of family and community. For instance, if a minority language that is supported through schooling is not used in family and community contexts, that language becomes more of a school subject than a mode of communication, such as Irish in modern-day Ireland. Schools can greatly contribute, however, to the revival and maintenance of languages that are supported in the community, especially where literacy is concerned. One example of this is the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation. According to Teresa McCarty, the development of culturally and academically appropriate literacy materials and the teaching of Navajo as a first and second language enabled the Rough Rock School not only to further language maintenance in the community but also to create another institution where Navajo is spoken. Here, the key is that of the minority language community having a legitimate measure of control over the schools, as opposed to schools in minority language communities that are controlled by the majority language community.

Kara T. McAlister

See also Fishman, Joshua A.; Indigenous Language Revitalization; Language Revival and Renewal; Language Rights in Education; Language Shift and Language Loss; Maintenance Policy Denied; Social Bilingualism

Further Readings

Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (Eds.). (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (Ed.). (2000). *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (2004). Language maintenance, language shift, and reversing language shift. In T. K. Bhatia & W. C. Ritchie (Eds.), *Handbook of bilingualism* (pp. 406–436). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- McCarty, T. L. (2002). *A place to be Navajo: Rough Rock and the struggle for self-determination in indigenous schooling*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

BILINGUAL PARAPROFESSIONALS

Paraprofessionals emerged in the 1950s out of the occupational need to provide clerical support and assist teachers in the education of children. Since then, paraprofessionals in general and bilingual paraprofessionals in particular have played an essential role in the education of culturally and linguistically diverse children. They assist teachers who may lack the necessary preparation to teach language minority students, and they act as role models to the culturally and linguistically diverse students they serve. Because many paraprofessionals eventually become teachers, they are an important source of certified teachers committed to the success of these students.

Paraprofessionals, the term used in this encyclopedia, are also known as *paraeducators*, *teacher aides/assistants*, *instructional aides/assistants*, *classroom aides/assistants*, *educational technicians*, *computer lab technicians*, *child caregivers*, and *extracurricular activity aides*. Some of these terms clearly specify where within schools the paraprofessionals work—in libraries, media centers, computer laboratories, and so forth. In some states and in local education agencies, one or more of these terms reflects specific steps in the career ladder.

The variety of terms used to refer to this occupation explains the lack of a universal definition for this job. Most definitions, however, focus on the roles that paraprofessionals play, namely, assisting professionals in schools (e.g., teachers, speech language pathologists, counselors) and providing services to children or their parents under the supervision of certificated personnel. Bilingual paraprofessionals are usually hired to provide educational services in more than one language, usually English and another language; help

students in public or private schools, either in general or special education; and assist with students who may or may not have disabilities.

The National Resource Center for Paraprofessionals (NRCP) in its seventh report, *The Employment and Preparation of Paraeducators: The State of the Art—2003*, highlighted the difficulties of collecting data regarding the exact number of paraprofessionals working nationwide. The report estimated the number of paraprofessionals to be more than 525,000 in the year 2000. Of that number, approximately 130,000 were assigned to multilingual, Title I, and other compensatory programs.

Historical Background

The history of the hiring of paraprofessionals, as presented in the NRCP report, clearly reflects the needs of personnel in the field of education and the changes in the paraprofessional's job description that occurred over the past 50 years. Paraprofessionals became common in the 1950s, when a shortage of certified teachers and parents' efforts to develop community-based educational services for children and adults with disabilities created a need to hire teacher assistants. At this time, paraprofessionals played mainly a clerical role and performed basic routine and housekeeping tasks in classrooms.

In the 1960s and 1970s, federal legislation such as the Head Start Act; Title I, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; the Bilingual Education Act, also known as Title VII; and the Education for All Handicapped Act led to the creation of programs that addressed the needs of educationally and economically disadvantaged children and their families. These programs focused on young, low-income children in elementary and secondary schools; children with limited English proficiency, now often referred to as English language learners (ELLs); and children with disabilities, respectively. All of these programs provided funding for the employment and training of paraprofessionals, including bilingual paraprofessionals. Paraprofessionals hired to serve in these programs still perform clerical and monitoring tasks but also assist the teacher and other school personnel in the education of children with specific reading, writing, and math needs.

In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education issued a report titled *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, which

stressed the need for improving the quality of education in the United States. This report launched a reform movement that continues today and is aimed at the preparation of a high-quality teaching force that is held accountable for the learning that occurs in schools and establishes high standards of learning for all students regardless of ability, ethnicity, race, and socioeconomic status.

In 2001, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was reenacted and renamed the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act. This federal act focused on progressively decreasing—and, by 2014, closing—the achievement gap between White, African American, and Latino students. However, the shortage of certified teachers willing to serve in low-income urban and rural areas, the lack of qualified teachers in other areas, as well as the fact that most teachers lacked the preparation needed to adequately educate the increasing number of ELLs in the country, gave a boost to the hiring of paraprofessionals in general and bilingual paraprofessionals in particular.

Under NCLB, paraprofessionals hired after January 8, 2002, and working in a program supported with Title I, Part A funds, must have completed a minimum of 2 years of study at an institution of higher education or must hold an associate's degree or higher. They also must pass a formal test administered by the state or local education agency that assesses the candidates' knowledge of reading, writing, and math as well as the paraprofessionals' ability to assist in the instruction of those subjects. Bilingual paraprofessionals who serve only as translators or implementers of activities with parents must be proficient in English and another language and need a high school diploma or its recognized equivalent. For other paraprofessional positions, the minimum qualification is a high school diploma or recognized equivalent; some require college credits or an associate's degree. Few states have policies regulating the paraprofessionals' hiring qualifications and professional development. In fact, when the regulations are in place, they are non-binding to the local educational agencies that hired the paraprofessionals. To improve this situation, the NRCP report advocates for collaboration between states, local education agencies, schools, unions, and institutions of higher education. It also suggests three different levels of responsibility for paraprofessionals, the knowledge and skills that should be required for each level, as well as the need for preparing teachers to work with and supervise paraprofessionals.

Current Research

The research on paraprofessionals reveals that often, bilingual paraprofessionals share the same socioeconomic status, culture, language and educational experiences of many ELLs in the schools. Their intimate understanding of these students' cultural backgrounds, families, and communities, as well as the students' educational needs, contributes to warm and caring relationships between students, parents, and paraprofessionals, relationships that facilitate learning. In addition, bilingual paraprofessionals play an indispensable role as brokers of the new culture and language for culturally and linguistically diverse students and their parents; they serve as the bridge between children and their families, and teachers and administrators. As a result, bilingual paraprofessionals end up assuming many different roles and responsibilities. These include translating for parents and school personnel, assisting teachers who are monolingual speakers of English in the instruction and assessment of students not yet proficient in that language, and clerical tasks. This situation sometimes results in bilingual paraprofessionals complaining about a job that lacks the prestige and remuneration attached to performing instructional tasks in two languages, often with little or no training. Scholars and children's advocates often highlight the contradiction of having ELLs and students with special needs, who need highly trained professionals, served by bilingual paraprofessionals who often have a high school diploma or the equivalent and are not systematically trained before or after being hired to perform the many demanding tasks involved in teaching.

Paraeducator-to-Teacher Programs

Paraprofessionals' rich experiences in the classrooms, coupled with the shortage of certified teachers and the disproportionate number of White teachers serving an increasing number of ethnically and racially diverse students, led to the consideration that paraprofessionals in general, and bilingual paraprofessionals in particular, are natural candidates to become teachers.

David Haselkorn and Elizabeth Fideler conducted a survey aimed at understanding the programs, called "paraeducator-to-teacher" programs, that prepare paraprofessionals to become teachers. These programs, although available in most states, are more prevalent in states with high percentages of culturally and linguistically diverse students, such as California, New York,

and Texas. The characteristics of paraprofessionals interested in becoming teachers reflect the general population of paraeducators. They are often women with families who live in the neighborhoods where they work; are members of a minority group, with low-socioeconomic status (given the low salaries of paraprofessionals); and have years of experience in classrooms that they or their children may have attended, and therefore they are prepared to navigate the school system in at least two languages. As a result of their life and work experiences, paraprofessionals have a very good grasp of their students' cultures and needs and are committed to their success. All paraeducator-to-teacher programs reported having more than one objective, but the main and common purpose of all programs was to build on the strengths of these nontraditional teacher candidates and help them become certified teachers or certified bilingual teachers. The characteristics of these teacher education programs vary. Some use mainstream teacher education programs that are available to traditional students but also accommodate the paraprofessionals' needs by providing flexible admissions, requirements, and schedules, credit for life experience, and on-the-job training. In addition, waivers are granted for the student teaching requirement in cases where the paraprofessional has worked successfully for a number of years under supervision. A few program initiatives address the shortage of certified teachers by allowing paraprofessionals to teach while working on a bachelor's degree. Virtually all programs address the academic, economic, and personal needs of the participants.

Academic issues are usually addressed by providing advisement, tutoring, and workshops that help paraprofessionals maintain an appropriate grade point average and pass the required state teacher certification tests. Financial support is offered by providing stipends, laptop computers, printers, and money for books and courses. Personal needs are addressed through the creation of support groups, run by the director or the coordinator of the program, and by encouraging paraprofessionals to bond with other colleagues with whom they can take courses.

Beatriz Chu Clewell and Ana Maria Villegas conducted a survey called the "Evaluation of the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund's Pathways to Teaching Careers Program" and concluded that paraeducator-to-teacher program graduates (a) have a lower rate of attrition than teachers from traditional teacher education programs, (b) are often members of minority groups that are not well represented in the teaching profession,

(c) are more likely to serve in high-need schools in urban or rural areas that serve minority students who live in poverty, and (d) are highly successful in these schools.

M. Victoria Rodríguez

See also Bilingual Teacher Licensure; Credentialing Foreign-Trained Teachers; Culturally Competent Teaching; Teacher Qualifications; U.S. Census Language Data

Further Readings

- Clewell, B. C., & Villegas, A. M. (2001). *Evaluation of the Dewitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund's Pathways to Teaching Careers Program*. Retrieved October 23, 2007, from <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?id=410601>
- Ernst-Slavit, G., & Wenger, K. J. (2006). Teaching in the margins: The multifaceted work and struggles of bilingual paraeducators. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 37, 62–82.
- Haselkorn, D., & Fidler, E. (1996). *Breaking the class ceiling: Paraeducator pathways to teaching*. Belmont, MA: Recruiting New Teachers.
- Monzo, L. D., & Rueda, R. S. (2001). *Sociocultural factors in social relationship: Examining Latino teachers' and paraeducators' interactions with Latino students*. Santa Cruz: University of California, Santa Cruz, Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.
- National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/index.html>
- Pickett, A. L., & Gerlach, K. (1997). *Supervising paraeducators in school settings: A team approach*. Austin, TX: Pro-Ed.
- Pickett, A. L., Likins, M., & Wallace, T. (2004). *The employment and preparation of paraeducators: The state of the art, 2003*. New York: National Resource Center for Paraprofessionals in Education and Related Human Services. Retrieved March 20, 2007, from <http://www.nrcpara.org/report>
- Waldschmidt, E. D. (2002). Bilingual interns' barriers to becoming teachers: At what cost do we diversify the teaching force? *Bilingual Research Journal*, 26, 537–561.

BILINGUAL SPECIAL EDUCATION

Bilingual special education is defined by Julia de Valenzuela, Leonard Baca, and Elena Baca as the instances in which student participation in an individually designed, special education program is conducted

in both the student's native language and English; in such a program, the student's home culture is also considered, framed in an inclusive environment. Special education is an interdisciplinary field that addresses the educational needs of English language learners with disabilities. The majority of this population is Latino, which is now the largest minority group in the nation's schools. This is a small field, partly because of limited understanding of the needs and developmental trajectories of this population but also because of a lack of programmatic research. A significant personnel shortage has been documented for years, as described by Leonard Baca and Hermes Cervantes. In the seminal text *The Bilingual Special Education Interface*, de Valenzuela, Baca, and Baca argue for a bilingual-special education interface as a way to address the limitations of fragmented and separate general, bilingual, and special education services. They recommend the seamless integration of these programs so that the needs of this population are addressed by various groups of professionals in general education.

The convergence of several contemporary reform movements is blurring the boundaries of these systems, though in rather complex ways. First, a growing anti-immigrant and antibilingual discourse has strengthened movements to curtail services for this population in some states. This situation has increased the pressure on general education, since English language learners (ELLs) are being educated in programs that offer few linguistic supports. General education is also absorbing this population at a time when federal accountability policies require states and districts to report high performance levels as measured by standardized achievement tests. This is an important challenge because ELLs have traditionally performed poorly in such measures. It is not clear how general education will address the need of these learners.

Because of the lack of specialized resources and the scarcity of qualified personnel in general education, it has been suggested that districts with significant ELL enrollment will likely place these students in special education; in fact, research conducted in California by Alfredo Artiles, Robert Rueda, Jesús Salazar, and Ignacio Higuera suggests that ELLs are disproportionately placed in disability programs. Historically, the so-called subjective disabilities have been overpopulated at the national level by ethnic minority students, particularly African American and American Indian learners, as explained by Suzanne

Donovan and Christopher Cross. These categories include learning disabilities (LD), mild mental retardation (MMR), and emotional/behavioral disorders (E/BD). ELL overrepresentation has been reported in the past two decades, as Alba Ortiz and James Yates report in their chapter in *English Language Learners With Special Needs*. It is interesting that although general educators may be using disability diagnoses as a means to cope with the aforementioned contemporary reforms, special education is transforming its identity as a result of the inclusive education movement and preventive approaches. Indeed, more students with disabilities are being educated in general education classrooms, though it has been reported by Daniel Losen and Gary Orfield that ethnic minority students are placed in more segregated settings than are their White counterparts. In turn, preventive models such as "response to intervention" (RTI) promise to identify and treat early (i.e., while the student is still in a general education environment).

These new trends are creating unique and unprecedented conditions for the education of ELLs. This entry addresses the legal background of the special education programs geared toward culturally and linguistically diverse students designated as ELLs and the implications for assessment, curriculum planning, and the nature of inclusive education programs for those students.

Legal Background

Special education laws have had a substantial impact on bilingual special education. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), originally passed in 1975 and reauthorized in 2004, governs special education services in public schools. The law protects the rights of students with disabilities and their families and tries to ensure that ELLs are assessed fairly. The law includes numerous provisions outlined below.

1. *Informed consent.* Schools must obtain written informed consent from parents or guardians to evaluate a student. Parents must be fully informed of their rights, any records to be released and to whom, and the nature and purpose of the evaluation. Parents or guardians must be informed in their native language or primary mode of communication.
2. *Multidisciplinary team.* Students should be assessed by a team of professionals with varied areas of

expertise according to the student's individual needs. The team should include at least one general education teacher and one special education teacher. For ELLs, the team should include someone with expertise in the language acquisition process.

3. *Comprehensive evaluation.* Before an initial placement, the multidisciplinary team must conduct a complete assessment in all areas of suspected disability. No single procedure can be used as the sole criterion for determining an appropriate educational program for a child. Alternative procedures should be used when standardized tests are not considered appropriate (e.g., with culturally and linguistically diverse students). A comprehensive evaluation should include an analysis of the instructional setting and the child's instructional history.
4. *Exclusionary criteria.* A student should not be labeled if the academic struggles are primarily the result of environmental, cultural, or economic disadvantage. IDEA 2004 adds that a child should not be found to have a disability if the determinant factor is poor instruction in reading or math, or limited English proficiency.
5. *Nondiscriminatory assessment.* Assessments should be (a) selected and administered so as not to be racially or culturally discriminatory; (b) provided and administered in the child's native language or other mode of communication and in the form most likely to yield accurate information on what the child knows and can do academically, developmentally, and functionally, unless it is clearly not feasible; (c) used for the purposes for which the assessments are valid and reliable; (d) administered by trained and knowledgeable personnel; and (e) administered in accordance with any instructions provided by the producer of the assessments.

Students with LDs represent about half of the special education population. IDEA 2004 includes major changes in how students should be identified as having LD (see above). States must permit the use of a process based on the child's response to research-based interventions. Multidisciplinary teams (MDT) must establish that the child was provided appropriate instruction in regular education settings, delivered by qualified personnel. Districts may now use 15% of the funds previously allocated for special education to provide students with early intervention. States must

report the number and percentages of children with disabilities by limited-English-proficiency status and gender, in addition to race, ethnicity, and disability categories. This additional record keeping will make it easier to learn more about subpopulations of ELLs identified with disabilities.

Assessment and Identification

Traditional tests have been demonstrated to be inappropriate for the assessment of ELLs. Richard Figueroa, Eugene García, and others have documented the challenges associated with test reliability and validity when tests that were not normed with ELL samples are used to assess these students. There is also considerable evidence of poor validity and reliability of tests translated prior to or during administration, a common practice in the assessment of bilingual students. The use of traditional assessment procedures that include norm-referenced tests may not be appropriate, and, instead, the assessment process must be conceptualized holistically and include the following components:

- *Preventive measures* include the adaptation of educational environments that recognize and support the potential for all students to learn, as well as utilize instructional and disciplinary approaches considered empirically valid for use with ELLs. Such measures include well-implemented bilingual and English as a Second Language programs.
- The *intervention measures* of diagnostic teaching and behavior management aim to locate the source of the ELLs' difficulties through the use of informal assessment and family input, as well as collaboration with those who have expertise in language acquisition. These data are then utilized in the provision of instruction and supports that are empirically validated for ELLs.
- *Eligibility assessment* for ELLs ensures that appropriate assessment personnel and measures are utilized following thorough review of student records; contextualized observations and less formalized testing of ELLs are implicated by assessors who have the technical knowledge and skills, as well as the cultural and linguistic awareness, to conduct bilingual assessments. Bilingual assessments must include equivalent instruments and procedures in the students' native language and English.
- Finally, *eligibility determination* for ELLs entails that MDTs include administrative, appraisal, and

instruction representatives, parent and family members, advocates and interpreters, and an expert in cultural/linguistic diversity. Ortiz and Yates explain that the MDT must rule out factors other than disability as source of difficulty, and assessment results should be reported in the student's native language and English in aggregate, complete with a description of the nature of assessments, as well as how items were administered (e.g., with interpreter, translated during administration, if items missed in English were administered in native language, etc.). Eligibility criteria for all special education categories being considered must be applied to both languages measured.

Curriculum, Planning, and Instructional Considerations

Bilingual special education programs incorporate supportive, culturally responsive learning environments as well as validated instructional practices. Optimal programs incorporate students' home cultures and include native-language instruction and a focus on English language development in addition to validated practices in literacy and the content areas. It is a heightened focus on language and cultural practices that makes bilingual special education distinct from generic special education.

Culturally Responsive Learning Environments

School climates that foster success are caring communities based on the philosophy that all students can learn. Such schools accommodate individual differences in a positive manner. Norma López-Reyna and Alba Ortiz characterize them by (a) strong administrative leadership; (b) high expectations; (c) nurturing, supportive environment and a challenging, appropriate curriculum and instruction; (d) a safe and orderly environment; and (e) ongoing, systematic evaluation of student progress.

Linguistic Support

Successful programs are those in which language development is a central focus, whether in students' native language or English. Students receive frequent opportunities to use language in an environment that promotes active engagement. Instruction focuses on higher-order thinking and active problem solving.

Teachers preteach and reinforce key terms, as explained by Marilyn Rousseau and Brian Tam, using visuals, graphic organizers, and realia to bring words to life and make them meaningful for students, as explained by Elba Reyes and Candace Bos. They help students make connections within and across the curriculum and to their own prior knowledge and experiences, as Mack Burke, Shanna Hagan, and Bonnie Grossen explain. Ideally, teachers provide students with multiple and varied opportunities to review and apply previously learned concepts.

Curricular Modifications

Baca and de Valenzuela describe modifications to make the curriculum more accessible to ELLs. These modifications are changes in content, pedagogy, and classroom instructional settings to meet the needs of individual students. For example, modifications may include adjusting the method of presentation, developing supplemental materials, tape-recording directions, providing alternative response formats, requiring fewer or shorter responses or assignments, outlining material, or breaking tasks into subtasks, as John J. Hoover and Catherine Collier explain in their chapter in *The Bilingual Special Education Interface*. Adaptations of content might also include the provision of native-language instruction and/or materials (see Table 1).

Validated Instructional Practices

Numerous instructional approaches have been found to be promising for ELLs with disabilities.

Table 1 Suggestions for Curricular Modifications

1. The curriculum should emphasize enrichment rather than remedial activities.
 2. Interactive and experiential pedagogical models should be used.
 3. Language development must be emphasized across the curriculum.
 4. Students' unique linguistic, cultural, and experiential backgrounds should be integrated into the curriculum.
 5. Parental and community involvement in this process should be encouraged.
-

Source: Adapted from Baca & de Valenzuela (1994).

Sharon Vaughn and her colleagues found that some effective early interventions for ELLs who struggle with reading have been provided in the students' native language and in English. These have included focused reading interventions coupled with language development activities, such as the use of repetitive language, modeling, gesturing, visuals, and explicit instruction in English language usage, as explained in the work of Sylvia Linan-Thompson, Sharon Vaughn, Peggy Hickman-Davis, and Kamiar Kouzekanani.

Instructional approaches that promote reading comprehension and content learning include graphic organizers, as described by Bos, Adela Allen, and David Scanlon; modified reciprocal teaching and collaborative strategic reading, as explained by Janette Klingner and Vaughn; and classwide peer tutoring, as proposed by Carmen Arreaga-Mayer and Charles Greenwood.

Planning

Baca and Hermes Cervantes recommend several steps for developing a comprehensive bilingual special education curriculum. The planning process should involve the parents, the general education teacher, the bilingual teacher, and the special education teacher and follow the steps outlined in Table 2.

Table 2 Planning for ELLs With Special Needs

1. Meet as a team to begin the planning process; outline planning steps.
 2. Become familiar with the culture and language background of the child as well as his or her education needs.
 3. Prepare an individual instructional plan with short- and long-term objectives and goals.
 4. Develop individualized lessons and materials appropriate to the child's exceptionality.
 5. Modify individualized lessons and materials to match the child's needs.
 6. Refer to resource people for assistance and cooperation in instruction; coordinate services.
 7. Evaluate the child's ongoing progress and develop a new individualized education program (IEP), lessons, and materials as needed.
-

Source: Adapted from Baca & de Valenzuela (1994).

Considerations for Inclusive Education Programs

Inclusive education offers students many benefits, including access to the general education curriculum and opportunities to interact with their nondisabled peers in ways not possible with other models. The general education teacher (who may or may not be a bilingual teacher) remains responsible for the student, with support from others. Inclusion is a schoolwide approach to education that relies in part on collaborative models in which general and special education teachers coteach or the special education teacher might serve as a consultant. When the student is an ELL and neither teacher is bilingual or an expert in language development, it becomes essential to add a third collaborator who has this expertise.

ELL students with disabilities who receive support in general education classrooms need curricular modifications and supplemental materials to support their learning needs and allow them to participate as fully as possible in classroom activities.

Family and Community Participation

De Valenzuela, Baca, and Baca provide a three-part rationale for promoting family and community participation in the education of ELLs: (a) parental involvement in special education, which is required by law; (b) differences between the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of school personnel and the student body and the disproportionate representation of minority students in special programs; and (c) evidence of the positive correlation between academic achievement and family involvement.

Nancy Cloud has dedicated much of her work to developing specific guidelines on how to provide opportunities for parents and community members of ELLs with special needs. In her chapter in *English Language Learners With Special Needs*, she mentions considerations must be made that are related to the family's level of acculturation and attitude/acceptance of their child. In addition, the language of the family must be accommodated for; trained translators or bilingual educators must be involved in all family correspondence between the school and the home. Educators need to understand the family's perceptions of schooling, as well as their knowledge and comfort with the school environment and infrastructure.

The special education process is potentially confusing for all parents and families, including ELLs and their families. Careful attention must be given to the way each step of the process is presented and explained. There are specific considerations to be made related to meetings and paperwork for bilingual special education students, including the language of oral and written communication both prior to and at all special education meetings, and the need to determine goals and concerns of parents and family's before options are presented at eligibility determination and individualized education program meetings.

Finally, there are many misconceptions about the involvement of parents and families of ELLs in their children's education. However, research from the National Center for Education Statistics in 1995 shows similar patterns for minority and nonminority parents' involvement in their eighth-grade students' education. Educators need to be aware of and challenge their own biases that shape interpretation of different levels and types of parent and family involvement in their children's education. A useful principle is to consider that different communities and families have different norms pertaining to family involvement in the school setting.

*Alfredo J. Artiles, Janette Kettmann Klingner,
and Kathleen King*

Authors' Note: The authors acknowledge the support of the National Center for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems (NCCRESt, at <http://www.nccrest.org>, under grant number H326E020003, awarded by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Special Education Programs. Endorsement of the ideas presented in this article by the funding agency should not be inferred.

See also Culturally Competent Teaching: Multicultural Education; Transformative Teaching Model

Further Readings

- Arreaga-Mayer, C., & Greenwood, C. R. (1986). Environmental variables affecting the school achievement of culturally and linguistically different learners: An instructional perspective. *Journal of the National Association of Bilingual Education, 10*(2), 113–135.
- Artiles, A., & Ortiz, A. (Eds.). (2002). *English language learners with special needs: Identification, placement, and instruction*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Artiles, A., Rueda, R., Salazar, J., & Higareda, I. (2005). Within-group diversity in minority disproportionate representation: English Language Learners in urban school districts. *Exceptional Children, 71*, 283–300.
- Baca, L., & Cervantes, H. (Eds.) (2004). *The bilingual special education interface*. Columbus, OH: Merrill.
- Baca, L., & de Valenzuela, J. S. (1994, Fall). Reconstructing the bilingual special education interface. *NCBE Program Information Guide Series, 20*. Available from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/pigs>
- Burke, M., Hagan, S., & Grossen, B. (1998). What curricular design and strategies accommodate diverse learners? *Teaching Exceptional Children, 31*(1), 34–48.
- de Valenzuela, J. S., Baca, L., & Baca, E. (2004). Family involvement in bilingual special education: Challenging the norm. In L. Baca & H. Cervantes (Eds.), *The bilingual special education interface* (pp. 360–381). Columbus, OH: Merrill.
- Donovan, S., & Cross, C. (Eds.). (2002). *Minority students in special and gifted education*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Figueroa, R. A., & García, E. (1994). Issues in testing students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. *Multicultural Education, 2*(1), 10–19.
- Harris-Murri, N. J. (2006). *Living the dream in the promised land: Features of highly successful schools that serve students of color*. Denver, CO: National Center for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems.
- Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act of 2004, H.R. 1350, 108th Cong (2004). Available from <http://nasponline.org/advocacy/IDEA2004.pdf>
- Klingner, J. K., & Vaughn, S. (1996). Reciprocal teaching of reading comprehension strategies for students with learning disabilities who use English as a second language. *Elementary School Journal, 93*, 275–293.
- Linan-Thompson, S., Vaughn, S., Hickman-Davis, P., & Kouzekanani, K. (2003). Effectiveness of supplemental reading instruction for second-grade English language learners with reading difficulties. *Elementary School Journal, 103*, 221–238.
- López-Reyna, N. A. (1996). The importance of meaningful contexts in bilingual special education: Moving to whole language. *Learning Disabilities Research & Practice, 11*, 120–131.
- Losen, D., & Orfield, G. (Eds.). (2002). *Racial inequity in special education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (1995). *The educational progress of Hispanic students*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

- Ortiz, A. A., & Yates, J. (2001). *English language learners with special needs: Effective instructional strategies*. Washington, DC: ERIC Education Reports.
- Reyes, E., & Bos, C. (1998). Interactive semantic mapping and charting: Enhancing content area learning for language minority students. In R. Gersten & R. Jiménez (Eds.), *Promoting learning for culturally and linguistically diverse students: Classroom applications from contemporary research* (pp. 133–152). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Rousseau, M. K., & Tam, B. K. Y. (1993). Increasing reading proficiency of language minority students with speech and language impairments. *Education and Treatment of Children, 16*, 254–271.
- Vaughn, S., Mathes, P. G., Linan-Thompson, S., & Francis, D. J. (2005). Teaching English language learners at risk for reading disabilities to read: Putting research to practice. *Learning Disabilities Research & Practice, 20*, 58–67.
- Willig, A., Swedo, J., & Ortiz, A. (1987). *Characteristics of teaching strategies which result in high task engagement for exceptional limited English proficient students*. Austin: University of Texas at Austin, Handicapped Minority Research Institute on Language Proficiency.

BILINGUAL TEACHER LICENSURE

The current state of bilingual teacher licensure and its history reflect the ongoing tension between the changing demographics of the public schools, the scholarly and research base for educating immigrant students, and national- and state-level shifts in policies governing the education of limited-English-proficient students, more aptly termed *English language learners* (ELLs). As the number of immigrant students in American public schools has increased, the definition of what constitutes a highly qualified teacher of students who speak languages other than English in the home has changed and evolved. It has done so through a growing body of research on teacher effectiveness and years of practical experience in the implementation of specialized programs of instruction for these students in schools throughout the nation. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 required that all students in the United States have a “highly qualified” teacher in the classroom, but the law did not define the qualifications needed for teachers to promote the academic and linguistic growth of students who are learning English. This responsibility was left up to the states acting through

their licensure agencies and to institutions of higher education that offer teacher education programs.

A definition of highly qualified bilingual teachers is discernible in the scholarly research literature and is reflected in licensure policies in many states. However, the realities and practicalities of how to prepare and accredit bilingual teachers are often at odds with the theoretical and research base. The tensions between theory, research, and practice prompt the following questions and issues regarding bilingual teacher licensure: What areas of knowledge, skills, and attitudes are necessary for bilingual teachers to possess in order to be highly qualified to teach ELLs? Is there a common core of competencies that bilingual teachers share with all highly qualified teachers? If so, should bilingual teacher licensure be an “add-on” to a basic credential? If not, then should bilingual teachers be certified through different programs based on a different or separate set of standards and requirements? What level of proficiency in students’ primary or native languages should bilingual teachers achieve to be effective teachers of ELLs?

History of Bilingual Teacher Licensure

The history of bilingual teacher licensure began in 1968 with passage of the Bilingual Education Act. The federal government played an important role in the development of bilingual teacher education programs during the 1970s and 1980s. Under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, a concerted effort at capacity building was made for preparing bilingual teachers through funding of scholarships and stipends for bilingual teacher candidates and teacher educators. Title VII was extended in 1994 but expired in 2002, to be replaced by the No Child Left Behind legislation that redefined the federal government’s role in educating ELLs.

The states with large immigrant populations and those that passed laws mandating the implementation of bilingual programs (such as Illinois, Massachusetts, Texas, and California) have had licensure requirements for bilingual education teachers in place since the mid-1970s. The year 1974 marked the codification into law of the rights to equal educational opportunities for ELLs, based on the Supreme Court decision in the *Lau v. Nichols* case. The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (EEOA) codified *Lau* and made an even stronger statement by adding the weight

of the legislative branch of government to the already powerful voice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Since that time, there has been an emerging consensus in teacher education and academic communities as to the competencies or skills that were required for effective bilingual teaching. These were articulated as “guidelines” for bilingual teacher preparation programs by the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1974. Over time, organization and state licensure agencies developed and refined criteria for certification of bilingual teachers and outlined bilingual teacher education program standards and requirements.

Several federal and state court cases over the years since the *Lau v. Nichols* decision established the requirements for programs for ELLs. In 1981, *Castañeda v. Pickard* outlined a three-pronged test for programs that adequately meet the needs of language minority students, as James Crawford explains. This Texas case set the standards for determining what constituted “appropriate action” on the part of school districts to address the educational rights of students learning English. The court determined that under the provisions of the EEOA, programs had to meet three criteria: Programs for ELLs had to (1) be based on a pedagogically sound plan, (2) have sufficient qualified teachers to implement the program, and (3) have a system to evaluate the program’s effectiveness in educating limited-English-proficient students. Scholars such as Diane August and Kenji Hakuta, and María Robledo Montecel and Josie D. Cortéz mention that these requirements were based on recognition of the interrelationship between effective program implementation and the qualifications in academic knowledge, instructional skills, and language proficiency of bilingual teachers.

Knowledge Base for Teaching ELLs

Efforts to establish teacher certification programs became more intense and focused in the late 1980s and early 1990s because of the growing population of immigrant students, primarily from Mexico and Latin America. Kate Menken and Beth Antunez documented in 2001 that 38 states had credential requirements for teachers of students with limited English proficiency, while 95 institutions of higher education had bilingual teacher education programs. States with the greatest number of bilingual teacher education programs were California, New York, and Texas. Although universities varied in the types of degrees in bilingual teaching offered and course and program requirements, there was a common core of standards

and competencies in the preparation of teachers for bilingual instruction. Menken and Antunez reported that this knowledge base included three main categories of coursework and certification requirements for bilingual teacher licensure in all states: (1) pedagogical knowledge, (2) linguistic knowledge, and (3) knowledge of cultural and linguistic diversity.

In addition to states’ requirements for bilingual teacher licensure, a number of organizations have established standards for teacher preparation and professional development. These include the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) publication in 1992, *Standards for the Preparation of Bilingual/Multicultural Teachers*; the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) publication in 1998, *English as a New Language Standards*; the Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence (CREDE) publication in 1998, *Standards for Effective Teaching Practice*; as well as the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) publication in 2002, *Pre-K–12 ESL Teacher Education Standards*.

The foundation for bilingual teaching is a body of theory and philosophy of second-language acquisition that preserves and promotes children’s ethnic identities and cultural integrity. The pedagogical basis for bilingual education is widely accepted by second-language educators and supported by a large body of research and evaluation studies, as noted by Diane August and Kenji Hakuta. Underlying successful bilingual education is the principle of the interdependent relationship between language development and cognitive academic skills. Stephen Krashen points out that research into second-language acquisition processes in academic settings has established that learning takes place when language and concepts are linked in meaningful ways, so that they produce growth in knowledge and competency in using the language to communicate knowledge and ideas. Therefore, bilingual teachers must be knowledgeable in how to design effective instruction to make linkages between linguistic and conceptual development, as well as between learning in the students’ primary language and English, as reported by Carmen Zúñiga-Hill and Ruth Helen Yopp.

Three-Tiered Approach to ELL Teacher Licensure

Teacher education programs and licensure policies have responded to the growing ELL population in classrooms in which bilingual teachers are not available. Non-bilingual-certified teachers provide specialized

instruction to ELLs through various models and programs of English-only instruction, including English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, structured English immersion, and mainstream programs. Patricia Gándara and Russell Rumberger reported in 2005 that more than half (55%) of the teachers of ELLs in California taught students through resource models and pull-out instructional services. Teachers of ELLs utilized knowledge from the disciplines of linguistics and second-language (L2) acquisition and the relationship between language and academic development. They used this knowledge to identify and select appropriate teaching strategies to address learners’ developing knowledge of English and growth in literacy and content knowledge.

To address the growing population of ELLs, both historically and practically, teacher education programs have developed what can be characterized as a three-tiered approach. Based on a set of generic teaching competencies that all teachers possess, credential programs have focused on “emphasis” credentials to address the particular knowledge, skills, and abilities of nonbilingual and bilingual teachers of ELLs, as indicated by Josué González and Linda Darling-Hammond. (See Table 1 for a description of the components of three levels of expertise that are addressed in teacher preparation programs.) California’s licensure structure is an example of the implementation of this conceptualization of teacher competencies for educating ELLs.

Table 1 A Three-Tiered Analysis of EL/Bilingual Teacher Competencies

<i>Effective Generic Teaching</i>	<i>Effective CLAD Teaching</i>	<i>Effective Bilingual Teaching</i>
1. Careful and thorough lesson planning based on an understanding of a coherent and sequenced progression of the curriculum according to state and local school district frameworks and standards.	1.1. Lesson planning based on a selection of subsets of vocabulary, concepts, skills, and processes so that L2 learners are not overwhelmed with academic content, but are still challenged and engaged. 1.2. Ability to plan the curriculum around themes or “essential questions” so that L2 learners can make connections between each lesson and the overall curriculum and standards, while also being provided multiple exposures and vehicles to comprehend the content.	1.3. Lesson planning in students’ L1 builds linguistic and conceptual knowledge based on the principle that new knowledge is introduced in the known language (L1) and new language is introduced and linked to the known concepts, usually learned in L1. 1.4. Bilingual teachers plan for cross-linguistic transfer of learning, including contrastive analysis of L1 and L2 language structures, to maximize metalinguistic knowledge stemming from proficiency in two different language systems.
2. Clear presentations and delivery of content based on important ideas, principles, and concepts.	2.1. Careful attention to modeling and scaffolding learning to provide a structure for L2 learners in order to sort out important ideas and reduce the “language load” for different levels of English proficiency, based on the need for comprehensible input.	2.2. Planning for systematic and consistent use of L1 and L2 as mediums of instruction and language support for learning, without resorting to concurrent translation that could diminish conceptual learning and/or the level of challenge in L2 learning.
3. Differentiated teaching to meet individual students’ needs.	3.1. Differentiate instruction according to each student’s language proficiency by adjusting the focus of instruction and the level of difficulty (complexity, abstraction, reading level, etc.) of the content.	3.3. Use whole-group and skills-group instruction according to language dominance and proficiency to ensure that students work at the appropriate level of challenge and complexity in both L1 and L2.

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

<i>Effective Generic Teaching</i>	<i>Effective CLAD Teaching</i>	<i>Effective Bilingual Teaching</i>
	3.2. Knowledge of when language should be the focus of the lesson rather than the content and when the content should be the focus, with modifications and adjustments to the language used in instruction and students' tasks.	3.4. Distinguish between challenges to students' learning based on their lack of language proficiency to express their knowledge of content and when the concepts or content knowledge needs to be developed through language that students have mastered (either L1 or L2).
4. Design of appropriate learning activities and instructional materials.	4.1. Knowledge of how to modify and adapt textbooks and other reading materials through processes such as summarizing, paraphrasing, outlining, etc., to use instead of, or in preparation for, work with grade-level textbooks.	4.2. Knowledge of effective grouping patterns according to students' dominant language and L2 proficiency. 4.3. Selection and adaptation of L1 and L2 materials and texts for grade-level instruction in L1 and developmentally appropriate materials in L1.
5. Providing ample opportunities for students to practice and apply their learning.	5.1. Awareness that L2 learners need to practice their language skills in interactions with the teacher and with each other, before they are expected to read and write independently using that same language. 5.2. Careful selection of authentic tasks that encourage use of language for communicating for specific purposes. 5.3. Avoidance of artificial and excessively abstract and complex language tasks.	5.4. Knowledge of cross-linguistic transfer theory and the connections between students' academic knowledge and their growth in L2 proficiency. 5.5. Ability to develop critical thinking skills in L1 and to present increasingly challenging content material in L2 as students' proficiency increases. 5.6. Ability to determine what content needs to be introduced, practiced, and assessed in either L1 or L2 at points in time in the curriculum.
6. Setting high expectations for student performance and achievement.	6.1. Knowledge of what is reasonable and realistic to expect of L2 students as their language skills develop over time, according to the characteristics of the stages of L2 acquisition. 6.2. Ability to find alternative ways for L2 students to express and demonstrate their content knowledge without being hindered by limited proficiency.	6.3. Knowledge of the benefits of bilingualism and the expectation that students become fully bilingual and biliterate. 6.4. Knowledge of bilingual language use in the students' homes and community and affirmation of the use of two or more languages as a resource. 6.5. Expectations that students will become fully linguistically and culturally integrated into society as bilingual individuals.

<i>Effective Generic Teaching</i>	<i>Effective CLAD Teaching</i>	<i>Effective Bilingual Teaching</i>
7. Ongoing assessment and adjustment of curriculum according to students' learning.	7.1. Knowledge of standardized and observation-based language assessment procedures, scoring, and interpretation.	7.4. Knowledge of language assessment in determining language dominance and acquisition in bilingual development.
	7.2. Knowledge of the features of language to observe through reading assessments, such as running records, informal reading inventories, and miscue analysis	7.5. Knowledge of biliteracy development and the cross-linguistic transfer of reading skills and strategies from L1 to L2.
	7.3. Skill in the analysis of L2 students' writing for patterns of errors based on cross-linguistic transfer and/or language development.	7.6. Knowledge of comparative and contrastive linguistics between L1 and L2 and didactic strategies for presenting these concepts to facilitate bilingual and biliteracy development.
8. Integration of the language arts (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) in teaching and in planning students' performance tasks and activities.	8.1. Adjustment of the focus of reading/language arts instruction according to the proficiency level of each students (4x4 model)	8.5. Ability to differentiate instruction through thematic teaching and to coordinate content presentation and learning tasks in L1 and L2, according to a theoretically sound model of dual-language instruction.
	8.2. Attention to the "buildup" steps required to prepare L2 learners for the more abstract and complex tasks of reading and writing.	8.6. Ability to assess students' readiness for transition into greater amounts and higher levels of L2 instruction in transitional bilingual education programs.
	8.3. Knowledge of the importance of a meaning-based approach to literacy instruction.	8.7. Ability to assess students' L1 language maintenance needs and sustain their linguistic and cognitive development as bilinguals.
	8.4. Awareness of the concept of interlanguage and how to identify the possible origins of linguistic errors.	
9. Effective classroom management and creation of a positive classroom environment.	9.1. Awareness of self as a "cultural mediator" and "interpreter" with openness to learning from and about L2 students and their cultural backgrounds.	9.4. Deep knowledge of students' culture and role modeling of positive aspects of bilingual and biculturalism.
	9.2. Awareness of cultural factors in children's learning styles and preferences that impinge on motivation to learn and interact with the teacher and their peers.	9.5. Creation of a classroom environment that affirms use of L1 and L2 for all functions and levels of classroom interaction and academic study.
	9.3. Knowledge of flexible and varied patterns of grouping to meet individual needs of L2 students according to their levels of language proficiency and mastery of content.	

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

<i>Effective Generic Teaching</i>	<i>Effective CLAD Teaching</i>	<i>Effective Bilingual Teaching</i>
10. Knowledge of grade-level programs and how his or her teaching fits into the larger curriculum plan and progression for a particular group of students.	<p>10.1. Knowledge of the goals and objectives of the designated language minority student program (transitional bilingual education, structured English immersion, etc.) and what responsibilities he or she has for L2 students' long-range progress.</p> <p>10.2. Knowledge of the legal boundaries under which teachers operate in instructing L2 learners and where to go for clarification of policies and procedures.</p> <p>10.3. Awareness of shared decision-making processes and opportunities for collaboration in his or her role and responsibilities in educating language minority students.</p>	<p>10.4. Knowledge of the goals, objectives, and structures of models of dual-language instruction and their means of implementation across grade levels and subject areas.</p> <p>10.5. Ability to create a coherent and progressive scope and sequence of learning language, literacy, and academic content with appropriate time frames and academic goals for instruction in L1 and L2.</p> <p>10.6. Knowledge of the limitations and benefits of various forms of language and academic achievement tests and assessments in planning students' entry into, progress in, and/or exit from L1 and L2 programs.</p>

The California Model

In 1992, the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CCTC) established a new system for preparing teachers for linguistically and culturally diverse student populations to respond to these changing demographics, as reported by Priscilla H. Walton and Robert Carlson. Two categories of teaching credentials were created to prepare bilingual and monolingual teachers for instruction with ELL students: The Bilingual Cross-Cultural Language and Academic Development (BCLAD) emphasis credential, authorizing teachers to provide instruction in students' native languages in bilingual education classrooms, and the Cross-Cultural Language and Academic Development (CLAD) credential, authorizing nonbilingual teachers to provide English language development and specialized content area instruction for ELLs. The CCTC also established a structure for teachers who held a basic credential to add CLAD or BCLAD certification through additional university courses and/or state examinations. The BCLAD/CLAD system designated six domains of required knowledge. CLAD certification candidates were required to demonstrate competencies in Domains 1 through 3, while bilingual

candidates are required to demonstrate mastery of all six domains:

1. Language structure and first- and second-language development
2. Methodology of bilingual, English language development, and content instruction
3. Culture and cultural diversity
4. Methodology for primary-language instruction
5. The culture of emphasis
6. The language of emphasis

The CLAD credential was originally designed to qualify nonbilingual teachers for teaching assignments with ELL students who had completed and transitioned out of bilingual education programs or who were in classrooms where certified bilingual teachers were not available. However, with passage of Proposition 227 in 1998, which restricted bilingual education programs in California schools, the focus of the CLAD credential shifted to qualifying teachers for the implementation of "structured English

immersion” programs of short duration according to the provisions of the new law. Simultaneously, the number of students enrolled in dual-immersion or two-way bilingual programs grew, increasing the demand for bilingual teachers to staff these programs (which served 13,000 students in 2006, according to a CCTC report). In 2002, teacher education reform legislation resulted in the elimination of the CLAD credential as an “add-on” of specific coursework and content to the basic teaching credentials. In 2006, the CCTC changed the name of the certification to California Teachers of English Learners (CTEL) and approved a new and expanded set of standards as a knowledge base for coursework and testing, as described by CCTC in 2006.

The California BCLAD/CLAD and CTET requirements share a common core of competencies for teaching ELLs in three domains of knowledge: Language structure and language development, second-language methodology, and culture and cultural diversity. In addition to the multicultural and linguistic core courses for the CLAD, bilingual BCLAD teachers are prepared in methodology for primary-language instruction, the culture of emphasis, and must demonstrate proficiency in the students’ primary language. In many universities in California, programs for certifying bilingual teachers are housed in separate departments within a college of education, while, in others, the programs are combined but with different course requirements within the same department, as explained by Walton and Carlson. Both nonbilingual and bilingual certified teachers are required to complete coursework in foundations of bilingual education and second-language teaching methodology. Required courses cover the legal requirements of limited-English-proficient student education, program models for ELLs, language assessment, and instructional strategies for developing language, literacy, and content knowledge. Teacher candidates complete methods courses emphasizing specially designed academic instruction in English and English language development, as well as courses in theories of second-language acquisition, as Menken and Antunez indicate.

Conclusion

State licensure policies for bilingual teachers reflect a common knowledge base about what knowledge, skills, and abilities are required for effective bilingual

program implementation and classroom teaching. In California, as elsewhere, state agencies and institutions of higher education continue to refine and augment the knowledge and research bases for teacher certification. This expanded knowledge has been applied in teacher education and credentialing programs for enhancing the effectiveness of teachers who work with ELLs in various types of programs. Policy initiatives that increase the rigor of testing and academic demands for earning bilingual teaching certification are responses to changes in federal and state laws and policies regarding the education of ELLs and the demand for teachers with bilingual teaching skills. As the research evidence supporting effective bilingual teaching practices expands, programs and licensure regulations for certifying bilingual teachers will benefit.

Jill Kerper Mora

See also Teacher Certification by States; Teacher Preparation, Then and Now

Further Readings

- August, D., & Hakuta, K. (Eds.). (1997). *Improving schooling for language minority children: A research agenda*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- California Commission on Teacher Credentialing. (2006). *Proposed standards for California Teachers of English Learners Certificate Program: Knowledge, skills, and abilities for the California Teacher of English Learners (CTEL) Examination*. Sacramento: California Commission on Teacher Credentialing Professional Services Division.
- Center for Applied Linguistics. (1974). *Guidelines for the preparation and certification of teachers of bilingual-bicultural education in the United States of America*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom* (5th. ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Gándara, P., & Rumberger, R. (2006). *Resource needs for California’s English learners*. Santa Barbara: University of California Linguistic Minority Research Center. Available from http://lmri.ucsb.edu/publications/07_gandara-rumberger.pdf
- González, J. M., & Darling-Hammond, L. (1997). *New concepts for new challenges: Professional development for teachers of immigrant youth*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics.

- Krashen, S. D. (1999). *Condemned without a trial: Bogus arguments against bilingual education*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Menken, K., & Antunez, B. (2001). *An overview of the preparation and certification of teachers working with limited English proficient (LEP) students*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. (ERIC Reproduction Service Document No. ED455231)
- Midobuche, E. (1999). *Certification and endorsement of bilingual education teachers: A comparison state licensure requirements* In J. M. González (Ed.), *CBER occasional papers in bilingual education policy* (pp. 1–62). Tempe: Arizona State University, Intercultural Development Research Association.
- Montecel, M. R., & Cortéz, J. D. (2002). Successful bilingual education programs: Development and the dissemination of criteria to identify promising and exemplary practices in bilingual education at the national level. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25, 1–22.
- Mora, J. K. (2000). Staying the course in times of change: Preparing teachers for linguistically diverse classrooms. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 51, 345–357.
- National Association for Bilingual Education. (1992). *Professional standards for the preparation of bilingual/multicultural teachers*. Washington, DC: National Association for Bilingual Education.
- National Board for Professional Teaching Standards. (2007). *English as a new language standards*. Available from http://www.nbpts.org/the_standards/standards_by_cert?ID=22&x=38&y=8
- Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. (2002). *ESL Standards for Pre-K–12 Students*. Alexandria, VA: TESOL.
- Tharp, R. G. (1999). *Effective teaching: How the standards came to be*. Berkeley, CA: Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence. Retrieved from <http://crede.berkeley.edu/standards/development.shtml>
- Walton, P. H., & Carlson, R. E. (1997). Responding to social change: California's new standards for teacher credentialing. In J. E. King, E. R. Hollins, & W. C. Hayman (Eds.), *Preparing teachers for cultural diversity* (pp. 222–239). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Zúñiga-Hill, C., & Yopp, R. H. (1996). Practices of exemplary elementary school teachers of second language learners. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 23(1), 83–97.

BLACK ENGLISH

See EBONICS

BOARDING SCHOOLS AND NATIVE LANGUAGES

The history of American Indians/Alaska Natives and their experience with boarding schools is highly complex and has created a legacy that profoundly affects their lives today. It is widely recognized that an explicit mission of the boarding schools was to aggressively replace native languages and cultures with a dominant culture and language. The pursuit of this mission, coupled with the systematic maltreatment of native children during the boarding school era, contributed to many of the psychosocial ills that persist in American Indian/Alaska Native communities today. However, the boarding school experience also unintentionally invigorated its own form of cultural resiliency among native people. Though boarding schools were a direct assault against native being and identity, the lived experience is now woven integrally into the fabric of American Indian/Alaska Native identity and serves, ironically, as a driving force in the present-day political, cultural, and linguistic self-determination of native people throughout the United States.

Boarding schools for American Indians and Alaska Natives exist to this day, although they are not as prevalent as in the past. Attendance is voluntary, and most schools now work closely with surrounding American Indian/Alaska Native groups, employing tribal members as staff who reflect, and at times even integrate, the cultures and languages of American Indian/Alaska Native students as part of their educational programming.

Foundation of the Boarding School Movement

The boarding school movement was conceived in the late 1800s and was intended to be a social reform, based in a belief that with proper education and treatment, American Indians/Alaska Natives could be assimilated into mainstream society and transformed into productive, useful citizens. The movement gained impetus after the Civil War with the establishment of Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania in 1879, founded by Captain Richard Henry Pratt, whose dictum was “Kill the Indian and save the man.” To attend the school, native children were sent, in many cases,

hundreds of miles away from family, language, and native ways. Carlisle imposed a military-style regimen designed to divest young Indian boys and girls of not only their cultures and languages but also their native physical appearance. The school proudly published “before” and “after” photos, boasting of the complete transformation of Indian youth from “savages” into “civilized” people.

The reform, offered through the agency of the Indian boarding school, was also an outgrowth of the new “peace policy” instituted by President Ulysses S. Grant, which placed the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the direct influence of various religious denominations. Between 1870 and 1930, the federal government and all of the major religious groups established and operated more than 150 on- and off-reservation boarding schools. Because many tribes were being removed from their traditional lands, a key role of this growing wave of boarding schools, besides direct assimilation of American Indian/Alaska Native people into the dominant culture, was to prepare a new generation of Indians for farming and private land ownership. The model created by Pratt at Carlisle became the cornerstone of most Indian boarding schools. Besides facilitating Indian removal from reservation settings and converting them to Christianity, the schools placed a heavy emphasis on manual labor, industrial and domestic training, and farming, as well as learning the English language. The dominant society work ethic was modeled with the “outing system,” which placed American Indian/Alaska Native students in work settings outside of the boarding school. Both government officials and church leaders favored boarding schools over day schools because the process of “civilizing” the students and converting them into sedentary farmers was easier when the influences of tribal life and indigenous culture and language were absent.

Mandatory education for Indian children became law in 1893, and government agents on the reservations were instructed on how to enforce the new federal regulations. If parents refused to send their children to school, the authorities could withhold subsidies or rations or have resisters prosecuted. In the Hopi communities in Arizona, for example, parents and community leaders tried to hide their children from the government agents or outright refused to allow their children to be taken. Subsequently, a number of Hopi community leaders were tried in federal courts and imprisoned at Alcatraz. Most former

boarding school students recall the loneliness and fear they experienced because of this early separation from family and community. Once their children were enrolled in a distant school, parents lost control over decisions that affected them.

Language Policy

The keystone element of the boarding schools’ assimilation mission was to induce mastery of the English language at the expense of native languages. A strategy of the boarding schools in accomplishing this was to mix children from different language groups so there were less opportunities to speak with other speakers of a native language that might be shared in common. The use of native languages was strictly prohibited by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as was the exercise of any spiritual practices other than Christianity. In 1887, Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. D. C. Atkins declared the preeminence of both the English language and national culture not only in relationship to American Indians, but to all races:

I expressed very decidedly the idea that Indians should be taught in the English language only. . . . There is not an Indian pupil whose tuition and maintenance is paid by the United States Government who is permitted to study any other language other than our own vernacular—the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities under the sun. The English language as taught in America is good enough for all her people of all races. (p. xxi)

Students who were caught using their native languages among themselves suffered various punishments. Many former students who are elders today remember forced mouthwashing with bars of pungent brown soap.

Criticism and Reform

In 1928, a report titled “The Problem of the Indian Administration,” otherwise known as the “Meriam Report,” was produced at the direction of the Indian commission. This report was highly critical of government Indian policy with regard to education. The poor quality of personnel, inadequate salaries, unqualified teachers and almost nonexistent health care were some of the criticisms documented in the report. Publication of the report prompted the initiation of a

movement to replace boarding schools with day schools closer to where native people lived. Critics of the boarding schools and their curricula argued that the educational programs in boarding schools assumed a transition to the workforce with an European American tradition; however, for those students who returned to their reservations, such programs were irrelevant.

The shuttering of boarding schools accelerated when John Collier was appointed commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933. The passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 and Collier's commitment to fostering reforms in Indian policy significantly reduced the Indian boarding school population by the end of World War II. Community day schools, state-supported public schools, and nonresidential parochial schools were the dominant education institutions for American Indian children by the mid-1950s.

The reformers who encouraged the idea of education as a tool for assimilation also realized that the desired end had not materialized. Some students returned to their homes and to their tribal ways, and others, although not returning completely to their old ways, became in a sense "bicultural." Those who so strongly supported Indian education as an assimilative process viewed neither of these situations as successful assimilation. In the long run, the policy of forced assimilation had failed. Native American cultures and languages had survived, though the latter had considerably diminished for many tribal groups. The misguided efforts of the reformers had produced more negative than positive effects on the daily lives of native children and their communities.

Recent Studies and Current Issues

In the past decade, the study of American Indian boarding schools has grown into one of the richest areas of American Indian historical scholarship. The best of this scholarship has moved beyond an examination of the federal policies that drove boarding school education to consider the experiences of American Indian children within the schools and the responses of native students and parents to school policies, programs, and curricula. Recent studies by David Wallace Adams, Brenda Child, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, Esther Burnett Horne, Sally Hyer, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, and Sally McBeth have used archival research, oral interviews, and photographs to consider the history of boarding schools from

American Indian/Alaska Native perspectives. In doing so, they have begun to uncover the meaning and long-term implications of boarding school education for native children, families, and communities, past and present.

By highlighting native people's resistance to cultural assimilation and institutional control, these studies of Indian boarding schools illuminate the gulf between the intentions of federal assimilation policy and its ultimate results. In fact, far from eradicating traditional cultures, boarding school experiences actually facilitated cultural persistence and invigoration in a number of unintended ways. In *Education for Extinction*, Adams argues that the friendships students forged across tribal lines contributed to a pan-Indian identity that encouraged native people to work together for political and cultural self-determination in the 20th century. In *They Called It Prairie Light*, Lomawaima adds that interacting with children from other cultural traditions also worked to reinforce students' own unique tribal identities and encouraged them to maintain distinct cultural practices.

The pan-Indianism that grew out of the boarding school experience did tend to reinforce the English language as a common medium of communication among students from various tribes. This, along with punishment for speaking tribal languages with fellow speakers, also prompted the increased use of English by Native Americans amongst themselves when boarding school students returned home. The boarding school experience also imbued a sense among many of those who returned to the reservation that the "old ways" and tribal language were relics of the past. To many returnees, Natives dressing traditionally and speaking tribal languages were perceived as throwbacks when compared with the lifestyle of a "modern" Indian. Also, as language use began to shift in many American/Alaska Native communities, the change was slow, incremental, and not readily observable. Only after considerable language loss had occurred did communities begin taking notice, especially in settings where the native language was integral to ceremony, ritual, and the transmission of traditional knowledge. For these reasons, tribal languages became more reduced in their domains of daily use, especially when coupled with increased reliance on literacy, which in almost all cases existed only in English.

As native people are aware of the legacy of the boarding schools and the effects it has had on them, the issue of language loss has become a particular

focal point of concern. According to the Indigenous Language Institute, of the more than 300 languages spoken in the United States at the time of European contact, only 175 remain, and many of those have just a few speakers left. The U.S. government has acknowledged its role in this massive loss of native language through the agency of boarding schools and has offered congressional redress. The most recent iteration of federal law, the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006, authorizes funding for language nests, language survival schools, and language restoration programs. The Administration for Native Americans, within the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, also supports large-scale language preservation and revitalization programs. Many tribes, tribal schools, and native organizations throughout Alaska, Hawai'i, and the mainland United States also operate their own language revitalization or maintenance programs utilizing their own resources.

Dennis Viri

See also Americanization by Schooling; Indigenous Language Revitalization; Native American Languages, Legal Support for

Further Readings

- Adams, D. W. (1995). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875–1928*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Atkins, J. D. C. (1887). *Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the secretary of the interior for the year 1887*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Child, B. J. (1998). *Boarding school seasons: American Indian families, 1900–1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Coleman, M. (1993). *American Indian children at school, 1850–1930*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Ellis, C. (1996). *To change them forever: Indian education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893–1920*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Gilbert, M. (2005). The “Hopi followers”: Chief Tawaquaptews and Hopi student advancement at Sherman Institute, 1906–1909. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 44(2), 1–23.
- Horne, E. B., & McBeth, S. (1998). *Essie's story: The life and legacy of a Shoshone teacher*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

- Hyer, S. (1990). *One house, one voice, one heart: Native American education at the Santa Fe Indian School*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.
- Lomawaima, K. T. (1994). *They called it prairie light: The story of Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Meriam, L. (1928). *The problem of Indian administration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Web Sites

- Indigenous Language Institute:
<http://www.indigenous-language.org>

BOURNE, RANDOLPH S. (1886–1918)

On occasion, one encounters a person from the past whose ideas resonate strongly in the present. One such person is Randolph S. Bourne, whose ideas about immigration, education, and culture offer much to the field of bilingual education even though he did not address that subject directly.

Bourne was born in 1886, in Bloomfield, New Jersey, at a time when unrest and conflict existed between those deeply rooted in the United States since colonial times and large numbers of new immigrants entering the country through the port of New York.

Bourne's mother's side of the family was aristocratic. His father, son of a pastor, was an unsuccessful businessman, whom his mother ultimately left when Randolph was a child. Randolph, diminutive in size, had a number of physical deformities, including a double curvature of the spine brought about by disease and a facial disfiguration caused by a birth injury. He began to read at the age of 2 and was a precocious student. In 1902, he was admitted to Princeton but left for financial reasons. By 1909, he had saved up enough money to attend Columbia University, where his professors included John Dewey and Charles Beard. He was an editor for the *New Republic*, and 300 of his pieces were published in this and a number of other journals. Bourne died at the age of 32 from the flu during the influenza epidemic of 1918.

Bourne was an early critic of the “melting pot” theory and the assumption that immigrant speakers of other languages should be forcibly assimilated into an Anglo-Saxon tradition that is unquestioningly labeled

“American.” He also pointed out that Anglo-Saxons were the nation’s first immigrants and did not arrive expecting to assimilate into the indigenous culture of the people already living on the continent. Bourne viewed the American culture as a federation of cultures and the United States as a “trans-nation”—a weaving back and forth with other lands—rather than a nation. According to Bourne, newcomers were integral in the building of this “trans-nation,” both literally and figuratively. He asked where the English and the country would be were it not for the large German, Scandinavian, and eastern European immigrant labor pool. He also called for a departure from Americanizing America through sentimentalizing its history.

Bourne contrasted the “melting pot” with what he called a “cooperation of cultures.” He maintained that the notion of the former favored the nativist element in the United States at the time and the latter notion favored immigrants. The effect of the melting pot was to obliterate distinctive languages and cultures in favor of a homogenous mass. He spoke against Americanization that imitated European nationalism, which was not working well at the time in Europe. He called for an Americanism that was conscious of cultural difference and without universal like-mindedness or undesirable overdependence on imported political structures from immigrant homelands. He cited the Jewish people in the United States as an example of a group that had linguistic and cultural ties to a homeland, but not necessarily political ones as, in contrast with the Germans and the English, who reproduced obsolete versions of their homeland political systems in the new country.

Bourne viewed education as life itself and schools as learning communities. He cautioned against school systems as institutions that did little more than abolish illiteracy and prepare the more fortunate for college or a higher education that functioned more as a business enterprise than as a community of scholarship. Bourne also cautioned against the school as an institution that overshadowed other institutions or that towered above or oppressed the communities it served. For Bourne, the purpose of education and schooling was to cultivate imagination and creativity; when they serve another purpose to the exclusion of this one, they are not educating or schooling.

The political landscape since the early 20th century has changed enormously, but the field of bilingual and multicultural education is well served by remembering Bourne’s contributions to the discourse

about linguistic and cultural diversity, immigration, and education. His visionary ideas continue to influence our thinking about language and cultural difference and prompt reflection on educational policy involving teaching and learning in more than one language well into the 21st century.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Americanization and Its Critics; Americanization by Schooling; Assimilation; Melting-Pot Theory

Further Readings

- Bourne, R. S. (1916, August). Education as living. *New Republic*, 8, 10–12.
- Bourne, R. S. (1916). The Jew and trans-national America. *Menorah Journal*, 2, 277–284.
- Bourne, R. S. (1916, July). Trans-national America. *Atlantic Monthly*, 118, 86–97.
- Bourne, R. S. (1917). The idea of a university. *The Dial*, 63, 509–510.
- Resek, C. (Ed.). (1999). *Randolph S. Bourne, war, and the intellectuals: Collected essays, 1915–1919*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett.

BRAIN RESEARCH

The study of language and the brain has a long history, beginning with reports in the 1800s of language impairment *aphasia*, meaning a loss or impairment of the power to use or comprehend words, usually resulting from brain damage. These early cases demonstrated that damage to different areas of the left hemisphere of the brain produced different types of language deficit (see Figure 1). Lesions to the temporal lobe, specifically *Wernicke’s area*, compromise the ability to understand language and the ability to speak clearly. Lesions to the frontal cortex, *Broca’s area*, prevent a person from producing speech. For example, a person with a lesion in this area has the ability to understand language, but words are not properly formed, and speech is slow and slurred.

Initially, these correlations were established post-mortem. However, with the advent of the computed tomography (CT) scan in the 1970s, it became possible to examine brain damage in living patients and to explore changes in brain structure as a patient recovered.

During the past 15 years, there has been a marked increase in the availability of brain imaging techniques to language scientists. These techniques have made it possible, for the first time, to study brain activity correlated with language learning and processing in unimpaired subjects and in some cases to examine this activity within a short time frame. Two of these techniques have been put to relatively greater use than others, and these will be the focus of this entry.

With respect to bilingualism, imaging studies permit systematic exploration of ideas stemming from earlier reports; these indicated that seizure disorders, stroke, and other injuries, along with localized electrical stimulation during brain surgery, can affect one language and leave others unaffected in a bilingual or multilingual individual. Further, imaging studies open a new window into the perennial questions of how the age of learning a second language (L2) and degree of achieved fluency influence the way the L2 is represented in the person's mind and brain. One must be cautious when interpreting results that explore the localization of language in bilinguals, since there is some variation (particularly in localization and lateralization) even across monolinguals. However, mounting evidence shows that second languages learned relatively late, or not learned fluently, are physically represented in somewhat different regions of the brain than the first language (L1) is and are processed in a different time frame.

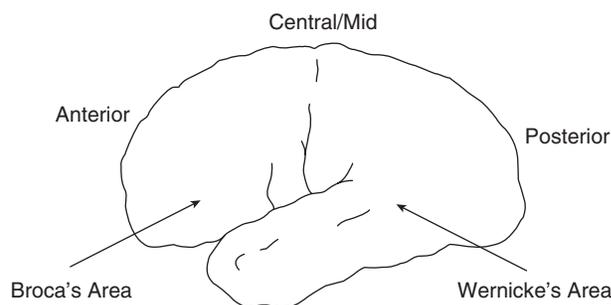


Figure 1 Left Hemisphere of Brain, With Approximate Locations of Broca's Area and Wernicke's Area

Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI)

The first imaging technique discussed here is functional magnetic resonance imaging. The general

technique of magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) surrounds a region of the body with a high-intensity magnetic field and beams radio waves through it, creating high-resolution topographic images of tissue. Functional MRI measures changes in the metabolic activity (including blood flow and oxygenation) of specific portions of the brain during a specified activity, such as language use. Functional MRI is the technique of choice when the critical issue is localization of function within the brain; it can discriminate between small regions less than a millimeter apart in the brain. The temporal resolution of functional MRI is not as great as with event-related potentials (ERP), described below, restricting the range of questions that can be asked about the time course of information retrieval and processing. Functional MRI can produce a new image of the brain and the changes in it once every second.

In a classic study by Karl Kim, Joy Hirsch, and colleagues, results showed that there is an anatomical difference between subjects who became bilingual at an early and a late age in one of the two brain regions classically associated with language. In a silent recitation task, both groups showed activity of the same region of Wernicke's area in both languages. However, late bilinguals showed activation of different, adjacent, parts of Broca's area, depending on which of their two languages they used. Early bilinguals showed no such spatial separation. The authors suggest that Broca's area, implicated in the production and control of speech, may represent the speech properties of both languages in an early bilingual in a combined fashion. However, in a late though very fluent bilingual subject, the representation of L1 in Broca's area may be fixed and unchangeable, forcing speech information for L2 to be represented in a different anatomical position. Various possibilities exist to explain this occurrence. For example, it might be that there are physical aspects to the well-known critical period effect: Perhaps one portion of Broca's area is informationally frozen at some age-determined developmental stage. Alternatively, it could be that the mode of learning for a late bilingual—explicit instruction in a formal setting—influences the way speech information is structurally encoded. Since Wernicke's area is associated with more abstract aspects of language, including planning, semantic organization, and overall comprehension, it might not be subject to these influencing factors.

Event-Related Potentials (ERP)

The second imaging technique is based on electroencephalogram (EEG) recordings of brain activity, measured at various scalp locations. Language scientists have used this technique to determine brainwave responses to language stimuli; these responses are averaged across language stimuli (e.g., a set of sentences of one type versus a set of sentences of another type) and also averaged over a number of participants. Electrical activity may be tracked over the course of a sentence, word by word, as the sentence unfolds. The resulting electrical fluctuations are referred to as *event-related potentials* (ERPs): brainwave responses that are tied to stimulus events. ERP recordings are typically described in terms of electrode site on the scalp, polarity (negative versus positive fluctuations in the electrical charge), and timing with respect to a stimulus. Overall, ERP has been the technique of choice when the focus of the research question has been on issues of timing and functional MRI has been used to examine localization of function.

Within the ERP literature on language comprehension in monolinguals, a number of brainwave patterns or components have been identified. Next, we discuss three of these, in order of the timing of their appearance with respect to a stimulus, and provide an interpretation of each (though different interpretations have been offered in the literature and the descriptions here are certainly not uncontroversial).

One component is a *left-anterior negativity* (LAN): a negative wave at anterior electrode sites in the left hemisphere. In an early study, Helen Neville and colleagues reported left-anterior negativity as early as 125 milliseconds, after the point where a sentence became ungrammatical, for example, the underlined word in (1b) compared with the same word in (1a):

- (1a) The scientist criticized Max's proof *of* the theorem.
- (1b) The scientist criticized Max's *of* proof the theorem.

Left-anterior negativity has also been observed within the 300- to 500-millisecond window. Both the earlier and later variants of this effect appear to be associated with ungrammaticality.

Another component, reported by Marta Kutas, Steven Hillyard, and others, is called the "N400": a

relatively negative wave that peaks approximately 400 milliseconds after the presentation of a stimulus. This component appears bilaterally (both hemispheres) over more mid- and posterior sites and correlates with a difficulty integrating the meaning of a word into that of its sentence. In the initial report, Kutas and Hillyard compared ERP responses with the final word (italicized) in sentences like the following:

- (2a) He spread the warm bread with *jam*.
- (2b) He spread the warm bread with *socks*.

A third component is the "P600," a relatively positive wave at 600 milliseconds poststimulus onset, with a broad distribution (bilateral, mid-, and posterior sites). This has been characterized as reflecting comprehension revision processes following a disruption of sentence form (or syntax), as in (1b).

An interesting and natural extension of this research is to test people in their L2s to determine whether or not they show the same brainwave patterns. At this juncture, it is important to address two critical distinctions. One is the distinction between (a) knowledge of a language, including vocabulary and grammatical rules, and (b) the comprehension of sentences as they unfold temporally. It is quite possible to know about grammatical rules and at the same time not be able to apply them within the short time frame required by spoken language. Likewise, one may know many words in a L2 but not be able to retrieve their meaning or integrate them within the few seconds it takes for a sentence to be presented.

A second distinction has to do with the type of participant tested, whether this person is (a) an early bilingual, someone who grew up with two languages and uses them on a daily basis, or (b) a late bilingual, someone who learned the language after puberty and is more or less fluent. Both of the brain imaging techniques described here have been used to examine early and late bilinguals. But because of the properties of these two imaging techniques, the ERP technology has been used primarily to test language comprehension processes, rather than knowledge per se, and functional MRI has been used to examine the localization of the two languages in the brain. ERP findings for comprehension of a second or nondominant language are described in terms of the type-of-sentence anomaly.

In terms of the semantic aspects, the N400 effect, which correlates with semantic anomaly or integration

difficulty, has been observed in second-language learners. This wave peaks earlier for monolinguals and bilinguals presented with their dominant language than it does for bilinguals in their nondominant language. This suggests that comprehension of a second (nondominant) language may be less efficient, or less automatic, than the processing of a first/dominant language. One would expect this of novice learners, but this appears to be true even of highly proficient users of a second language.

Referring to the syntactic aspects, a number of investigators have found that ungrammaticality produces no very early effect (the N125), even in people who started learning an L2 before the age of 3. The later LAN has been observed, although not always with the same scalp distribution. The P600 effect, indicative of sentence revision, or reanalysis, has been reported for the nondominant language in people who acquired the L2 before puberty.

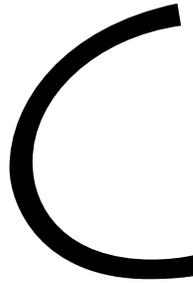
Overall, the ERP findings suggest that syntactic processing of a second (nondominant) language may not be carried out in the same way as an L1. Semantic processing, on the other hand, may operate similarly in a dominant and nondominant language, but simply be less efficient.

Janet L. Nicol and Andy Barss

See also Critical Period Hypothesis; Language Acquisition Device; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Learning a Language, Best Age; Linguistics, an Overview

Further Readings

- Ardal, S., Donald, M. W., Meuter, R., Muldrew, S., & Luce, M. (1990). Brain responses to semantic incongruity in bilinguals. *Brain and Language*, *39*, 187–205.
- Golestani, N., Alario, F.-X., Meriaux, S., Le Bihan, D., Dehaene, S., & Pallier, C. (2006). Syntax production in bilinguals. *Neuropsychologia*, *44*, 1029–1040.
- Hahne, A., & Friederici, A. D. (2001). Processing a second language: Late learners' comprehension mechanisms as revealed by event-related brain potentials. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, *4*, 123–141.
- Kim, K., Relkin, N., Lee, K.-M., & Hirsch, J. (1997). Distinct cortical areas associated with native and second languages. *Nature*, *388*, 171–174.
- Kluender, R., & Kutas, M. (1993). Bridging the gap: Evidence from ERPs on the processing of unbounded dependencies. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, *5*, 196–214.
- Kutas, M., & Hillyard, S. A. (1980). Reading senseless sentences: Brain potentials reflect semantic incongruity. *Science*, *207*, 203–205.
- Moreno, E. M., & Kutas, M. (2005). Processing semantic anomalies in two languages: An electrophysiological exploration in both languages of Spanish-English bilinguals. *Cognitive Brain Research*, *22*, 205–220.
- Neville, H. J., Nicol, J. L., Barss, A., Forster, K. I., & Garrett, M. F. (1991). Syntactically based sentence processing classes: Evidence from event-related brain potentials. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, *3*, 151–165.
- Weber-Fox, C., & Neville, H. (1996). Maturation constraints on functional specializations for language processing: ERP and behavioral evidence in bilingual speakers. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, *8*, 231–256.



CAL

See CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS, INITIAL FOCUS; CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS, RECENT FOCUS

CALIFORNIA PROPOSITION 227

See PROPOSITION 227 (CALIFORNIA)

CANADIAN AND U.S. LANGUAGE POLICIES

In the protracted debate about how best to create a nation of fluent English speakers in the United States, Canada serves both as a model of successful language immersion programs and as a cautionary tale with respect to the social, political, and economic dynamics that many Americans associate with the Canadian language strife in Québec. Although the histories of both Canada and the United States testify to the many languages of the native inhabitants of these lands, as well as to the multiple and varied languages of those who immigrated to these countries, the linguistic philosophy and policies of these nations have diverged significantly from the beginning.

According to the Canada Public Service Agency, prior to the Official Languages Act of 1969, English

served as the official language of the Canadian government, the economy, and the educational system. Passage of the act identified English and French as the nation's two official languages and required all federal institutions to serve the public in the official language of their choice. Another significant piece of national language legislation was the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which reaffirmed the equality of English and French with respect to their use in the Canadian Parliament and Government. In 1988, the Official Languages Act was revised to provide additional support for the language guarantees articulated in the Charter. That same year, the Canadian government adopted the Official Languages Regulations, Communications With and Services to the Public, which specified the situations in which federal offices were required to provide services in both official languages to Canadian citizens.

At the beginning of the new century, in January 2001, the Speech from the Throne, delivered by the Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson, Governor General of Canada, affirmed the country's commitment to linguistic duality. Three months later, the Canadian prime minister, the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, again called attention to the need for coordinated language policies and emphasized the importance of protecting the dual-language heritage of the nation. According to a Government of Canada Web site, in September 2002, Governor General Clarkson's Speech from the Throne affirmed that "linguistic duality is at the heart of our collective identity." Consistent with the tenets of this speech, the 2003 Action Plan for Official Languages was organized around three tenets: (1) Linguistic duality is part of

our heritage, (2) linguistic duality is an asset for our future, and (3) the federal policy on official languages needs to be enhanced. The third revision of the Official Languages Act occurred in 2005. It further clarified the rights and obligations stipulated in the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms. While current policies confirm the equality of French and English as the official governmental languages of Canada and acknowledge French as the official provincial language of Québec, these policies also proclaim the right of all citizens to receive education, government, and health services in the official language of their choice.

Whereas the language legislation in Canada has been quite consistent with respect to the establishment and protection of both English and French as the official national languages, James Crawford asserts that American efforts have focused largely on the state-level prohibition of particular languages. Examples include California's early revision of its state constitution in 1879, for the purposes of eliminating Spanish language rights and the various state bans on the public use of the German language during World War I. All attempts to mandate English as the sole official language of the United States have so far failed. These include a bill attempting to designate "American" as the national language in 1923 and the English Language Constitutional Amendment proposed in 1981 by the late Senator S. I. Hayakawa. Today, almost every new Congress is faced with at least one attempt to revisit the subject. Frustrated by the failure of these legislative proposals, members of the English-only movement have formed organizations to lobby more strongly for them. They have focused their attention on making English the official language of government agencies. A bill of this sort was approved by the House of Representatives in 1996 but was rejected by the Senate.

Much of the advocacy for designating English as the official language has now turned to the states. U.S. English, Inc., attests that some 30 states have designated English as their official language, with almost half of this legislation being enacted after 1990.

Although the operant language policies in the two neighboring countries are vastly different, it should be acknowledged that there are equally different contexts with respect to the historical, social, political, and economic circumstances that frame the language policy dynamics. Understanding these differences helps shed light on the U.S. debate about how best to transform non-English-speaking populations into fluent English speakers who are willing to abandon their

respective heritage languages. According to John Petrovic, three of the differences between these countries are especially relevant to the language debate. First, the United States has traditionally promoted the idea of a single national identity, while Canada has maintained two nations with distinct cultures, religions, and languages from the outset. This dual national identity has helped preserve the use of French as an important language even though it predominates in only one province, albeit the largest in population. In addition, the language demographic distribution in Canada has remained fairly stable over the years, with the majority of the French-speaking population residing in Québec province. This shared heritage has resulted in a unified, although geographically separate, sense of purpose; this is uncommon in the United States, given not only the variety of native languages spoken by immigrant students but also the number of different cultural backgrounds represented in the early history of the country. For example, while the land purchased from France, known as the Louisiana Territory, was huge, it was sparsely populated and few French speakers lived outside of the city of New Orleans. Similarly, whereas half of Mexico was annexed by the United States in 1848, that vast expanse was also sparsely populated by Spanish speakers.

Second, in Canada, French speakers rarely experience a language shift, continuing to use their native language throughout life. Unlike the United States, where English is the chief language of communication and second-generation immigrants quickly lose their native-language skills, French-speaking Canadians enjoy both social and economic support for their native language. In the province of Québec, all official business is conducted in French. Schools and universities offer a complete education in both languages, sometimes in the same institution and sometimes in separate ones. As a consequence, throughout Canada, individuals who are fluent in both French and English are at an advantage in both the economic and political arenas.

This means, among other things, that in Canada, bilingualism pays off; in the United States, the rewards for bilingualism are fewer and far less tangible. Petrovic points out that in contrast to the French language in Canada, the Spanish language is not necessarily a pathway to higher-paying jobs in the United States. In fact, higher-paying positions are not usually associated with speaking Spanish, since many native Spanish speakers are employed in the service,

agricultural, and construction industries. Unlike their U.S. counterparts, Canadians who speak French are in demand for management and other upper-level positions.

Despite these differences, much of the American discussion about how best to produce fluent English speakers has focused on language immersion programs in Canada, which are targeted mainly to minority English speakers in the province of Québec. Research by Adel Safty points out, however, that this comparison is problematic for several reasons: (a) the majority of the English-speaking children participating in these language immersion programs are middle-class children who are not at risk of school failure; and (b) the proportion of time in which French is the language of instruction declines throughout the first few years of the immersion program, with the students receiving 50% of their instruction in English by fifth grade, increasing to 80% at the secondary level. Further, although English-speaking children are considered a language minority in Québec, they are not considered so at the national level, where English enjoys the same status as French in the Canadian government.

Safty contends that in contrast to Québec, language immersion programs in the United States have tended to provide the majority of instruction in English, for the purposes of enabling predominantly minority children to master English as a means of cultural assimilation, while ignoring the development of the non-English-speaker's home language. Perhaps most important, this instruction occurs within a U.S. national context in which unaccented spoken English is strongly equated with American patriotism. Within this context, multilingualism is viewed neither as an individual nor a societal asset. This attitude, increasingly prevalent in recent years, bears a remarkable resemblance to that expressed in 1926 by President Theodore Roosevelt:

We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house.

While such a restrictive view of linguistic democracy is not held by all Americans, in the absence of a federal policy supportive of language diversity, grassroots groups continue to organize their efforts toward establishing English as the sole official language of

the U.S. government. A very different view of language diversity is articulated in the 2003 Canadian Action Plan for Official Languages, as found on the government of Canada Web site: "Canada must build on its linguistic duality and the international nature of its two official languages more than ever. That gives it a substantial competitive edge."

As both Canada and the United States continue to experience the increased migration of linguistically diverse groups, the attitudes and beliefs about the relative value of bilingualism, and increasingly that of multilingualism, will play an important role. They will not only shape each country's internal political/social/economic environment but will also determine the extent to which its citizens are equipped with the linguistic skills they need to succeed in a global, increasingly competitive, and linguistically diverse environment.

Betty M. Merchant and Michaela Steele

See also Additive and Subtractive Programs; Heritage Language Education; Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; Maintenance Policy Denied; St. Lambert Immersion Study; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad

Further Readings

- Canadian Public Service Agency. (2006). *Annual report on official languages 2005–06*. Retrieved October 27, 2007, from http://www.psagency-agencefp.gc.ca/reports-rapports/ol-lo/arol-ralo05-06_e.asp
- Crawford, J. (1997). *Issues in U.S. language policy: The official English question*. Retrieved from <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jwcrawford/question.htm>
- Government of Canada. (2002, September). *Speech from the throne*. Retrieved October 27, 2007, from <http://www.gnb.ca/cnb/promos/throne-2002/index-e.asp>
- Government of Canada. (2003). *Action plan for official languages*. Available from <http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/olo/index.asp?lang=eng&page=action>
- Petrovic, J. (1997). Balkanization, bilingualism, and comparison of language situations at home and abroad. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 21, 233–327.
- Roosevelt, T. (1926). *The works of Theodore Roosevelt* (Vol. 24, Memorial ed.). New York: Scribner's.
- Safty, A. (1992). French immersion as bilingual education: New inquiry directions. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 1(2), 60–76.

Web Sites

U.S. English, Inc.: <http://www.us-english.org/inc>

CANADIAN BILINGUAL STUDY

See ST. LAMBERT IMMERSION STUDY

CÁRDENAS, JOSÉ A. (1930–)

A professional educator since 1950, José A. Cárdenas has never been a person of ordinary consequence. He has served as superintendent of an urban school district, chair of the education department at an institution of higher education, director of a research and development center, and at all levels of the educational professional hierarchy.

Born in Laredo, Texas, on October 16, 1930, Cárdenas earned an EdD from the University of Texas at Austin (1966), an MEd from Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio (1955), and a BA from the University of Texas at Austin (1950). He also served in the U.S. Army infantry as a radio operation instructor from 1951 to 1953.

When Cárdenas was named in 1955 as vice principal of Edgewood High School in San Antonio, he became the first Hispanic administrator serving the district. In 1969, he was appointed superintendent of the Edgewood School District, thus becoming the first Hispanic school superintendent in the city of San Antonio and Bexar County. He established the first districtwide, non-Head Start early childhood education program for all 3-, 4- and 5-year-old children in that district. From 1961 to 1967, Cárdenas served as associate professor and chair of the Department of Education at St. Mary's University in San Antonio. In the late 1960s, he directed research on migrant education at the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. And, later, in 1990 to 1991, he was a visiting professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio in educational leadership. He served as a guest lecturer, consultant, and conference participant at more than 70 colleges and universities throughout the country.

As a classroom teacher, Cárdenas worked in multicultural settings with very limited resources. Later, as a school superintendent, he recognized the systemic barriers to providing the excellent education he

envisioned. Although most of his peers apparently saw no such problem or felt the injustices to children were unsolvable, Cárdenas dedicated his life's work to making his vision a reality.

In 1973, Cárdenas founded the Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA), a non-profit research and public education organization dedicated to creating schools that work for all children. Today, IDRA continues its work as a nationally recognized research, policy, and training and technical assistance organization in bilingual and multicultural education, school finance equity, early childhood education, community involvement programs, and the design of culturally responsive technology-infused instructional programs.

After testifying in the landmark *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) case, Cárdenas assisted in the development of the "Lau Remedies" by the Office for Civil Rights. This document contained the first guidance provided by the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education for schools serving language minority populations. Its purpose was to help school districts come into compliance with the Supreme Court decision and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Throughout his 5-decade career, Cárdenas was a key leader in developing litigation strategy and serving as an expert witness in more than 70 important court cases focused on services to minority and language minority students, such as *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver* (1973), and *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981). He was one of the key people involved with Senator Ralph Yarborough in helping create and fund federal legislation for children who were limited English proficient: Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Cárdenas was instrumental in developing the bilingual-education-related strategies that included the litigation known as the *United States v. Texas* (1970), which resulted in a court order leading to the foundation for SB 477, the Texas Bilingual Education Act. His role in the formation of that law, which is still in effect today, led to its being considered the strongest state bilingual education law in the country. In the mid-1970s, Cárdenas led a research effort to examine the funding levels needed for effective implementation of bilingual education, finding that most bilingual education programs suffer from grossly inadequate funding.

Numerous state and national organizations have honored Cárdenas for his commitment and contributions.

He was the U.S. commissioner for the International Year of the Child in 1978 and was a Special National Award recipient of the Human Rights Award given by the National Education Association in 1972. He was cited as Educator of the Year in 1980 by the Texas Association for Bilingual Education. He received the National Association for Bilingual Education Special Recognition Award in 1982 and was honored as a National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) Texas Pioneer in Bilingual Education in 1993.

Cárdenas has authored several books, including *Multicultural Education: A Generation of Advocacy*, a historical overview of the most significant issues in multicultural education. In *Texas School Finance Reform: An IDRA Perspective*, Cárdenas documents the 28-year history of school finance in Texas. His most recent book, *My Spanish-Speaking Left Foot*, depicts the cultural influence of Mexico and the Spanish-speaking world for a Mexican American. His writings, recollections, and impressions are archived in the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin.

María Robledo Montecel

See also Federal Court Decisions and Legislation; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META); Texas Legislation (HB 103 and SB 121)

Further Readings

- Cárdenas, J. A. (1995). *Multicultural education: A generation of advocacy*. Boston: Simon & Schuster.
- Cárdenas, J. A. (1997). *Texas school finance reform: An IDRA perspective*. San Antonio, TX: Intercultural Development Research Association.
- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F. 2d 989 (1981).
- Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- United States v. Texas, 321 F. Supp. 1043 (E.D. Tex. 1970).

students and parents of Chinese ancestry filed a class action suit against the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD), claiming that they had been denied a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fourteenth Amendment. Title VI banned discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in any program receiving federal financial assistance. On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in favor of the plaintiffs:

Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1974)

The ruling did not specify any specific remedy because no specific remedy had been requested by the plaintiffs. The court noted that “no remedy is urged upon us.”

As a result of the *Lau v. Nichols* decision, Congress took various actions. They passed the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA) in 1974, which prohibits denial of equal access and deliberate segregation and requires districts to take actions to remedy language barriers. By codifying the language of the *Lau* decision into law, Congress ensured that the ruling of the court would endure. In addition, the legislators passed amendments to the Bilingual Education Act, which provided federal funding for bilingual programs at a higher level than before. In 1975, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) issued the “*Lau Remedies*,” which specified procedures for identifying limited-English-proficient (LEP) students, provided guidelines for determining which type of program was needed to meet students’ needs, set program exit guidelines (also known as *reclassification*), and established standards for teachers in terms of the profile and training they should have. The *Lau Remedies* were used for several years by the OCR of the U.S. Department of Education in conducting *Lau* compliance reviews. But the remedies were an administrative solution that needed more power behind them.

CASTAÑEDA THREE-PART TEST

In the historic Supreme Court case of *Lau v. Nichols*, decided in 1974, a group of non-English-speaking

Castañeda v. Pickard

An important complement to the *Lau* decision came in 1981 in the form of yet another court case, *Castañeda v. Pickard*. In that case, the plaintiffs charged a school district in Raymondville, Texas, with discrimination. They claimed that the district used ability grouping in a way that segregated and created learning obstacles for LEP students. They also said that the hiring of Mexican American faculty and administrators was not representative of the population in the district (close to 90% Mexican American). The district was accused, in addition, of not providing students with adequate bilingual education to overcome the linguistic barriers that prevented them from fully benefiting from the regular instructional program. Finally, the plaintiffs claimed that the use of standardized tests in English to measure progress was not an appropriate way to demonstrate academic growth. The court ruled that the district should not mix the concept of intelligence with language abilities and should not use “low” as a designator of English proficiency. The court held that ability grouping was beneficial sometimes and that it was not illegal per se. It also ruled that a focus on the English language in the early years of schooling was appropriate and that there were appropriate measures, such as learning centers, to assist students with academic matters in the district. The school district was asked to look at testing procedures and hiring practices. An interesting point about this case is that the plaintiffs sued for violation of both Title VI and the EEOA, which had codified *Lau*.

The appellate court in *Castañeda* took the step that had not been taken in *Lau*: to describe in broad terms the qualities of an appropriate program that would satisfy *Lau*, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the EEOA. To facilitate decisions regarding appropriateness in the future, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled that districts must apply a three-pronged test:

1. The instructional program implemented must be based on sound theory.
2. The program should be implemented with appropriate practices, staffing, and resources.
3. There should be evaluation and evidence of effectiveness.

Implicit here is the additional point that if the program is not effective, the district should be willing and able to modify it. The court then proceeded to use its

own three-part test to assess the claims of the plaintiffs in *Castañeda v. Pickard*. It ruled that the district passed Test #1. In terms of Test #2, it determined that the curriculum was fair and that the assistance to students was provided (it could be provided either simultaneously with their language program or after), but the court was concerned with staffing based on the fact that teachers had very limited Spanish levels and training in bilingual methodology. The court felt that limitations in teachers could provoke limitations in terms of program effectiveness. The district was ordered to examine its hiring practices to be sure that they were not discriminatory and to remedy them if they were. The court asked for teachers’ teaching abilities to be improved. Also, related to Test #2, the court found that the district inappropriately used English language standardized tests, claiming that students should be tested in their primary or home languages. As a result of this important court case and the realization by the court that some sort of guideline was needed, the three-part test was born and subsequently adopted by OCR for use nationwide.

OCR’s Interpretation of the Three-Part Test

First Prong

In the first prong of the three-part test, the program implemented by the school or district must be recognized as sound by some experts in the field or seen as a legitimate experimental strategy. This part of the test is somewhat difficult because one can usually find an expert somewhere who is willing to defend his or her theory. The courts have consistently held that they are not theoretical or curricular experts and that they must leave this judgment up to school districts to decide, which leaves the question of “soundness” up in the air. In a 1998 court case that challenged Proposition 227 in California, for example, it was determined that the approach, which allows students 1 year to achieve sufficient English to transfer into the regular instructional program, could be supported by at least one expert, although the attorneys involved with the case claimed that the majority of experts would not agree with that claim.

In the case of *Guadalupe Organization v. Tempe Elementary School District*, decided in 1972, it was determined that a maintenance bilingual program was not required in order to show “appropriate action to

overcome language barriers that impede equal participation.” Another case, *Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District*, decided in 1989 in California, showed that credentialed teachers showed little difference in results from those without credentials. It was determined that students could be taught effectively by monolingual English teachers. The “soundness” of the program usually depends on which experts are consulted. In this regard, then, the first of the three-part tests remains somewhat unspecific.

Second Prong

In the second prong of the three-part test, programs and practices used by the district should be reasonably calculated to implement the theory effectively. This means ideally, but not always realistically, that the program must be staffed by teachers who understand both languages and who are able to select and use appropriate methods. The courts have made it clear that program effectiveness is diluted (and possibly leads to violation of Title VI, if teachers are not qualified). Districts should have appropriate selection and training procedures. Teachers need to have credentials or show evidence of working toward them. For example, in the case of *Serna v. Portales*, decided in 1974, a school district in New Mexico was charged with discrimination because it failed to hire Mexican American teachers or administrators and because students did not reach achievement levels attained by Anglo counterparts. The students were almost a full grade level behind another school; there were more dropouts; and the level of disparity in achievement levels increased as the students got older. It was determined that the district was violating Title VI. There should be both entrance and exit criteria for students involved in programs, leading eventually toward their meaningful participation in the English program. This means that students should be able to keep up with non-LEP peers, participate successfully in curriculum without simplified materials, and have retention and drop-out rates that are similar to non-LEP students. The program should have sufficient resources and materials.

In *Cintrón v. Brentwood Union Free School District*, decided in 1978, the issue involved was the reduction in bilingual staffing and, as a result, the proposal of an English as a Second Language (ESL) support center, which was found to be unacceptable by the courts. Districts must provide support despite resources available to them. In *Ríos v. Read*, decided in 1978, in

New York, a group of Puerto Rican students and their parents accused their district of employing teachers with a lack of language skills and methods and also mentioned a lack of textbooks. In *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver*, decided in 1983, in the Denver public schools, teachers were hired as bilingual teachers based on an interview and not on a test. Over the years, it has become clear that having a program that is based on sound theory is not enough if the resources to effectively implement that program are not present.

Third Prong

As part of the third prong, the program should succeed after a legitimate trial in producing results indicating that students’ language barriers are actually being overcome based on goals the district has established or, alternatively, that participants overcome their language barriers sufficiently well and promptly to participate meaningfully in programs serving all other students. Attorney Peter Roos, who has worked on several relevant cases, suggests that a fourth part to the test is implicit: that the district adjust the program if it is not working effectively.

Monitoring Compliance

Who monitors compliance in terms of services to LEP students and their families, and how do they do it? The OCR of the U.S. Department of Education is the main monitoring agent. When there is reason to believe that the district may not be providing the right services, the OCR may step in and investigate and, then, based on their ruling, determine remedies that are required. The OCR bases their actions and decisions on what has been previously agreed upon in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the OCR memorandums of 1970 and 1985, the *Lau Remedies*, and the 1991 Policy Update on Schools’ Obligations Toward National Origin Minority Students With Limited-English Proficiency. The 1970 “May 25th Memorandum” and the procedures followed by OCR in its monitoring work are discussed in some detail in other entries in this encyclopedia.

The 1985 memorandum emphasized the following: Determining the need for an alternative language program and the adequacy of that program, a written compliance agreement is required only with a violation of Title VI; national origin minorities whose only language is English are not included in the requirements

for service; and districts may use methods that have proven to be successful or are sound, providing a certain degree of flexibility.

The literature in this field contains both praise and criticism for the work of the OCR in compliance monitoring and recommendations. Some of the issues and implications concerning the use of the *Lau* remedies and the three-part test for compliance are as follows. One of the first issues involves defining “appropriate action.” Another factor is the burden of proof placed on the plaintiff to show that the district does not meet the test. The debate regarding intentional versus non-intentional discrimination often arises and is linked to new interpretations by the U.S. Supreme Court of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that are still in flux. Other areas of difficulty are (a) numbers of students and their distribution by language, (b) availability of resources, (c) primary-language materials, (d) teacher qualifications, (e) ability to hire bilingual assistants, (f) involvement of parents, (g) pressures to teach English quickly, (h) academic content, (i) access to programs for gifted students, (j) misplacement in special education, (k) the demand to measure academic achievement using English standardized tests, and (l) legislation (such as Proposition 227 in California) or court rulings.

Kathryn Singh

See also Affirmative Steps to English; Civil Rights Act of 1964; *Lau v. Nichols*, Enforcement Documents; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education

Further Readings

- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
 Cintrón v. Brentwood Union Free School District, 455 F. Supp. 57 (EDNY 1978).
 Guadalupe Organization v. Tempe Elementary School District No. 3, No. CIV 71–435, Phoenix (D. Arizona, January 24, 1972).
 Haas, E. (2005). The Equal Educational Opportunity Act 30 years later: Time to revisit “appropriate action” for assisting English language learners. *Journal of Law and Education*, 34, 361–388.
 Keyes v. School District No.1, Denver, CO, 576 F. Supp. 503 (D. Colorado, 1983).
 Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
 Office for Civil Rights. (1970, May 25). *Memorandum: Identification of discrimination and denial of services on*

the basis of national origin, 35 F. Reg. 11, 595. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1970.html>

- Office for Civil Rights. (1985, December 3). *Memorandum: The Office for Civil Rights’ Title VI language minority compliance procedures*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1990_and_1985.html
- Office for Civil Rights. (1991, September 27). *Memorandum: Policy update on schools’ obligations toward national origin minority students with limited-English proficiency (LEP students)*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1991.html>
- Ríos v. Read, 480 F. Supp. (1978).
 Roos, P. (2007). Getting back on the horse: Reviving bilingual education key issues for policy makers. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 1(1), 15–31.
 Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools, 499 F.2d 1147 (10th Cir. 1974).
 Valeria G. v. Wilson, 12 F. Supp.2d 1007 (N.D. Cal. 1998).

CASTRO FEINBERG, ROSA (1939–)

Rosa Castro Feinberg, born on January 1, 1939, in New York City, has been a lifelong advocate for children, immigrants, and minority language learners in the United States. Upon election in 1986 to the Dade County, Florida, school board, she became the first Hispanic woman to be elected to a countywide office in that jurisdiction and served on the board with distinction for 10 years.

Castro Feinberg earned her MSc degree in curriculum and supervision from Florida State University and her PhD in Educational Administration from the University of Miami. She began her career as a language teacher. While teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) at the junior high school level and Spanish-S (Spanish for Spanish speakers), she secured donated equipment and conducted a field trial that resulted in the district’s purchase of its first wireless language laboratory for English language learners. As a graduate student at the University of Miami, Castro Feinberg had collected and analyzed data that led the school system to initiate programs for English language learners whose first language was Haitian Creole.

Castro Feinberg later served as education chairperson for the Spanish American League Against Discrimination (SALAD), where she wrote a primer for advocates that led to the mobilization of resistance

to restrictionist language legislation and the creation of the national English Plus Clearinghouse.

As the director of the University of Miami Lau Center, acting as third-party adviser at the request of both the State Education Agency and a community coalition led by the Multicultural Education Training Associates (META), Castro Feinberg was influential in bringing about statewide changes in legislation and regulations protecting the rights of all language minority students in Florida to learn English and other subjects. She also promoted the establishment of the principle that those who teach any subject to English language learners, in any language, must be appropriately prepared and credentialed for that assignment.

As a Dade County School Board Member, Castro Feinberg provided leadership resulting in expansion of foreign, heritage language, and biliteracy education, benefiting over 300,000 students in the country's fourth-largest school district. She also helped eliminate corporal punishment in Miami-Dade Schools and helped bring about single-member districting in school board elections, thereby ensuring that Hispanics would serve on the board. For 8 of the 10 years that Castro Feinberg served on the Dade County School Board, she was the only Hispanic member.

As a member of Florida's Postsecondary Education Planning Commission, Castro Feinberg was instrumental in the commission's authorization of a Pharmacy School at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, the state's historically Black university. As a faculty member at Florida International University (FIU), Castro Feinberg organized a statewide electronic mailing list for second-language educators under the auspices of the Sunshine State Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) Advocacy Committee. She has published numerous articles, reports, and monographs on bilingual education and related areas of administration and teacher training and has given numerous invited testimonies at government public hearings on language and education issues.

After her retirement in 2002, the United Faculty of Florida/Florida International University Chapter (UFF/FIU) Executive Committee approved Castro Feinberg's proposal for sponsorship of an information and referral service for immigrants and other newcomers. The West Dade Regional Library agreed to collaborate with the project as the service site and with public information support. With 50,000 immigrants entering Miami-Dade County every year, its population is among the most diverse in the nation,

and the city of Miami has the highest percentage of immigrants of any large city worldwide. The first goal of this project is to serve the community by providing information to recent arrivals about existing resources and to tap FIU faculty expertise for help with problems for which there is no ready solution. The service is a volunteer operation, requiring no funds for its continuation.

Rosa Castro Feinberg's ongoing research interests include the formation and development of bilingual universities in areas such as South Florida and immigrant access to adequate health care.

Ana Roca

See also Immigration and Language Policy; Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META); Teacher Preparation, Then and Now

Further Readings

Castro Feinberg, R. (2002). *Bilingual education: A reference handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS, INITIAL FOCUS

The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) was established in Washington, D.C., in 1959, at the height of the cold war, in response to the recognized need for a national center for information on languages, language resources, and applied linguistics. With support from the Ford Foundation, CAL was originally created under the aegis of the Modern Language Association. Over time, its sphere of activities grew to worldwide dimensions, and it was decided in 1965 to make it an independent organization. For its founders and staff, the center represented the belief that a better understanding of language through linguistics can contribute to making this a better and more humane world.

Early Years

The founding director of CAL, Charles Ferguson, was an intellectual leader in the emerging field of sociolinguistics. The early years of the center focused heavily on the teaching of foreign languages in the United

States and the teaching of English internationally, as well as on language planning issues in the use of vernacular languages for education in newly decolonized nations. The civil rights movement of the late 1960s saw CAL take the lead in research on African American Vernacular English and on the significance of language differences in schools undergoing desegregation.

CAL for many years sponsored the National Advisory Council on Teaching English as a Foreign Language (NACTEFL), a group of leaders in the field who met annually to hear reports on the work of various federal agencies involved in the teaching of English and to make policy recommendations in response. A NACTEFL recommendation for a survey of English teaching in the government's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools led to a planning conference for the first Navajo bilingual kindergarten program in BIA schools beginning in 1969. A measure of the impact of CAL on BIA language education policy is that of 28 recommendations made to the bureau from 1967 to 1969, 75% were adopted.

An early contribution to bilingual education came through a commission from the ERIC Clearinghouse for Languages and Linguistics, then housed at CAL, to Muriel R. Saville and Rudolph C. Troike to prepare a *Handbook for Bilingual Education* (1971), which became a popular text in bilingual teacher preparation programs. With the appointment of Troike as director/president of CAL in 1972, bilingual education and minority language issues in the United States became CAL's top priority and remained so throughout his tenure to 1977. During this period, a number of new staff members were added to CAL to head up the initiatives in bilingual education. In addition, the Board of Trustees was diversified to include members familiar with minority language issues. These new members included prominent professionals in that field: Charlotte Brooks, Courtney Cazden, Arnulfo Oliveira, Christina Bratt Paulston, Dillon Platero, and Oscar García-Rivera.

Setting Guidelines for Bilingual Education

When Senator Edward Kennedy's (D-Mass.) staff began planning for the 1974 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act), CAL brought together a group of leaders in the field to define a set of priorities

for needed changes and new initiatives, most of which were adopted in the final legislation. In particular, these included funding for teacher training programs and PhD programs, and support for research and information dissemination activities.

Concerned that the availability of federal funds would not guarantee high-quality programs of teacher education because some institutions simply relabeled existing courses or program titles to qualify for funds, and with an obvious lack of criteria for judging the adequacy of applications, CAL convened a working group of experts, including state and large city bilingual program directors, to develop a set of guidelines for the certification of teachers in bilingual education programs. These guidelines, which were published and widely disseminated by CAL, became the basis for certification requirements in a number of states. In addition, the guidelines were subsequently adopted in large part by the U.S. Office of Bilingual Education.

CAL drew on its long-established international connections to organize the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education. This event was held in Mexico City under cosponsorship of the Secretaría de Educación Pública. The conference was attended by representatives of eight countries, and the proceedings were published by CAL.

The work of CAL with American Indian groups also expanded considerably during this period with the creation of an Indian Education Program division, headed by William Leap. One activity was providing logistic support for the annual Native American Bilingual Education Conference (NAIBEC). Recognizing the unique linguistic and pedagogical needs of bilingual programs for Native Americans, CAL in 1973 worked with the BIA to convene leading specialists, including representatives from a number of American Indian groups, to formulate suggested language policy guidelines for American Indian tribes. CAL also secured support and collaborated with the University of Colorado for a series of summer institutes to provide advanced training for teachers in Indian bilingual programs. In addition, CAL provided financial support to launch the *Navajo Language Review*, edited by Paul Platero.

The year 1974 was a landmark year for bilingual education, due in part, to the U.S. Supreme Court *Lau v. Nichols* decision, which found that the San Francisco schools were failing to offer a meaningful education to English language learners by providing them the same materials and curricula as native

English speakers. The San Francisco Unified School District SFUSD requested that the Center for Applied Linguistics send a team to work with the schools and a community advisory committee to develop a master plan to respond to the decision. Although the Supreme Court had avoided prescribing a specific remedy, CAL's plan, which adopted bilingual education as the most appropriate response, was accepted by the appellate court and indirectly influenced the interpretation of the *Lau* decision by the Office for Civil Rights as requiring bilingual education under certain circumstances. Although this requirement proved controversial, CAL played a central role in the evolution of official federal policy in this arena.

Concerned about the need for dissemination of research information to the field, CAL initiated the publication of a series of papers in bilingual education in 1975 and published the first book collection of papers on Mexican American Spanish and a research bibliography of linguistic work on the language of U.S. Spanish speakers.

CAL also played a significant role in the development of long-term plans for research and information dissemination, as authorized in the 1974 Title VII legislation. CAL worked closely with the staff of the National Institute of Education in the design of the National Center for Bilingual Research, and after the contract was awarded to the Southwest Educational Research Laboratory, CAL, with its long experience in information clearinghouse activities, formulated the design for the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE, now known as NCELA). When the project was designated as a minority business procurement, CAL became a partner with InterAmerica Associates, which served as prime contractor for the project. Rudolph Troike became deputy director of the Clearinghouse, and Joel Gómez became director. NCBE for a number of years served as an important central coordinating hub for cooperation and information dissemination throughout the country among various units involved in bilingual education.

Anticipating the need for informed discussion leading to the 1978 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act, CAL, with support from the Carnegie Foundation, commissioned state-of-the-art review papers of relevant knowledge in social sciences, linguistics, law, and education and convened a series of conferences in 1976 to 1977 bringing together researchers and concerned federal policymakers. Leann Parker coordinated the conferences and edited

the resulting series of five volumes, which provided a still-valuable conspectus of the state of research knowledge.

In other directions, when the U.S. Census Bureau, together with the National Center for Education Statistics in the Department of Education, was tasked to conduct a nationwide survey to determine the need for bilingual education, CAL was awarded a large project, directed by Walter Stolz, to develop a proxy measure of English language proficiency (MELP) for use in the 1976 Survey of Income and Education. The results of the survey became the basis for appropriations under the 1978 reauthorization of Title VII. CAL also conducted research on criteria for the evaluation of bilingual education programs and carried out a feasibility study for the international assessment of bilingual programs (which ultimately influenced the design of the highly successful national bilingual educational program in Guatemala). CAL staff also had extensive input into the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' influential 1975 report on bilingual education, *A Better Chance to Learn*. On the international front, CAL's director twice served as U.S. representative to United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conferences in Paris on minority languages in education.

In the institutionally isolated area of bilingual vocational education, CAL worked closely with the Department of Labor on developing guidelines for successful programs. Mary Galván, a former president of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) organization, took a major role in this work.

CAL was also active in responding to misinformation about bilingual education. In 1978, when an official of the Department of Education called a press conference to announce the somewhat negative findings of an evaluation of bilingual program effectiveness, a CAL staff member, Tracy Gray, obtained the report the night before and wrote a critical analysis exposing flaws in the study. Her analysis was given to media representatives as they emerged from the press conference, and most newspapers reporting on the study acknowledged that the results had been seriously questioned by CAL.

The fall of Saigon, Vietnam, in 1975, brought CAL to the forefront of national efforts to deal with educational aspects of the resulting refugee crisis. Literally overnight, utilizing its own resources, CAL established the National Indochinese Clearinghouse (NIC)

and recruited a national network of consultants with relevant expertise. NIC staff provided guidance to government and school officials across the United States and produced resource materials to meet the needs of the refugees and those working with them. A toll-free telephone “hotline” was established, and the staff answered 11,000 inquiries and sent out 45,000 pieces of material in just 4 months. The National Institute of Education commissioned CAL to provide packets of its publications for distribution to thousands of schools in the United States. Even the Australian government requested copies of CAL materials to distribute to schools there. CAL continued to fund the Clearinghouse for 6 months before the U.S. government began providing support.

Strengthening Bilingual Programs

Given its long history as a respected autonomous professional organization, the Center for Applied Linguistics was able to serve as an independent national voice advocating for bilingual education. Research evidence clearly demonstrates that quality bilingual education is the most effective approach available for nonnative speakers of the school language. However, from the beginning of the Bilingual Education Act, lack of quality in bilingual programs was a significant threat to the success of this great educational experiment, since the purpose of bilingual education was seen generally as being compensatory instruction for ethnic minority children from poverty backgrounds (designed to transition them out of their native languages as quickly as possible and into regular English-medium instruction). Therefore, the thrust of most of CAL’s work in bilingual education was aimed at strengthening the quality of programs through the establishment of higher standards for teacher training and teacher qualifications and the improvement of curriculum, materials, methods, and evaluation criteria and procedures. CAL contributed to this process by providing the public with feedback from research and informing policy decision making.

Rudolph C. Troike

See also Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus; *Lau v. Nichols*, San Francisco Unified School District’s Response; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; Saville-Troike, Muriel; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Troike, Rudolph, C., Jr.

Further Readings

- Center for Applied Linguistics. (1977). *Bilingual education: Current perspectives* (Vols. 1–5). Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Hernández-Chávez, E., Cohen, A., & Beltramo, A. (1975). *El lenguaje de los Chicanos: Regional and social characteristics of language used by Mexican-Americans*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Saville, M. R., & Troike, R. C. (1971). *Handbook for bilingual education*. Washington, DC: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
- Troike, R. C., & Modiano, N. (1975). *Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.

CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS, RECENT FOCUS

From its founding to the present day, the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) has been a source of research, resources, and services to advance the practice of language education, to address issues related to linguistic and cultural diversity, and to inform policy on language-related topics. The improvement of education for language learners of all ages remains a prominent part of CAL’s broader mission. Since the late 1960s, when demographic changes brought bilingual education into prominence, CAL has worked to build and disseminate knowledge related to bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States and abroad.

With the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968 and the Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974, bilingual education as an alternative model for teaching English language learners (ELLs) became more widely utilized. However, as policies were formulated to require bilingual education under certain circumstances, the perception of the program as a remedial compensatory approach also became more prevalent. The emphasis on *transitioning* from bilingual education to English-only instruction became stronger; bilingual programs were cast as remedial programs with the goal of teaching students English as quickly as possible, since the presence of a language other than English was regarded as a barrier to be overcome. This was assumed to occur when such students were able to move into regular (English-medium) classrooms. The possible goal of developing proficiency in two languages (native language and

English) through bilingual education was less often considered by educational decision makers.

Consistent with its mission, CAL's orientation has consistently been toward *additive bilingualism*. In policy and practice, in education and beyond, the recommended goal is to foster the full development of the native language, whether it be English or another language, as embodied in the goals of two-way immersion education described below. CAL's president from 1978 to 1991, G. Richard Tucker, advanced the notion of a *language-competent society* in the United States, in which everyone would be highly proficient in English and at least one other language, and led the organization in efforts to advance that goal. One impediment to this work was the growing strength of campaigns to make English the official and sole language of the nation and various states and to eliminate bilingual education. In response to this scenario, CAL joined forces with the National Immigration Forum, the Joint National Committee on Languages (JNCL), and other professional organizations to establish the English Plus Information Clearinghouse (EPIC). EPIC's mandate was to gather and disseminate resources and experiences that could be helpful to groups working against English-only initiatives.

More recently, CAL has worked with partners, particularly the National Foreign Language Center at the University of Maryland, on the Heritage Language Initiative to promote the maintenance and development of heritage languages in the United States (languages other than English used in immigrant and indigenous communities around the country). Bilingual programs in schools and communities are key elements of this movement. In 1999 and 2002, CAL and its partner organizations organized and sponsored two national conferences on heritage languages and produced proceedings from the conferences. They also launched the Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages in order to continue to collect and disseminate resources for the field, including profiles of heritage language programs.

Bilingual education is also relevant beyond the borders of the United States, and CAL has sought to contribute positively to the improvement of the education of second languages worldwide. In 2004, for example, CAL published a report titled "Expanding Educational Opportunity in Linguistically Diverse Societies," which profiled programs in 13 countries where a key element was instruction in the mother tongue. The current global Education for All effort has not yet focused on language, despite the United Nations Educational

Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) argument for the use of the mother tongue in primary instruction, and CAL's efforts are directed at informing international and national educational institutions about this issue.

Throughout CAL's history, the education of ethnic and linguistic minorities has been a constant concern. In its research, resources, and services, CAL has sought to integrate a better understanding of language and culture to improve learning opportunities and language development for these students. These efforts are described in the next section, along with CAL's involvement with the development and implementation of two-way immersion bilingual education.

Research

Central to CAL's mission is the conduct of research that applies directly to the improvement of practice. As a partner in a series of federally funded research centers, CAL has sustained a program of research that has informed educational practice for ELLs in the United States. CAL's work with UCLA on the Center for Language Education and Research (CLEAR), 1985 to 1989, focused on integrating language and content instruction for ELLs and bringing together bilingual and foreign-language program models in a form of what is now called *dual-language education*. This research was carried forward at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in two subsequent collaborative efforts: the National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning (NCRCDSSL), from 1990 to 1995, succeeded by the Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence (CREDE), from 1996 to 2004. Major studies of newcomer programs and two-way immersion education documented current practice and examined features that make those approaches effective program alternatives for ELLs. One of the major products of CREDE was a review of research, published in 2006, on language learning and academic achievement of ELLs. Among its findings was a generally positive relationship between primary-language instruction and academic success. In addition, the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) approach, a model of sheltered instruction that promotes both content and language learning through a second language, was developed in collaboration with researchers at California State University Long Beach.

Another long-term program of research, starting in the mid-1990s, has focused on literacy learning.

A series of studies examined cross-language literacy transfer for Spanish-speaking students learning to read in Spanish or English. The findings included evidence that Spanish skills predict reading ability in English for students who receive formal reading instruction in Spanish, pointing to advantages for students learning to read in their native languages. Other studies in the program examined the factors that influence English literacy development among native Spanish speakers, including type of educational program. In a complementary effort, CAL managed the work of the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth, a comprehensive synthesis of the literature on literacy development in this population. The report, published in 2006, pointed to the benefit of oral proficiency and literacy in the first language, among other important findings relevant to bilingual education policy and practice.

Resources and Services

CAL's mission is strongly oriented toward action, applying what is known from research to provide quality resources and services for practitioners and policymakers, in bilingual education and many other areas. For over 30 years, CAL operated the Education Resource Information Center Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics (ERIC/CLL) (one in a network formerly funded by the U.S. Department of Education), a valued source of information presented in accessible formats for nonspecialist consumers. ERIC/CLL responded to concerns in the field by producing digests (such as *Ten Common Fallacies About Bilingual Education*, by James Crawford, published in 1998), annotated bibliographies, and professional reference books. Among the titles most relevant to bilingual education was the 1997 reissuing of the landmark work by Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*. CAL partnered with The George Washington University for several years in the operation of the National Clearinghouse on Bilingual Education (currently known as the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs), focusing primarily on publications. CAL also brought its dissemination expertise to the research centers with which it worked, producing research reports and educational practice reports, along with a newsletter and other occasional publications, for NCRCDSSL and CREDE.

In recent years, increasing use of technology has led to much broader dissemination of information through the World Wide Web. CAL's Web site provides easy access for teachers, researchers, policymakers, and the general public to accurate and comprehensible information about language-related topics, including bilingual education. The site includes professional reference materials, databases and directories, research reports, and links to a broad network of information and tools.

In addition to making resources available, CAL offers services to district and state education agencies, schools, and communities in the form of professional development, technical assistance, and program evaluations and reviews.

Two-Way Immersion Education (TWI)

A cornerstone of CAL's involvement in bilingual education since the mid-1980s has been its work on *two-way immersion* (TWI). Two-way immersion is a form of dual-language education that integrates students from English and non-English-language backgrounds, delivers instruction in both languages, and aims to develop bilingualism as well as academic achievement. CAL was among the early leaders in the development of the model, through research, resources, services, and policy guidance. CAL began to collect information about two-way immersion programs across the country in 1990, building on the directory assembled by Kathryn Lindholm-Leary for CLEAR, and eventually made the *Directory of Two-Way Bilingual Immersion Programs in the U.S.* easily accessible via the Web. The directory has become a key reference for bilingual programs, policymakers, and the media as a profile of the practice of two-way immersion.

As TWI programs proliferated, CAL continued to lead the field by setting basic standards for two-way immersion as criteria required for a program to be listed in the directory and by organizing a national effort to develop *Guiding Principles for Dual-Language Education* in 2003. These activities were informed by a long-term (and ongoing) program of research. Early studies focused on developing program profiles to define how the model works. Later research examined the impact of the TWI model on student achievement with a large-scale, longitudinal study of language and literacy development in elementary students in TWI programs. CAL researchers also

conducted a longitudinal study of spelling development of native-English- and native-Spanish-speaking children in two-way immersion and mainstream English programs. These two studies found that students from both language backgrounds improved their literacy skills over time and scored as well or better than their peers in non-TWI programs and that native Spanish speakers tended to develop more balanced bilingualism than native English speakers, whose Spanish is weaker than their English.

The availability of key resources and accurate information has been an important factor in the growth and success of TWI programs, and CAL has sought to fill those needs. Information is disseminated through its Web site, e-mail bulletins, print and online publications, and presentations at meetings, workshops, and conferences. CAL is often a source for print and broadcast media on this topic and received the 2-WAY California Association for Bilingual Education “Promoting Bilingualism” award in July 2006 for its work. In collaboration with practitioners and other researchers, CAL has developed a variety of resources for program implementation, such as the *Dual-Language Program Planner* and the *Guiding Principles for Dual-Language Education*. In the field of teacher professional development, CAL developed the *Two-Way Immersion Toolkit* and the *Two-Way Immersion Observation Protocol* (TWIOP), an adapted version of the SIOP.

Donna Christian

See also Castro Feinberg, Rosa; Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Christian, Donna; Dual-Language Programs; Heritage Language Education; National Literacy Panel; Newcomer Programs; SIOP

Further Readings

- August, D., & Shanahan, T. (2006). *Executive summary: Developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel on language-minority children and youth*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. Available from <http://www.cal.org/projects/archive/natlitpanel.html>
- Christian, D., & Genesee, F. (2001). *Bilingual education*. Alexandria, VA: TESOL.
- Dutcher, N. (2004). *Expanding educational opportunity in linguistically diverse societies*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics. Available from http://www.cal.org/resources/pubs/fordreport_040501.pdf
- Genesee, F., Lindholm-Leary, K., Saunders, W., & Christian, D. (Eds.). (2006). *Educating English language learners: A synthesis of research evidence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Howard, E., & Sugarman, J. (2007). *Realizing the vision of two-way immersion: Fostering effective programs and classrooms*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Howard, E., Sugarman, J., Lindholm-Leary, K., Christian, D., & Rogers, D. (2004). *Guiding principles for dual language education*. Available from <http://www.cal.org/twi/guidingprinciples.htm>
- Kloss, H. (1997). *The American bilingual tradition* (2nd ed.). McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Peyton, J., Ranard, D., & McGinnis, S. (2001). *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Tucker, G. R. (1986). Developing a language-competent American society. In D. Tannen & J. E. Alatis (Eds.), *Georgetown University roundtable on languages and linguistics 1985* (pp. 264–274). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Web Sites

Center for Applied Linguistics: <http://www.cal.org>
 National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition
 and Language Instruction Educational Programs:
<http://www.ncela.gwu.edu>

CHACÓN-MOSCONE LEGISLATION

In 1976, California assemblyman Peter Chacón and state senator George R. Moscone introduced Assembly Bill 1329: The Chacón-Moscone Bilingual Bicultural Education Act, making bilingual education mandatory in California. With support from a broad constituency, and after much debate in the state legislature, the bill became law. AB-1329 required that all limited- and non-English-speaking children enrolled in California’s public schools receive instruction in a language they understand and that school districts provide them access to a standard curriculum. The act also mandated that the state provide federal, state, and local dollars to pay for these services. For a decade, the Chacón-Moscone bill (as it came to be known) was the most progressive, single most important bilingual legislation in the country.

Pre-Chacón-Moscone

The political climate of the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s was ripe for the Chacón-Moscone bill. Minority groups involved in the civil rights movement pressed for their rights, as well as educational and economic opportunities. President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty" recognized that minority communities, particularly African Americans and Hispanics, were economically disadvantaged and needed federal support to provide their children with equal educational opportunities. Head Start programs targeted instruction to children from these communities and opened the door to the use of Spanish language instruction.

At the federal level, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) laid a foundation for legislation that transformed public education and ushered in a new era of bilingual education across the country, including California. Title VI banned discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin; declared a strong legislative policy against discrimination in public schools and colleges; and prohibited discrimination in all federally funded programs. The ESEA sparked a flurry of reforms, pouring in over \$11 billion per year to state educational agencies (SEAs), marking the most significant federal intervention in the history of American education. Until then, little had been done to ameliorate low academic performance among poor, immigrant, and non-English-speaking children in public schools. Congress passed Title VII of ESEA in 1968, the Bilingual Education Act, funding the first 68 bilingual education programs in the nation.

In 1972, the Massachusetts legislature passed the Transitional Bilingual Education Act, the first state-approved bilingual legislation in the nation, mandating bilingual education programs in all school districts with 20 or more children from the same non-English-language background. It would be the first of only nine states to require bilingual instruction in all school districts. In California, Assembly Bill 2284, the Chacón Discretionary Bilingual Education Act of 1972, became the state's first bilingual education bill. The Chacón bill allowed bilingual programs in all school districts with limited- and non-English-speaking children. California did not mandate bilingual education; instead, it permitted school boards broad discretion to address the educational needs of limited- and non-English-speaking children, allowing them to compete for available but limited program development dollars.

Nationally, in 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of Chinese American plaintiffs in the *Lau v. Nichols* case, a class action suit against the San Francisco Unified School District alleging discrimination against non-English-speaking students. The *Lau v. Nichols* decision, decided on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, was the most important Supreme Court decision to affect public education since *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), 20 years earlier. The *Lau* decision did not specifically mandate bilingual education, but proposed such programs, among others, as viable options to remedy discrimination in public schools.

By 1975, several precedent-setting court cases around the country recognized the civil rights of bilingual children, mandating bilingual education as a remedy. *Aspira v. Board of Education of the City of New York* (1973) called for a consent decree for obligatory bilingual education for all New York City children who needed it. In *Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools* (1974), the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals rejected the school district's appeal, finding violations of the students' Title VI civil rights, and ordered Portales Municipal Schools to implement bilingual and bicultural instruction; to assess language minority students' achievement; and to recruit and hire bilingual teachers and school personnel. *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver* (1973), was a school desegregation case. The U.S. Supreme Court found that the district had violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and ruled in favor of the plaintiffs. The district accepted a plan for bilingual and bicultural education presented by the Congress of Hispanic Educators.

In 1975, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and U.S. Office of Civil Rights (OCR) officials drew up the "*Lau Remedies*" to provide specific guidelines for school districts to establish educational programs to ensure compliance with the *Lau v. Nichols* decision. The *Lau Remedies* required that school districts provide programs of sound design, appropriateness of staff, and adequacy of resources. This was interpreted to mean bilingual and bicultural programs for limited- and non-English-speaking children.

Chacón-Moscone Bill of 1976

By 1976, in an era of expanding civil rights, it was the combined effect of federal legislation, U.S. Supreme Court decisions, and state mandates that reformed educational policy—and ultimately benefited limited- and

non-English-speaking children. Assemblyman Peter Chacón, recognized today as the father of bilingual education in California, and State Senator George Moscone joined forces to push for Assembly Bill 1329, the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual Bicultural Education Act. The Chacón-Moscone bill called for flexible bilingual program alternatives that ranged from transitional bilingual education to full-maintenance bilingual programs. Chacón-Moscone recognized and clearly articulated that mastery of English was absolutely critical for limited- and non-English-speaking children to benefit from equal educational opportunity. Significantly, it also reiterated the notion that English-only instruction was only one of several pedagogical approaches, but certainly not the only appropriate one for limited- and non-English-speaking children. The Chacón-Moscone bill also required that California provide supplemental financial support to schools to implement these programs.

The Chacón-Moscone bill mirrored the ideal programs suggested in the *Lau Remedies*. The legislation allowed for a broad range of flexibility in instructional programs to accommodate the range of diversity in public schools, recognizing the importance of the child's level of education and accommodating the skills each child brought to their respective classrooms. The following were among the instructional programs included:

1. Basic bilingual education programs, which built on students' language skills, with daily instruction leading to English acquisition, including structured English language development and primary-language development with basic skills instruction in subject matter content until the transfer to English was made. The amount of English language instruction increased as the skills levels of English increased.

2. Bilingual-bicultural education programs, which provided instruction in two languages, one of which was English. The purpose was to achieve competence in both languages. This was achieved by providing daily instruction in English language development, including listening and speaking skills. Formal reading and writing skills in English were to be introduced as appropriate criteria were met. Daily instruction also included primary-language development, reading instruction in the primary language, selected subjects taught in the primary language, and development of an understanding of the history and culture of the United States and California and the customs, cultures, and values of the pupils being taught.

3. Experimental bilingual programs, which included innovative programs and planned variation programs. In the former, schools were encouraged to experiment with new approaches, including team teaching and other acceptable programs of instruction, to expand children's learning experiences. In the latter, the focus was on the development of appropriate instruction for those children whose English language skills were superior to their language skills in their primary language.

4. Secondary-level language development programs were Grades-7-to-12 programs of prescriptive English language development, including listening and speaking skills and linguistic and grammatical structures. Instruction was based on a diagnosis of the child's English language skills. All instruction was to be done in English. In addition, however, secondary-language development programs were to provide primary-language instruction to sustain academic achievement in the content areas required for high school graduation. The legislation provided for either a certified bilingual/cross-cultural teacher or a language development specialist, as verified in writing by the school district that the teacher was competent to teach English as a Second Language (ESL). School districts that offered such programs were not required to provide individualized learning programs (ILPs) for their students, but were required to maintain records that documented parental notices and continuous evaluation of pupil needs and services provided.

5. Secondary-level individual learning programs were individualized instructional programs designed to meet the needs of limited-English-proficient students and to build on their language skills to develop proficiency in English. They included elementary-level ILPs, any program of instruction in which basic bilingual education programs, bilingual-bicultural education programs, or experimental bilingual programs were individualized to meet the educational needs of limited- or non-English-speaking children. It was the clearly stated goal of all such programs to teach the child English. In sum, program alternatives varied widely and offered every district viable options to comply with Chacón-Moscone.

Attack on Chacón-Moscone

The Chacón-Moscone bill was recognized as the most progressive bilingual legislation of its time, a model

to emulate. Other states subsequently modified their own bilingual legislation to include similar provisions in their programs. It was the first bill to require state certification of bilingual teachers, better training for nonbilingual teachers, and a fundamental understanding of the children's languages and cultures for all teachers who worked with limited- or non-English-speaking children. All bilingual teachers were expected to be proficient in the children's languages, and all teachers were to receive training in bilingual methodologies. These requirements would become a bone of contention for opponents of bilingual education.

School administrators balked at the teacher requirements, charging that it was impossible to fulfill these provisions. Hiring trained bilingual teachers was a challenge for public schools. Even with a large Latino population in California, teachers from Spanish-speaking backgrounds made up less than 5% of the teaching force at the time, both at the state and national levels. Even worse, the task of identifying and training a sufficient number of bilingual teachers for Mandarin, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Tagalog, and other languages was significantly more daunting. Complaints against these requirements swelled among associations of school administrators and nonbilingual teachers. Bilingual education soon became anathema to its opponents.

Within a year of its inception, opposition to bilingual education in California would grow steadily for the next decade. Opponents charged that bilingual programs and bicultural education were overly prescriptive, unwieldy, and inflexible. Many disputed the cost of bilingual programs and argued that the legislation expected too much from teachers. Nonbilingual teachers objected to retraining already certified teachers; and bilingual programs met with stiff resistance from the California Teacher's Association. School administrators railed against the legislation's record-keeping provisions, wanting the supplemental dollars guaranteed by the legislation but opposing restrictions on its use. Critics began to question the integrity of bilingual program leaders, charging that bilingual education was nothing more than a job program for Chicano educators. Some went so far as to brand bilingual education and educators as "un-American."

The publication in 1977 of Noel Epstein's highly influential book *Language, Ethnicity, and the Schools: Policy Alternatives for Bilingual-Bicultural Education* ushered even harsher criticism. A national education writer for the *Washington Post*, Epstein

questioned whether teaching ethnic languages and cultures was an appropriate role for the federal government and, by extension, the appropriate role of public education. Epstein was successful in reframing the question, asking whether it was the nation's responsibility to provide equal educational opportunity for all its children and whether the nation had any responsibility in teaching and maintaining non-English languages and cultures. Other critics maintained that the fundamental purpose of bilingual programs was to help students become competent in English and that English should be the sole language of instruction throughout the country. Implicit in this new position was the charge that bilingual programs did not teach English. Critics targeted maintenance bilingual programs, publicly called for a speedy transition away from them, first to transitional programs and then to English-only programs. Ultimately, Epstein's book would have devastating consequences on bilingual programs nationwide.

Reeling from the controversy ignited by the Chacón-Moscone bill, the California legislature moved to amend it in 1980. With waning public support for bilingual education throughout California and across the nation, Assemblyman Chacón and Senator Moscone introduced AB 507, the Bilingual Reform and Improvement Act, a significant revision of AB 1329. The compromise legislation was intended to thwart its critics, while strengthening and preserving its more progressive elements. AB 507 deemphasized bilingual education and expanded ESL and English-only instruction.

Sensing a changing mood in the country, the opposition pushed, unsuccessfully, for legislation at the federal level to eliminate bilingual education altogether and to declare English the official language of the country. Many states followed suit. The anti-immigration climate of 1987 provided its critics even more reasons to attack the Chacón-Moscone bill, charging that bilingual education was primarily an educational program for illegal immigrants and too costly for taxpayers.

In 1987, Governor George Deukmejian, a staunch opponent of bilingual education, refused to sign renewal legislation for bilingual education. Instead, he allowed it to sunset, effectively cutting off financial support for state-funded bilingual education. The legislative mandate for bilingual education in California was severely weakened. Several attempts were made to reintroduce more moderate bilingual legislation, but

the state legislature refused to consider it. A decade later, in 1998, Proposition 227, the English for the Children Initiative, effectively eliminated all bilingual education from California's public schools, replacing bilingual programs with English-only instruction.

In an ironic reversal, AB 1329, the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual Bicultural Education Act of 1976, became a catalyst for instigating a nationwide English-only movement, launching continued attempts to make English the official language of the country, and, by association, for fueling anti-illegal immigration debates.

John J. Halcón

See also English for the Children Campaign; English-Only Organizations; Epstein, Noel; *Lau v. Nichols*, San Francisco Unified School District's Response; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Proposition 227 (California); Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

- Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education, 394 F. Supp. 1161 (S.D.N.Y. 1975)
- Biegel, S., & Slayton, J. (1997). *Access to equal educational opportunity*. Los Angeles: UCLA Graduate School of Education. Retrieved from <http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/gseisdoc/study/equa12.html>
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Crawford, J. (1999). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Epstein, N. (1977). *Language, ethnicity, and the schools: Policy alternatives for bilingual-bicultural education*. Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership.
- Escamilla, K. (1989). *A brief history of bilingual education in Spanish*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED308055). Retrieved from <http://www.ericdigests.org/pre-9211/brief.htm>
- H. R. 7152, The Civil Rights Act of 1964. Pub L. No. 88–352. Retrieved from <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=97&page=transcript>
- Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO, 413 U.S. 921 (1973).
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974). Available from http://www.nabe.org/documents/policy_legislation/LauvNichols.pdf
- Lyons, J. (1988). *Legal responsibilities of education agencies serving national origin language minority students*. Chevy Chase, MD: Mid-Atlantic Equity Center. Retrieved from <http://www.maec.org/lyons/4.html>
- Office for Civil Rights. (1975). *Task-force findings specifying remedies available for eliminating past educational practices ruled unlawful under Lau v. Nichols*. Retrieved from <http://www.stanford.edu/~kenro/LAU/LauRemedies.htm>
- Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools—New Mexico (1973).

CHÁVEZ, LINDA (1947–)

Linda Chávez is a former Reagan administration official and former president of the U.S. English organization. She is a nationally syndicated columnist, talk radio show host, and television commentator. Chávez is a controversial figure in the U.S. Hispanic community for her conservative views on immigration, affirmative action, and bilingual education.

Chávez was born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on June 17, 1947, to an Irish-English-American mother and a Spanish American father. When she was 9 years old, her family moved to Denver, Colorado. She attended Catholic school there during her primary years and, later, the University of Colorado at Boulder, where she graduated with a BA in English in 1970. She later enrolled in the University of California—Los Angeles English and Irish Literature PhD program. While at UCLA, Chávez was asked to teach a Chicano literature course. Reluctant to add Chicano works to the course syllabus, Chávez was frequently harassed, along with her family, by her students and other militant campus Chicanos. She left the program in 1972 and relocated to Washington, D.C.

In Washington, Chávez began working for the Democratic National Committee, later assisted Congressman Don Edwards on civil rights issues, and in 1974 became a lobbyist for the National Education Association (NEA). Refusing to be pigeonholed as a lobbyist for Latino interests, however, Chávez left NEA for the more conservative American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in 1975. She served as the organization's assistant director of legislation for 2 years, then director of research and editor of its quarterly, *American Educator*. Over the next 6 years, she would pen numerous articles espousing traditional values in American schools and what she saw as the negative impact of quotas and bilingual education. Conservatives in Washington took notice of her political stance. She was invited to become a consultant to the Reagan administration in 1981 while still serving at AFT.

In 1983, President Reagan appointed Chávez to become the first female staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Her controversial tenure at that agency was marked by her advocating the reversal of traditional civil rights measures, including racial hiring quotas, and her views of the negative effects of affirmative action. In 1985, she was appointed director of the White House Office of Public Liaison, making her the highest-ranking woman in the Reagan White House team. She became a full-fledged Republican later that year. Embarking on a political career of her own, Chávez left the Reagan administration in 1986 to campaign for a U.S. Senate seat in Maryland on a conservative Republican platform. However, she was criticized for changing her party affiliation, her recent Maryland residency, and what some called mudslinging tactics against her opponent, Democrat Barbara Mikulski. Chávez lost the race.

Chávez left politics in 1987 to become president of U.S. English, the controversial nonprofit organization created by Senator S. I. Hayakawa to lobby for making English the official language of the country. She resigned in 1988, however, following the disclosure of an anti-Hispanic and anti-Catholic memo written by one of the organization's founders, John Tanton. After leaving U.S. English, Chávez became the John M. Olin Fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, a conservative think tank in Washington, D.C. In the early 1990s, she became director of the institute's Center for the New American Community, which studies the impact of multiculturalism on U.S. culture.

During the 1990s, Chávez became a noted print, radio, and television political commentator. Contributing pieces to a wide range of newspapers, magazines, and books, she wrote extensively on Latino topics and on what she perceived as the negative outcome of various governmental programs. During this period, Chávez also received a number of appointments, serving as chair of the National Commission on Migrant Education from 1988 to 1992, followed by a 4-year term as U.S. Expert to the United Nations Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. Her efforts did not go unnoticed, and in 2000, the Library of Congress honored Chávez as a "living legend" for her contributions to America's cultural and historical legacy.

In 2001, Chávez's reputation as a conservative Hispanic attracted the attention of President George W. Bush, who selected her to be his Secretary of Labor. During the confirmation process, however, it was revealed that Chávez had housed and provided money

to an illegal immigrant during the early 1990s. Amid a firestorm of opposition and media scrutiny, she withdrew her name from consideration.

Since 2006, Chávez has served as chairman of the Center for Equal Opportunity, a conservative, nonprofit public policy research organization she founded in 1995. She is president of Stop Union Political Abuse, a nonprofit grassroots organization; chairs the Latino Alliance, a federally registered political action committee; is a political commentator on the Fox News Channel; and is a nationally syndicated columnist and talk radio show host.

Gregory Pearson

See also Bilingual Education in the Press; English for the Children Campaign; English-Only Organizations; Latino Attitudes Toward English; Official English Legislation, Favored; Views of Bilingual Education; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Chávez, L. (2002). *An unlikely conservative: The transformation of an ex-liberal (Or how I became the most hated Hispanic in America)*. New York: Basic Books.
- Center for Equal Opportunity. (n.d.). *Linda Chávez*. Available from <http://www.ceousa.org>
- CNN.com. (2001, January 9). *Retribution sank nomination, Chávez says*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://transcripts.cnn.com/2001/ALLPOLITICS/stories/01/09/bush.wrap>
- Meier, M. S., & Gutiérrez, M. (2003). Linda Chávez, 1947–. In *The Mexican American experience: An encyclopedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Novas, H. (1995). Linda Chávez, 1947–. In *The Hispanic 100: A ranking of the Latino men and women who have most influenced American thought and culture*. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel.
- Oboler, S., & González, D. J. (2005). Linda Chávez. In *The Oxford encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schulz, J. D. (Ed.). (2000). Linda Chávez. In *Encyclopedia of minorities in American politics*. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx.

CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES

According to historical linguists, Sino-Tibetan Chinese is more like a language family than a single language made up of a number of regional dialects.

However, Chinese people often prefer to use the generic term *Chinese* when collectively referring to the various languages used in the country. This entry will adhere to that convention except as otherwise noted.

Usually, the Chinese language can be disaggregated into seven major dialect groups, called *Fangyan*: Mandarin, Wu, Gan, Xiang, Hakka, Yue, and Min. The northern varieties of Chinese are known as the Mandarin dialects. These dialects are spoken by more than two thirds of the Chinese people. Almost all of the Mandarin dialects are mutually intelligible. Cantonese, which is widely used in Hong Kong and the Guangdong province, falls under the Yue dialect group. In 1956, Mandarin Chinese was adopted as the official language of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

After the founding of the PRC in 1949, the country faced the problem of a very low literacy rate. To eliminate mass illiteracy, the government actively supported the simplification of Chinese traditional characters. Currently, simplified Chinese characters have been adopted in the PRC and Singapore, although in Taiwan, traditional characters are still widely used. In Chinese instruction overseas, both traditional and simplified Chinese characters are taught, depending on whether the textbooks were published in Taiwan or the PRC.

The Chinese people and their various languages have a long history in the United States. According to the decennial census, conducted in April 2000, the Chinese immigrant population in the United States exceeded 2 million persons, thus making up 0.8% of the total population. This group has been growing rapidly and constitutes a significant ethnic and linguistic group. Many of the children of recent immigrants, especially in New York and California, participate in bilingual education programs.

The history of Chinese immigration to the United States occurred in three major waves. The first wave of immigration started in the mid-19th century but was stopped by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This U.S. federal law arose from fears that too many Chinese immigrants would somehow damage the fabric of American culture. Public sentiment against Chinese immigrants of the times was similar to what is now being expressed against Spanish-speaking immigrants, especially Mexicans. A large proportion of Chinese immigrants from the first wave were poor peasants from Guangdong Province (Canton). Most of them spoke Cantonese.

The second wave of immigration started in the mid-20th century but decreased during the 1970s. This group of immigrants included anti-Communists from mainland China, bureaucrats, businessmen, and intellectuals, as well as some professionals from Taiwan and Hong Kong. The immigrants from mainland China and Taiwan spoke mostly Mandarin, and those from Hong Kong spoke Cantonese; both groups continued to use traditional Chinese characters as a means of communication. As social and political conditions in the PRC began to stabilize, the second wave of immigrants decreased considerably.

The third wave of immigration started in the last decades of the 20th century and continues today. The immigrants were composed of mainland Chinese from various socioeconomic backgrounds, with professionals as the most represented group. They spoke mainly Mandarin and used simplified Chinese characters to communicate. Part of the motivation to emigrate, specifically from Hong Kong, was the change in the political status of this territory, which was associated with the turnover of political control to the PRC.

The Chinese population in the United States has been characterized by a steady and fast growth over the past 40 years. The U.S. Census of 2000 indicated that the total Chinese population had grown from 435,000 in 1970 to over 2 million. It is estimated that a large portion of the Chinese population in the United States lives in the West and about 30% lives in the Northeast. California and New York are the states with the first- and second-largest Chinese immigrant communities, hosting about 40% and 18% of the total Chinese population, respectively.

Language has been a huge issue for Chinese immigrants in the United States. In 2000, the U.S. Census reported that nearly half the Chinese in the United States did not speak English at home or spoke English "less than very well." According to this source, Chinese persons did less well in speaking English when compared with other Asian groups. Despite the language disadvantage, 48.1% of Chinese in the United States had at least a bachelor's degree by 2000, although the place where they received their tertiary education was not reported. About one quarter of the Chinese population in the United States had less than a high school diploma.

An important historical feature of Chinese immigrants has been the phenomenon of Chinese community schools, where Chinese language, calligraphy, and culture are taught to the young. No matter how hard they have had to struggle to survive in the United

States to learn English, Chinese immigrants traditionally never stop urging their children to maintain their heritage language. In addition to immersing children in Chinese at home, many parents urge their children to attend Chinese language schools after regular school hours. Although Chinese immigrants come from different dialect backgrounds, when referring to Chinese heritage language in the United States, they normally mean Mandarin.

Most Chinese language schools are nonprofit schools, which are operated by parents and open on weekends or after regular school hours. The funding generally comes from tuition and fund-raising. Parents and communities provide great human resources to Chinese language schools, including instructors and staff. With more than 100 years of history, Chinese language schools have evolved into an organized and influential educational force that plays a significant role in Chinese language and culture preservation.

At the present time, Chinese programs target both nonheritage language learners and heritage learners. In many places, heritage learners are fewer than those who wish to learn Chinese as a foreign language. The growing interest in learning Chinese as a foreign language is not directly related to maintaining Chinese as a heritage language or as a language used in bilingual education, as that concept is defined in the United States. Overall, the Chinese language appears to enjoy an increased popularity that is likely to continue in the future. An important historical shift is that Chinese is now associated with higher-economic and social value than was the case in previous decades. This is motivating more heritage learners to maintain the language via public and private programs in which Chinese is taught and, collaterally, attracting nonheritage learners to learn Chinese.

Na Liu, Mengying Li, and Yun Teng

See also Chinese Language Study, Prospects; Heritage Language Education; Status Differences Among Languages

Further Readings

- Chang, I. (2003). *The Chinese in America*. New York: Penguin.
- College Board. (2004). *AP Chinese Q&A*. Available from http://www.collegeboard.com/prod_downloads/about/news_info/ap/qanda_english.pdf
- Guo, L. (2004). Between Putonghua and Chinese dialects. In M. Zhou & H. Sun (Eds.), *Language policy in the People's Republic of China: Theory and practice since 1949* (pp. 45–53). Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic.
- Norman, J. (1988). *Chinese*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ramsey, S. R. (1987). *The languages of China*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Census 2000 summary file 2 (SF 2) 100-percent data*. Available from <http://factfinder.census.gov>
- Wang, X. Y. (Ed.). (1996). *A view from within: A case study of Chinese heritage community language schools in the United States*. Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center.
- Wong, S. C., & Lopez, M. G. (2000). English language learners of Chinese background. In S. L. McKay & S. C. Wong (Eds.), *New immigrants in the United States: Readings for second-language learners* (pp. 263–305). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

CHINESE LANGUAGE STUDY, PROSPECTS

There is little question that the future prospects for Chinese language study in the United States are brighter than they have ever been. On a regular basis, articles in the widest possible range of press and media outlets speak of the 21st century as being “the Chinese century” in the areas of economics, politics, and technology. This scenario parallels earlier trends for the Russian language in the post-*Sputnik* years and the Japanese language during the 1980s. Russian and Japanese did not receive an impetus by government agencies, but the picture for Chinese seems brighter.

Many U.S. leaders recognize that for the United States to maintain its place among the world's superpowers, a deeper understanding of the language and culture of this country's greatest trade partner, China, is essential. Equally important is the recognition that for Chinese, a complex language with multiple dialects and varieties, the U.S. higher-education system alone cannot bring students to truly professional levels of language proficiency. This perception has yielded tangible results in the form of local, state, and federal economic incentive programs for developing long sequences of instruction in Chinese language and culture beginning at the elementary school level. The Chinese K–16 Pipeline Project, sponsored by the National Security Education Program (NSEP), is one

example of a locally based program. In addition, the creation of an Advanced Placement (AP) Chinese course and examination by the College Board, which began during the fall 2006 academic year, provides the potential for facilitating programmatic articulation both horizontally, among a wide core group of secondary schools, and vertically, between those secondary schools and the colleges and universities their students will subsequently attend. Given such conditions, one might be justifiably optimistic about the potential for a broadly based, well-articulated system to support and enhance Chinese language teaching.

Educational System Stakeholders

A potentially negative force in achieving momentum for moving in this direction is the existing system, or systems, that support Chinese language education in the United States. More specifically, it is the existence of a large and loose network of what have been alternately called Chinese “community schools,” “heritage language schools,” and “Saturday schools,” the latter designation based on the frequent need to hold classes on a Saturday, when either a public school building or church would be most readily available.

Originally established in the San Francisco Bay area during the early years of the 20th century, these community-based programs’ principal initial purpose was the preservation of Chinese customs and traditions among immigrant populations, with much emphasis on cultural awareness and a true education *in the language*, as opposed to taking classes in Chinese. Beginning in the 1950s, regionally based interaction and communication among these individual schools led to the formal creation of a number of community school organizations, in some cases preceding the establishment of the more mainstream college- and university-professor-based Chinese teacher organizations. The Chinese language teaching architecture is unique among all foreign-language educational systems in the United States. In support of teachers and learners of Chinese, four separate associations in three distinct institutional settings currently exist. For instance, the Chinese Language Teachers Association (CLTA), which serves mostly colleges and universities, includes among its members representatives from all major Chinese language teaching constituencies within the United States: K–12, community/heritage schools, and higher education. It is first and foremost an organization of tertiary-level teachers. Teachers at

the primary and secondary school levels rely on the Chinese Language Association of Secondary Elementary Schools (CLASS) as their forum. CLASS was established in 1987 in reaction to CLTA’s relative inability, and in some cases unwillingness, to respond to the needs of the precollegiate teaching and learning community.

Unique to the architecture of the foreign-language field in the United States are the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS) and the Chinese Schools Association in the United States (CSAUS). Both organizations were established in 1994, in partial response to the establishment of the Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT) II, Chinese with a listening section. NCACLS and CSAUS differ from CLTA and CLASS in that they are not individual membership organizations, but rather organizations of organizations. For example, NCACLS is a council of 15 regional Chinese community school organizations with primary connections to immigrant populations from Taiwan, and CSAUS is a single national organization with members consisting of individual schools, whose volunteer teaching and administrative staffs are largely immigrants or descendants of immigrants from the People’s Republic of China.

Beyond the complexity of the structure of the foreign-language field are the quantitative comparisons among these sectors in light of the conventional patterns of less commonly taught language such as Chinese, which finds its greatest institutional and instructional stronghold at the college/university setting. It is, in fact, quite the opposite, as revealed in the following data from the year 2002, the last year when comparable data compilations or estimates were available for all three institutional levels. According to a fall 2002 survey of foreign-language enrollments at U.S. institutions of higher education conducted by the Modern Language Association, Chinese courses had 34,153 students enrolled nationwide, and, in 2002, Chinese was the seventh most commonly studied language in American colleges and universities. Results indicated an enrollment increase of 20% since the last survey was taken in 1998.

A report on 2001/2002 Chinese enrollments at the precollegiate level conducted by the Secondary School Chinese Language Center (SSCLC) at Princeton University, in January 2002, presented statistics for that final year. These statistics revealed that the United States had 203 schools in 31 states that offered Chinese language classes, with a total student enrollment of

23,900. Grades 9 to 12 had 12,660 students; Grades 7 and 8 had 3,579 students; and kindergarten through Grade 6 had 7,661 students enrolled in Chinese classes.

According to the NCACLS Web site in 2002, student enrollment at NCACLS-affiliated Chinese community schools was estimated to be around 100,000. During the same time frame in 2002, CSAUS also reported student enrollment of approximately 60,000. With no claims being made for instructional program comparability across sectors, these data confirm that at least 70% of students studying Chinese in the United States in 2002 were doing so in community school settings. And while comprehensive surveys for K–12 and higher education have not yet been conducted, there is every indication that those percentages have not shifted significantly since 2002.

Extra-Educational Systemic Stakeholders

Further complicating the pattern of organizational support for Chinese language education in the 21st century is the emergence of new stakeholders interested in the development of Chinese language programs. During the last two decades of the 20th century, a number of primarily Washington, D.C.–based, nongovernmental organizations provided professional and material developmental support to the Chinese language field. Most notably, the Center for Applied Linguistics provided a series of Chinese proficiency tests. In addition, the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) supported the establishment of both CLASS and NCACLS and secured a 3-year grant for a Chinese Language Field Initiative funded by the Henry Luce Foundation. The latter venture is the first and only instance in which K–12, college, university, and heritage language institutional representatives have been brought together to develop a comprehensive design for the emerging Chinese language field.

A more recent addition to the total Chinese-dedicated, domestic nongovernmental community has been the Asia Society. In 2006, it created a position for an executive director for Chinese Language Initiatives, wrote a handbook laying out the basics for designing a Chinese language program at the precollegiate level, and produced two monographs on the topic of expanding Chinese language field capacity in the United States. The College Board was influential in helping expand the Chinese language field by developing the Chinese AP course and examination.

This places them very much within the realm of major stakeholders.

Foreign Governmental Organizations

Beyond American shores, there is no more critical player than the Office of Chinese Language Council International, formerly known as the National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language; it is also commonly referred to as the “Hanban,” the acronymic shorthand of its full title. Essentially, this addition of the Ministry of Education for the People’s Republic of China expands their global role to all aspects of promoting Chinese language education and extends from freely provided textbooks to the establishment of over 100 Confucius Institutes dedicated to the mission of Chinese language instruction. It may well rival and potentially surpass comparable models, such as the Alliance Française (French) and the Goethe Institute (German). In short, the stakeholders are many, but more extensive coordination is needed.

Bilingual Education Within the Chinese Language Field

What makes the community or heritage school community so significant within the context of bilingual education are the actors involved: students and even teachers who reside within not just those instructional settings, but within all Chinese language learning programs in the United States. They are representative of the vast continuum of what may be termed the *bilingual student*. Despite the inherent difficulty in defining just what a second-language learner of any language is, Chinese included, one can minimally identify three key constituencies that may prove to be major components within the Chinese language learning community in the United States for the 21st century.

For those teachers working in all Chinese language instructional settings in the United States today, the term *native listener* has become an increasingly prevalent label for students who are nonliterate (sometimes *preliterate*) and those who are nonfunctional speakers of the language, but who, by virtue of being exposed on a daily basis to the language, possess extraordinary receptive skills.

It should be pointed out that different forms of Chinese predominate in different parts of the People’s Republic of China. A significant population of young

men and women are aurally and orally proficient in a non-Mandarin dialect and are fully literate, by virtue of having received a full secondary-level precollegiate education. They are readers and writers of the Chinese script, but do not have sufficient Mandarin listening and speaking skills to function in the lingua franca. This diverse group first came to the attention of Western educators in 1997, when the initial tide of emigrants from Hong Kong left in anticipation of the impending change in the political and economic status of the city.

Another aspect of the development of the Chinese language educational field has been seen in the rise of programs in community schools specifically tailored to a growing social phenomenon of programs for students of non-Chinese-speaking parents, more recently termed as outreach to families with children from China. The change in terminology is particularly significant in that it represents a growth in the target constituency to include not just adoptive children, but also their generally non-Chinese-speaking adoptive parents. Such programs may over time ultimately provide experiential lessons in and models for how to most effectively teach both second- and foreign-language learners of Chinese and the wide range of iterations of Chinese heritage language learners.

Finally, the field of Chinese language teaching must grapple with the wide variety of languages and dialects that prevail in China today. Since some of these languages are aurally distinct, although they use the same writing system, there are challenges in this regard that do not exist among other language families.

Scott McGinnis

See also Chinese in the United States; Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus; Heritage Language Education; Modern Languages in Schools and Colleges

Further Readings

- Brecht, R., & Walton, A. R. (1994). National strategic planning the less commonly taught languages. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 532, 190–212.
- McGinnis, S. (2005, February). *Statistics on Chinese language enrollment*. Retrieved October 27, 2007, from http://clta.osu.edu/flyers/enrollment_stats.htm
- McGinnis, S. (in press). From mirror to compass: Chinese as a heritage language education in the United States. In D. M. Brinton & O. Kagan (Eds.), *Heritage language*

acquisition: A new field emerging. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Peyton, J. K., Ranard, D. A., & McGinnis, S. (2001).

Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics/Delta Systems.

Stewart, V., & Wang, S. (2005). *Expanding Chinese language capacity in the United States*. New York: Asia Society.

Walton, A. R. (1996). Reinventing language fields: The Chinese case. In S. McGinnis (Ed.), *Chinese pedagogy: An emerging field* (pp. 29–79). Columbus, OH: Foreign Language Publications.

CHRISTIAN, DONNA (1949–)

Donna Christian, president of the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) since 1994, was born in Schenectady, New York, on November 14, 1949. Following graduation from St. Lawrence University, from which she earned a BS degree in mathematics in 1971, she moved to Washington, D.C., to attend Georgetown University. There, in 1973, she completed an MA degree in applied linguistics, with a minor in French, and in 1978, a PhD in sociolinguistics, with specialization in language variation and minors in applied linguistics and theoretical linguistics.

Christian began her career at CAL in 1974. CAL is a private, nonprofit organization that works to promote and improve the teaching and learning of languages, serves as a resource on issues related to language and culture, and conducts research on critical topics in those areas. As a research associate there, Christian participated in studies funded by the U.S. Department of Education and privately supported studies on the relationship between linguistic diversity and access to education. In 1979, she took a leave of absence from CAL to serve as a Fulbright Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Poland, for 2 years.

After returning to CAL, Christian served as associate director, director of the Research Division, and director of the English Language and Multicultural Education Division. During this time, she served as a member of the Stanford Working Group on Federal Education Programs for Limited-English-Proficient Students, chaired by Kenji Hakuta, which advised on reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act. She also served as associate director of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, coordinated

CAL's work for the UCLA-based Center for Language Education and Research, and codirected an evaluation of the bilingual program in the Red Clay Consolidated School District (Wilmington, Delaware). Christian's professional life during this time included a number of adjunct faculty appointments at nearby universities, including the University of Virginia School of Education, Northern Virginia Center; the Georgetown University Linguistics Department; and the George Washington University School of Education, where she taught courses in sociolinguistics and education geared to the professional preparation of teachers of English language learners.

Under Christian's leadership, CAL has conducted pivotal work in the development of two-way immersion as an effective means of promoting bilingualism. Two-way immersion programs integrate language minority and language majority students, providing instruction in both English and the native language of the language minority students. The structure of these programs varies, but they all integrate students for most content instruction and provide this instruction in the non-English language for a significant portion of the school day. In addition to supporting bilingualism and biliteracy, these programs strive to promote grade-level academic achievement and positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors in all students. Beginning in the 1980s, Christian directed a series of projects on two-way immersion education, including an extended research program under the auspices of three federally funded research centers: the Center for Language Education and Research at UCLA and, at the University of California, Santa Cruz, the National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning and the Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence. Her extensive work laid the foundation for CAL's ongoing research, professional development, and preparation of resources for educators in this area.

Since her appointment as CAL's president, Christian has played an advisory role on many of CAL's activities related to bilingualism, including the biliteracy research program on Developing Literacy in Spanish Speakers and the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth, both federally funded initiatives. Christian's contributions to the field of bilingual education also include numerous publications on the effectiveness of two-way education and the development of two-way immersion programs. In addition, during Christian's tenure as president, CAL has expanded its resource offerings in bilingualism with

new professional development resources for teachers and a series of how-to publications on two-way immersion programs.

Christian is frequently asked to consult outside of CAL on issues of research, policy, and practice, and she has advised government policymakers on current language learning research and encouraged them to formulate language education policies with input from the field of applied linguistics. She currently serves on the editorial boards of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* and the *Heritage Language Journal* and on the board of directors of the International Research Foundation on English Language Education (TIRF) and the Advisory Board of the Hispanic Family Literacy Institute (National Center for Family Literacy).

In recognition of her contributions to the field of bilingual education, in 2006, Christian received the Promoting Bilingualism award from 2wayCABE, an affiliate of the California Association of Bilingual Education. The certificate acknowledges Christian's promotion of substantive research and program development in two-way immersion and her advocacy of bilingualism and biliteracy throughout the United States.

Deborah Kennedy

See also Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus; Hakuta, Kenji; LaFontaine, Hernán; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; National Literacy Panel; Stanford Working Group

Further Readings

- Christian, D., & Genesee, F. (Eds.). (2001). *Bilingual education*. Alexandria, VA: TESOL.
- Christian, D., & Howard, L. (2003). *Two-way immersion 101: Designing and implementing a two-way immersion education program at the elementary level*. Santa Cruz: University of California, Santa Cruz, Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence, and Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Christian, D., Howard, E., & Sugarman, J. (2003). *Trends in two-way immersion education: A review of the research* (Report No. 63). Baltimore: Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk.
- Christian, D., Howard, L., Lindholm-Leary, K., Sugarman, J., & Rogers, D. (2005). *Guiding principles for dual-language education*. National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition/Center for Applied Linguistics. Available from <http://www.cal.org/twi/guidingprinciples.htm>

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlaws “national origin discrimination” by public entities that receive federal financial assistance. In part, the bar against national origin discrimination has been construed as a bar against language discrimination. The act is the U.S. government’s primary tool to ensure that states and school districts receiving federal funds meet the needs of English learners in schools.

Historically, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, specifically Title VI of the law, was of assistance to private individuals subjected to language discrimination. It is of less moment to private parties today due to the passage in 1974 of the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA), which mandates school districts to meet the needs of students with limited English proficiency, and the U.S. Supreme Court’s *Alexander v. Sandoval* (2001) decision, discussed here, which requires private litigants to prove intentional discrimination. The EEOA specifically allows private enforcement and does not require proof of intentional discrimination. Thus, EEOA has become the principal means for private enforcement of the rights of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students.

Historical Background

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has its genesis in the civil rights movement that enveloped the nation, particularly the South, in the years following the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) desegregating U.S. public elementary schools. That decision produced massive opposition from Whites in the South and racial violence aimed against Blacks and their supporters. Bombings and lynchings in the South were met by massive civil disobedience as hundreds of “Freedom Riders” joined southern Blacks in attempts to register voters and desegregate businesses, public transportation, swimming pools, and all institutions of the segregated South and, later, of the large urban centers of the North. Lacking political clout, Blacks flooded the federal courts with lawsuits to enforce *Brown* and to utilize *Brown* to end all forms of racial segregation, including public accommodations. Some of that litigation was successful. However, America’s schools overwhelmingly remained segregated.

In August 1963, the civil rights movement, joined by church congregations, women’s groups, and labor

unions, conducted a massive march on Washington. Through all of this strife, the federal government continued to fund segregated entities throughout the country. A major demand of the protests was an end to this federal support of segregation.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the formal entrance of the U.S. Congress into the civil rights struggle that defined the United States in the 1960s. The law had seven titles:

- I. Voting rights protections
- II. Equal access to public accommodations
- III. Authorization for the U.S. Attorney General to initiate school desegregation suits.
- IV. The establishment of a federal Community Relations Service to stop racial violence.
- V. Extension of the law creating the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
- VI. Prohibiting federal funding to programs that discriminated on the basis of race, color, or national origin
- VII. The establishment of a commission on equal employment opportunities

The Black struggle for civil rights spread to other groups, including women, people with disabilities, and language minorities. With respect to language minorities, a demand for an equal educational opportunity was paramount. Segregation had been challenged by the Latino community as far back as the 1940s, with the successful case of *Méndez v. Westminster School District* (1946) in California. Even when schools were desegregated, however, Latinos, Asians, and other language minorities struggled for culturally appropriate curricula and for comprehensible instruction.

Title VI and Its Effects

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides as follows:

No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

The concept was a simple one; taxpayer money should not be used to further discrimination against any persons who paid such taxes.

Because most state education agencies (SEAs) and local school districts or education agencies (LEAs) receive federal funds, they may not discriminate on the basis of race, color, or national origin. The agency charged by Congress with enforcing this law, the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) in the U.S. Department of Education, has interpreted the phrase *national origin* to include LEP students, and this interpretation has been accepted in numerous court cases.

Title VI was not self-enforcing. Rather, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) was charged with the task of law enforcement, a task that has fallen on its successor, the OCR. Title VI contained a detailed enforcement mechanism, a political compromise that made it extremely difficult to terminate federal assistance. Those administering the law had discretion as to whether to act at all. Over the years, the vigor with which Title VI has been enforced has waxed and waned, depending on the will of the executive branch.

According to its provisions, all rules for the enforcement of Title VI were to be approved by the president of the United States. This task is often delegated by the president to the Office of Management and Budget, ostensibly because that unit is most knowledgeable about cost implications on the agencies affected. Attempts to seek “voluntary compliance” prior to fund termination were made mandatory. No funds could be terminated without notice and a full hearing, similar to a court proceeding before a federal administrative law judge. If a decision was made to terminate funds, a written report to Congress had to be made. Finally, the allegedly discriminating agency could seek an appeal to a federal court. These provisions of Title VI have made it less than practical to withdraw funds from any offending agency of government. The process is simply too cumbersome and subject to the political winds blowing at any particular moment. Nonetheless, Title VI has played an important role in litigation affecting English language learners (ELLs) at all levels.

It is important to consider the political context for the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1965, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Title VII of the act, added in 1968, was the federal government’s first attempt to specifically meet the needs of LEP students by providing monies to

fund programs and to provide teacher training, books, and parental involvement. The 1960s also are noted for the “War on Poverty” and its legal services component. For the first time, attorneys could assist LEP students in securing their rights in federally funded programs. Finally, the era was marked by immigration reforms aimed at eliminating discriminatory preferences based on race and place of birth. Restrictions on immigration from Asia were also abolished.

On May 25, 1970, DHEW issued guidance to school districts that explicitly interpreted the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to English language learners. (The U.S. Department of Education did not yet exist.) In a widely circulated memorandum, Stanley Pottinger, director of the Office for Civil Rights in DHEW, wrote as follows:

Where the inability to speak or understand the English language excludes national origin–minority group children from effective participation in the education program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

The memorandum further prohibited schools from misclassifying students who needed language instruction by placing them in classrooms for the mentally retarded. Ability grouping could be used to enhance language education but could not become permanent dead ends. The memorandum went on to inform school districts that they have the responsibility to adequately notify LEP parents of school activities that are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice, in order to be adequate, may have to be provided in a language other than English. That provision of compliance practice is still in effect.

***Lau v. Nichols* and the *Lau* Remedies**

Opposition and/or inattention to the law and subsequent regulations led to litigation, around the U.S. Chinese students who were denied special programming and went to court in San Francisco, arguing that their rights under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act were being violated. In *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court agreed with the students and held that “there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks,

teachers and curriculum,” for students who do not understand English are “effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.” Classroom experiences for these students would be “wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.”

The Supreme Court decision in *Lau* did not determine a remedy for the violation of the student’s rights. Rather, the Court noted that this was the responsibility of the federal executive branch, in this case the OCR in the U.S. Department of Education. The Court avoided passing on the merits of the bilingual education versus English as a second language (ESL) controversy. It did, however, validate the May 25th memo issued by DHEW. As a direct result of the decision, the San Francisco Unified School District adopted a transitional bilingual education master plan approved by the federal district court.

Congress quickly codified *Lau* by passing the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA) of 1974. The statute provides as follows:

No state shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex or national origin, by . . . (f) the failure of an educational agency to take *appropriate* action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs. (emphasis added)

These two pieces of legislation, Title VI and the EEOA, were subsequently utilized in tandem in further litigation to improve the education of LEP students in particular cases where litigation was appropriate.

Neither EEOA nor Title VI defined what constitutes “appropriate action.” Language minority parents and students frequently demanded bilingual-bicultural maintenance programs or, at the very least, primary-language instruction in the subject matters. This was urged to prevent students from falling behind in other subjects while learning English. Schools generally decided to offer much less: ESL programs conducted in English, with bilingual paraprofessionals assisting in content areas (math, science, social studies) when paraprofessionals or teachers aides were available. Frustrated parents continued their struggle in the courts and in Washington.

In August 1975, DHEW issued policy guidelines titled “Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful” under *Lau v. Nichols*. The document,

popularly referred to as the “*Lau* Remedies,” was never published in the *Federal Register*; and thus the Remedies did not become regulations. They did, however, guide DHEW (and subsequently Department of Education) staff in their efforts to assist language minority students.

The *Lau* Remedies for the first time detailed certain components of an “appropriate” program for language minority students. In keeping with explicit language in the decision, the Remedies went further than the Court decision in *Lau*, requiring districts to educate students in their primary language when it was their strongest language and until they could compete in English-only settings. For the first time, districts were required to identify students in need of a program, evaluate students’ proficiency in English, determine an appropriate instructional program, determine when students were ready to be transferred into the mainstream program, and determine teacher qualifications. Pursuant to these remedies, DHEW conducted hundreds of reviews and negotiated plans with districts to meet the needs of LEP students. The federal courts were also kept busy at the task of fleshing out the requirements of the law. Most of these plans required a level of native-language instruction for LEP students. State legislatures were also active during the 1970s in passing laws, some of which mandated limited bilingual education programs. At the peak of this stage of civil rights protection, 16 states passed laws or enacted regulations requiring some form of bilingual education in their schools.

In 1980, the new U.S. Department of Education sought to refine the *Lau* Remedies and to turn them into regulations that would be binding on all school districts across the country. Formally known as a “Notice of Proposed Rulemaking,” the proposed *Lau* regulations and their interpretation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were considered by many to be overly prescriptive given the great diversity of students and differing needs and abilities of different schools, states, and regions. Before the new administration took office, the proposed *Lau* regulations were withdrawn. Since that time, the OCR in the U.S. Department of Education has utilized internal memoranda and other policy documents to evaluate school district compliance under Title VI.

Today, without the benefit of published regulations and often relying on the EEOA as well as Title VI, the OCR looks at identification, assessment, programming, exit criteria, teacher qualifications, evaluation,

prohibitions against segregation, and the like to determine whether the district is upholding its obligations under *Lau*. Theoretically, all school programs and activities, including gifted and talented programs, should be equally accessed by LEP students. Students with disabilities who are also LEP fare best under the policies, since they have a whole body of additional disability law to protect them. School districts at the time of this writing are allowed considerable discretion by the OCR in how these children are served.

The *Castañeda* Standard

In evaluating whether a district program meets Title VI, the OCR often follows a case decided under the EEOC. In the case of *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981), the court set out a three-pronged test to determine whether LEP student rights were being violated. This test is discussed elsewhere in this encyclopedia. It is important to point out, however, that the *Castañeda* court made a few other critical rulings that have contributed to broaden the definition of protection offered by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. First, LEP students must be provided not only the opportunity to learn English but also the opportunity to have access to the school district's entire educational program. Thus, the adequacy of a district's response is measured by determining how each of the three responsibilities is addressed, using the three prongs as a guideline. Second, the court left the following open to the district,

The sequence and manner in which LEP students tackle this dual challenge so long as the schools design programs which are reasonably calculated to enable these students to attain parity of participation within a reasonable length of time after they enter the school system.

Although decided under the EEOA, the *Castañeda* standard has been adopted by the federal government pursuant to Title VI as its rule for enforcement. Individuals can invoke Title VI by filing a complaint with the U.S. Department of Education. The individual can be a parent, student, teacher, or advocacy organization; indeed, anyone can file a complaint. This need not be a formal process and may be done in a parent's home language. Complaints can be filed online or simply by a letter setting forth the contentions that a school or district is not providing an adequate program to LEP students. This is sufficient

to trigger OCR review. The greater the detail, the larger the number of complainants involved; or the involvement of advocacy organizations often enhances the likelihood of the OCR taking the complaint seriously. While the ultimate remedy of fund cutoff is theoretically possible, this remedy is rarely invoked. Rather, many complaints lead to a negotiated settlement that can, if adequately monitored, result in improved services. Individuals may also file complaints with the SEA.

Remedies under Title VI (or the EEOA) often address identification issues, premature reclassification, teacher qualifications, resources, adequacy of ESL, and access to the curriculum as set forth in *Castañeda*. While the failure to provide native-language instruction or bilingual programming has not in recent years been found to be a cause per se of a Title VI violation, it may become part of a remedy. Some advocates believe that in certain circumstances, a court might find the failure to deliver such programming to be an affirmative legal failure, but no court has found as such since the early 1980s.

Other Cases

Finally, in a series of cases, federal courts have held that "federal law imposes requirements on the State Agency to ensure that plaintiff's language deficiencies are addressed" (e.g., *Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education*, 1981, and *Gómez v. Illinois State Board of Education*, 1987). All of these cases have relied to some degree partially or totally on the protection afforded by the Civil Rights Act and the EEOA. It is also worth noting that the OCR, which enforces Title VI (but not the EEOA), has nonetheless adopted the state agency accountability standards of *Castañeda* and has issued a variety of documents over the years to clarify their interpretation of the nexus between these two laws. The last policy update occurred in 1991. These documents, like the *Lau* Remedies, have not been formalized into regulations, but are still relied on by the OCR.

By means of these legal tools, many derived from precedents in interpreting Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, advocates have negotiated a number of important court agreements expending protections for LEP students. For example, *LULAC v. Florida Board of Education* (1990) defines rights for Florida's massive LEP population. Similarly, *El Comité de Padres v. Honig* (1995) requires the state of California to monitor and enforce the state's laws regarding LEP students.

Conclusion

It should be noted that the future of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is uncertain. A recent U.S. Supreme Court decision prohibits the private enforcement of Title VI. In *Alexander v. Sandoval* (2001), the Court held that Title VI does not permit individuals to sue to stop practices that appear neutral on their face but have the effect of discriminating by creating a “disparate impact” on minorities. This ruling flew in the face of hundreds of suits previously allowed by the federal courts in the education area, along with a host of other issues including environmental racism. Post-*Sandoval*, only the U.S. government can file such suits. Individual suits will be allowed only if the plaintiffs can prove intentional discrimination, a very difficult standard to meet.

In the future, the close nexus between EEOA and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 may be altered. *Sandoval* does not apply to actions brought under the EEOA, nor does it prohibit state court actions. States such as California have passed their own versions of Title VI. However, there has been very little notable state court action on this issue, and it remains to be seen whether state court action can fill in the void. Congress has been presented with bills to overrule *Sandoval* but has yet to act and allow private rights of action. However, while access to the courts may be curtailed in light of *Sandoval*, complaints by individuals can still be filed with the OCR in the U.S. Department of Education. The OCR can also initiate its own enforcement activities and investigate school districts without the filing of a complaint.

Stefan M. Rosenzweig

Author's Note: The author wishes to thank Peter D. Roos, Esq., for valuable editorial assistance.

Editor's Note: Because they are often used in tandem, this entry on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should be read in conjunction with the entry on the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974.

See also Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974; *Lau v. Nichols*, Enforcement Documents; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education

Further Readings

Alexander v. Sandoval, 532 U.S. 275 (2001).
Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
Civil Rights Act of 1964, Pub. L. No. 88-352 (1964).
Crawford, J. (2005). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
El Comité de Padres v. Honig, No. 281824 (Superior Ct. Sacramento County, 1995).
Equal Educational Opportunity Act, 20 U.S.C. 1701-1720 (1974).
Gómez v. Illinois State Board of Education, 811 F.2d 1030 (7th Cir. 1987).
Halpern, S. C. (1995). *On the limits of the law: The ironic legacy of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education, 647 F.2d 69 (9th Cir. 1981).
Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
LULAC v. Florida Board of Education, C.A. # 90-1913-M (S.D. Fla. 1990).
Méndez v. Westminster School District, 64 F. Supp. 544 (S.D. Cal. 1946).
U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights. Customer service standards for the case resolution process. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/customerservice.html>

CLAD/BCLAD

See BILINGUAL TEACHER LICENSURE

CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

Oral communication is an essential component of schooling, without a doubt the single most important vehicle of interaction between teacher and students, as well as among students, as they discuss concepts and ideas. It is also the principal way through which learning is demonstrated. For this reason, the spoken word, or speech, is generally considered to be the most important mediator of student learning. The study of classroom discourse is concerned with the use of oral communication in educational processes. Courtney Cazden points out that whereas the word *discourse* is used to refer more generally about “talk,” it is also used to refer to communication that is socially positioned involving systems of shared meanings and social practices. In this sense, discourse is always ideological, as it

reflects the values, beliefs, and social practices of the community or institution in which it occurs. At the same time, certain types of discourse (e.g., academic discourse) can privilege certain types of students (e.g., White, middle class), while leaving other students who belong to different cultures and linguistic communities at a disadvantage.

As a mediator in student learning, discourse not only allows students access to knowledge but also interacts with students' own subject knowledge and cultural knowledge and acts as a tool for coconstructing meaning and learning with teachers and fellow students. In this sense, discourse may act as a scaffold that allows knowledge to be constructed in the classroom community with the aid of the teacher or peers, to be appropriated by individual students. By repeatedly participating in activities mediated by discourse, students become participants in different social contexts, including the classroom.

Research Findings

Early research in classroom discourse was concerned with the structure of classroom communication. Different types of participant structures, or ways in which turns are allocated in an interaction, were noted by Susan Philips, including (1) teacher/whole group, (2) teacher/small group, (3) students working independently, and (4) students interacting in small groups. The first of the four, in which the teacher addresses the group as a whole, is the dominant structure, and, consequently, classroom communication is dominated by teacher talk, which in this case refers to all the utterances produced by the teacher. Teachers initiate interaction at significantly higher rates than students. Research in classroom interaction, including Cazden's and Hugh Mehan's, has documented that roughly two thirds of all utterances in classroom interaction are produced by the teacher.

The most documented and most common form of talk in classroom interaction is a three-turn sequence referred to as *initiation-response-evaluation* (IRE) or *initiation-response-feedback* (IRF). This type of interaction has been considered somewhat of a norm or the "default pattern" in classroom communication. It is characterized by the teacher asking a question or giving a prompt, students responding, and the teacher giving an evaluation, feedback, or follow-up. This pattern of interaction is most noticeable during teacher-led activities in which the teacher controls

both the topic of conversation and the allocation of turns. In this type of interaction, there is usually an expected answer, or at least a range of satisfactory answers, to which the teacher responds. When the response is not satisfactory, the sequence takes an extended form until reaching closure by the teacher giving a satisfactory evaluation. Mehan documented this type of interaction and observed that teachers prompt replies, repeat, and simplify elicitations until accepting students' responses and reaching a satisfactory conclusion to the interaction.

Mehan also described classroom lessons as being hierarchically structured, with the IRE sequence at the base, forming *topically related sets*, chunks of conversation linked by a common theme or topic, which in turn form *phases*, which constitute a *lesson*. In this structure, the teacher is seen as an orchestrator of classroom discourse, most of the time having control of both the topic of interaction and how this interaction is conducted. However, students are active participants and play a critical role in the successful orchestration of lessons. They work together with teachers in providing responses and demonstrating communicative competence in this type of discourse. Improvisation also plays a part as participants, both teachers and students, adapt to the variations in the complex environment called *classroom*.

Although this triadic form of interaction is prevalent in classroom discourse, researchers such as Philips and Cazden observed variations as teachers or students engaged in *narrative discourse*, which is more monologic in nature. Narratives involve a sequence of events, and the speaker is allowed a much longer turn; responses serve the purpose of clarification rather than evaluation. These include stories, reports, descriptions, and explanations. Unlike everyday storytelling, however, school narratives are subject to the control of the teacher, whose responses usually relate to the appropriateness of topic and/or way to talk about it. Cazden observed two types of narratives during sharing time, which she labeled as *topic centered* and *episodic*. While topic-centered stories revolve around one main topic and have a clear beginning and end, episodic stories move from one event to another; and shifting scenes last longer in episodic than in topic-centered stories. These represent two different cultural models of what stories should look like. Cazden reported that teachers value the first kind, while not always understanding the second. Cultural differences in how to construct stories

may conflict with mainstream teachers' views of how narrative should take place in the classroom. Researcher Shirley Brice Heath observed a "mismatch" between students' "ways with words" and teachers' expectations when students did not come from White middle-class backgrounds.

Cazden also notes other variations in classroom discourse, which involve change in participant structure, the purpose of talk, the medium of interaction, and, as noted previously, cultural differences among students. When teachers interact with only some of the students in small groups or one-on-one during conferences or when students ask for help, interactions take a different form and in many instances diverge from the IRE pattern. Other factors that allow for variations in lesson structure depend on how speaking rights are distributed and whether students have the opportunity of self-selecting as opposed to being selected by the teacher. When students address each other directly instead of the teacher being the addressee of their responses, other structures in conversation are observed. This also happens when teachers make an effort to move from questioning students to using declarative statements, reflective statements, or invitations to elaborate or remain silent, allowing students more time to respond and to elaborate on their own responses. Whether instruction is carried out in real time or through electronic media has an important impact in the structure of participation, as there is a lapse in time that allows for more elaboration. Electronic media also allows for simultaneous participation and the occurrence of multiple conversations or threads.

Importance of Cultural Factors

Cultural differences make up one of the most important factors in how interaction occurs in the classroom, as this involves the participants and their perceptions and cultural expectations of a given event. Cultural differences are also among the most difficult factors of interactions to identify and track. As with many other human behaviors, patterns of teacher-student interaction are culturally based and certain patterns cannot be considered "natural" in any sense. What is expected from students in one culture may be completely inappropriate in another. The demands of classroom discourse are new to all children, such as being in large groups, segregated by age, and differences in cultural understandings regarding participation in a given event

may interfere with how lessons are conducted. In the United States, while students from White, middle-class families come to school with a set of understandings that may be finely attuned to the school culture, students from other cultural and linguistic backgrounds have historically had problems in adapting to the communicative expectations of their classrooms.

Children who come from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds often bring with them a different set of communicative expectations and interaction rules. Unlike mainstream children who are familiar with patterns of interaction that include cross-examination and tasks similar to what they encounter in schools, minority children bring to school a different set of cultural experiences. Heath, in her famous study of three communities in Appalachia, found that the "ways with words" of the three communities were very different, including narrative styles, organization of communication between infants and caregivers, participant structures, and communicative competence. Other researchers, like Philips and Ron and Suzanne Scollon, who have worked with Native American communities, observed different patterns of community activity and communication styles, including cultural assumptions, orientation to tasks, participation and roles in interaction, right to speak, wait-time, turn allocation, addressing the group rather than individual, and the presentation of the self. These cultural and communicative differences have been shown to have an important impact on how minority students and their communicative competences are perceived by teachers and the educational system. In many cases, different cultural and linguistic backgrounds entail a differential treatment and differential access to literacy. These students fail to respond to school situations such as tests that are frequently administered under conditions that seem unfamiliar and at times threatening. When instructional and elicitation conditions are changed, there is often a radical improvement in student response.

Linguistically diverse students also come to school with a range of communicative competences that in many instances include the use of multiple languages. Bilingual/multilingual discourse includes the alternate use of more than one language in the form of code switching or code mixing. While scholars disagree strongly, many teachers still regard code switching as an aberration that interferes with the use of standard language. Bilingual and bidialectic students also bring distinct ways of pronouncing and enunciating words

and sentences that include different sets of homophones and hypercorrections. While these differences in language and ways of communicating may or may not have implications for literacy instruction, they have a significant influence on a teacher's expectations and, consequently, on the learning environment. For example, many times teachers focus on form instead of meaning when confronted with language that differs from the standard norm. However, researchers such as Heath and Ana Celia Zentella have shown that all dialects and bilingual ways of communicating, including code switching, are rule governed and culturally appropriate to those who use them; hence the importance of understanding code alteration and its meaning in everyday interaction. Looking at communicative competence as knowledge not only of grammatical structure but also of the relationship between form and functions of language, which are embedded through language use in social life, and conceptualizing language in terms of difference rather than deficit are important steps in recognizing the linguistic and cultural competences and resources that students bring to classroom interaction. This involves a shift from students simply assimilating the type of language favored in the classroom and focusing on appropriateness to a more active student role in acquiring or appropriating certain language forms for their own "benefit" or use.

Discourse and Dialogue

Allowing for a variety of communicative and instructional patterns that range from more monologic and teacher centered to a dialogue between students and teacher enhances students' opportunities to display their communicative competences and become active members of the classroom community. This is especially important when considering discourse as an integral part of speakers' identities and cultural construction of reality. Discourse both relates to and defines such reality, reflecting and playing a crucial role in the formation of participants' identities as members of a community of practice. As children take control of new ways of talking, thinking, and being, discourse becomes a mediator in the formation of their identities as "students." Furthermore, different types of discourses, including oral and written forms, are becoming increasingly important in today's information society. Providing opportunities for students to learn these new forms of discourse, which integrate

information technology, may provide more equitable opportunities for them and improve their linguistic and cultural competences as they become members of a globalized society. However, given the current focus on standardization and accountability and the widespread use of scripted curricula, making space for this variation in classroom discourse becomes increasingly more difficult for both teachers and students.

Valentina Canese

See also BICS/CALP Theory; Code Switching; Discourse Analysis; Language and Identity; Social Learning; Vygotsky and Language Learning

Further Readings

- Cazden, C. B. (2001). *Classroom discourse: The language of teaching and learning* (2nd ed.). Westport, CT: Heinemann.
- Cazden, C. B., John, V. P., & Hymes, D. (Eds.). (1972). *Functions of language in the classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hicks, D. (Ed.). (1996). *Discourse, learning, and schooling*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Mehan, H. (1979). *Learning lessons*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Philips, S. (1983). *The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Reservation*. New York: Longman.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1981). *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

CLASSROOM LANGUAGE

See BICS/CALP THEORY

CODE SWITCHING

Spanglish, Franglais, Konglish, mix-mix, and pocho are examples of the generally pejorative labels for alternation between languages, formally known by linguists as *code switching*, probably the most

misunderstood and unjustifiably maligned form of bilingual behavior in the world. As demonstrated by researchers studying the phenomenon for the past half century, however, code switching is really a most remarkable ability, worthy to be admired rather than disrespected and criticized. This entry presents what is known about code switching, a skill that has already yielded insights into children's behavior in the process of acquiring two or more languages.

Common Misunderstandings About Code Switching

The mistaken idea that code switchers are somehow confused between their two (or more) languages comes primarily from monolinguals who are unable to conceive how anyone could switch languages so effortlessly. Their monolingual brains are unable to process the rapid alternation between languages, and they erroneously imagine that the code-switching speakers are unable to keep their languages separate. This popular misconception was explained by a Texas professor of Spanish who responded to a complaint that code switchers were confusing their languages: "When the students are in my class, they speak only Spanish, and in their other classes they speak only English. But when they get together in the cafeteria for lunch, they freely code-switch with one another."

Others—equally uninformed about the nature of language—object to code switching because they see it as threatening the supposed purity of their language, although with respect to language, the notion of purity has no basis in fact. The Spanish professor's response likewise debunks this concern, since code switchers can and do separate their languages when this is called for and code-switch with peers when the context is appropriate.

The Nature of Code Switching

It should be clarified at the outset that the term *code* as used here does not imply something secret, but reflects the idea that a language *encodes* information in symbolic form and that different languages can therefore be seen as different codes. For instance, the animal referred to in English by the term *horse* is labeled *caballo* in Spanish, *cheval* in French, *Pferd* in German, and *ma* in Chinese, all encoding the same referent. Information may be encoded grammatically in different ways as well. English, for example, indicates that a

noun is the object of a verb simply by placing it after the verb, as in *John hit the ball*, whereas in Russian or German, this would be shown by means of an accusative-case suffix on the noun or noun phrase (just as English changes the pronoun *he* to *him*). In English, questions are formed by moving the first auxiliary verb (or *do* if there isn't one) to the beginning of the sentence, as in *Is he coming?* whereas in Chinese, Korean, or Vietnamese, the question would be indicated simply by placing a question particle (e.g., *ma* in Chinese, *kka* in Korean) at the end of the sentence.

Code switching is usually divided into two types: *intersentential*, switching between sentences, or *intrasentential*, switching within sentences. The former is less remarkable, since it involves no grammatical interaction between the respective languages. Most research on the grammar of code switching has focused on the intrasentential type. (Somewhat confusingly, many European researchers reserve the label *code switching* for the first type and use *code mixing* for the second; however, it is important to recognize that this usage does not imply that code switching is just a random or mixed-up alternation between languages.)

Whereas only fluent bilinguals can code-switch within sentences, not all fluent bilinguals are able to do this, since it is a skill that comes from practice in communicating with other code switchers. Many bilinguals can change from using one language for a whole discourse to another for a different discourse but cannot switch from one language to another within a single sentence.

There has been a huge growth of research on code switching in the past 20 years, with several thousand articles and a number of books published on the subject. A recent Google search yielded no fewer than 365,000 hits. Researchers have generally considered code switching from one of three perspectives: sociolinguistic, grammatical, or psycholinguistic, corresponding to these questions: "Why do people code-switch?" "What do they do when they code-switch?" and "How do they code-switch?" We will discuss each of these in turn.

Why Do People Code-Switch?

Most fluent code switching occurs unconsciously, and speakers are often surprised when told that they have been switching. The reasons for switching are various. As suggested in the opening anecdote above, close acquaintances may code-switch simply because it

signals personal solidarity or because it is emblematic of bicultural group membership. Austrians schooled before World War II used both Austrian German and school (“High”) German (*Hochdeutsch*) only in separate discourses, whereas those who were schooled after the war often code-switched, partly as a marker of social identity. People who are close friends or who share numerous experiences may feel more comfortable using their languages interchangeably with one another.

Switching is often triggered by the topic being discussed. Friends discussing their experiences in school may unconsciously switch to the school language or intersperse vocabulary relevant to the school context for which they may have no native-language equivalent. Although it is convenient to think of words as having neutrally equivalent meanings, as *horse/caballo/cheval/Pferd/ma*, mentioned above, particular words in one language may evoke emotional or experiential associations that trigger a switch into that language. For a person reared on a ranch among *caballos*, English *horse* may seem a sterile book word. While discussion of home topics might be predominantly in the first language, a recounting of a hospital visit, for example, might trigger more use of English.

Genuine code switching involves more than just the substitution of one word for another, however, as discussed in the next section. If a speaker happens not to know a term in his or her native language and knows it only in the second language, the use of this term is more accurately a case of *borrowing* to fill what linguists would call a “lexical gap” in the first language. A non-English speaker living in the United States who had never experienced a four-lane divided highway in his native country might not have a ready term for it and so might refer to the *freeway* or *expressway* even in the middle of an otherwise non-English sentence.

Grammar of Code Switching

It is never the case that “anything goes” in code switching, but research has shown that there are always grammatical factors at work that limit the possibilities. Fluent bilinguals who code-switch are generally in close agreement as to what constitutes a grammatical versus an ungrammatical switch. Rosario Gíngràs found, for example, the following percentages of agreement on the acceptability of Spanish-English code-switched sentences (note that adjectives

in Spanish usually follow nouns, whereas in English, they precede nouns; here *el* = “the”; *hombre* = “man”; *viejo* = “old”; and *enojado* = “angry”):

El old man *está enojado.* (94%)

The *hombre viejo* is angry. (90%)

El man old *está enojado.* (0.5%)

El hombre old *está enojado.* (0.0%)

Several generalizations emerge from these examples that apply to many other language pairs as well. One of the best known of these is what Shana Poplack called the “equivalence constraint,” which says that if two languages differ in their word order, it will be ungrammatical to switch at a point that would violate either of their respective grammars. English adjectives precede the noun they modify, whereas Spanish adjectives usually follow the noun. Speakers strongly reject a switch into English that would place the adjective after the noun, even if all the rest of the sentence is in Spanish, since this would violate English grammar. The equivalence constraint explains why it is difficult for Korean speakers to code-switch into English (apart from the insertion of individual nouns), since the basic word order in Korean is subject-object-verb, whereas in English it is subject-verb-object; postpositions in Korean follow nouns, whereas corresponding prepositions in English precede nouns; and relative clauses in Korean precede nouns, whereas they follow nouns in English.

A number of highly specific constraints on code switching have appeared in the literature and have been confirmed in a variety of studies on various language pairs. These include not switching in the following instances:

1. Between auxiliary (helping) verbs
2. Around negatives and “WH-question” constituents
3. Between attached pronoun forms and the words they modify

However, some constraints or lack thereof seem to be specific to particular languages or language pairs. For instance, Hindi speakers rarely switch following subjects, whereas this is common in Spanish/English switching.

In addition to purely grammatical restrictions or “rules” on possible code switching, there is an additional intriguing constraint having to do with the sociocultural status relations of the languages involved. For language pairs such as Japanese and English, which speakers perceive as having sociolinguistic parity, switching in either direction seems equally possible. However, for situations in which one language has a higher perceived social status than the other, switching tends to be asymmetrical—occurring only from the lower language to the higher language. This restriction was first noted for Swedish/English switching among Swedish Americans, but it has been observed frequently in former colonial situations in India and Africa and among Mexican Americans in the United States. The interesting puzzle here is what—in the nature of neurological storage, access, speech production, and control mechanisms—within the brain permits shifting to the socially dominant language channel from the less prestigious language channel but inhibits it in the opposite direction.

There is an extensive technical literature on proposed grammatical bases for various constraints, and considerable theoretical disagreement. It is overwhelmingly clear from all of the data, however, that switching is not random, but is governed by grammatical regularities in and between the languages involved.

Psycholinguistics of Code Switching

How the brains of code switchers manage two languages simultaneously is only beginning to be understood, and the better it is understood, the more this remarkable ability is appreciated. The study of code switching can provide a unique “window into the brain” to allow us to analyze how online processing of language actually takes place.

For speakers in code-switching mode, the evidence shows that the brain is in fact encoding the same message simultaneously in both languages, in parallel channels. In the past, it was assumed that this was impossible and that only one channel could be involved in language production. However, recent psycholinguistic research on bilinguals has demonstrated that when a bilingual person hears or reads a word in one language, the corresponding expression in the other language is at least partially activated. In other words, even when a bilingual appears to be operating solely in one language, the brain storage for the other language is still at least passively involved.

Evidence for the parallel-channel processing model comes from several types of data. First, code switching usually occurs in a smooth, seamless flow of speech, which in most instances shows no indication of time lapse such as might be expected if one or another system were being alternately started up and shut down.

The second type of evidence shows that grammatical agreement crosses languages, even when one language may not show evidence of it. For example, in

The old *man* está enojado,

the predicate adjective, *enojado* (“angry” in Spanish) shows obligatory “masculine” gender agreement with the final “o,” even though the spoken subject *the old man* is in English. Thus, even though the subject is actually uttered in English, which requires no gender agreement on adjectives, the Spanish channel processor is giving evidence that it is generating a parallel, but unuttered, subject that is determining the agreement selection. Similar examples are found in other languages.

The third kind of evidence for parallel-channel processing, from research conducted by Erica McClure and Miwa Nishimura, lies in examples from various languages of linguistic *doublings* or *overlappings* which sometimes occur in code switches. The following examples show utterances in English, where the speakers switched to another language (Spanish, Japanese and Korean), in which the content of the switch repeats the meaning in English. Each example is followed, by a literal translation of the text in italics, below, in brackets:

I can't do it ¡*No puedo!*

[not–can, 1st person]
(Spanish: McClure, 1977)

We bought about two pounds *gurai kattedkita no.*

[about–bought]
(Japanese: Nishimura, 1985)

These examples show that whole structures already assembled in one language can be switched from one channel to the other or the switch may occur around a word (typically a noun) and the performance of the sentence can proceed along the other language track.

Child Bilingualism and Code Switching

In many areas of the world, it is considered normal for children to grow up speaking two or more languages, and multilingualism is taken for granted. In places like Indonesia and West Africa, it is commonplace for people to speak three or four languages and understand several more. However, in the United States, social and institutional forces for the use of English are so powerful and pervasive that it is difficult for children to maintain and adequately develop a heritage language. If the home language is retained at all, it is likely to be restricted in use to close personal contexts and not fully developed for literacy and formal public cultural contexts.

Research indicates that very young children initially do not recognize the differences between languages and therefore merge them in a single linguistic store in the brain. However, gradually, beyond the age of 3 or even earlier, they begin to sort them out on the basis of who speaks what. Thus, German may be “father’s language,” or Korean may be “grandmother’s language,” and the child will separate the codes in his or her brain for communicating with particular individuals. There is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that beyond the very initial stages of language learning, children ever confuse different languages. A good example is that of a 6-year-old girl in Texas, the daughter of deaf Hispanic parents, who had learned sign language to communicate with them, Spanish to communicate with her hearing grandmother and neighborhood playmates, and English for other playmates and for school; she also regularly served as an interpreter for her parents with speakers of both English and Spanish.

The usual advice given to parents who are themselves bilingual or who are dominant in different languages is to try to adhere to a “one person, one language” strategy, so that children more quickly distinguish the languages they hear and associate them with different speakers. However, this is difficult to maintain in practice, though it is probably helpful to the extent that it can be carried out. Thousands or even millions of competent adult bilinguals have grown up in homes where code switching was common, and there is no evidence that this has had any negative effect on their command of their respective languages.

Conversely, introducing the national language too early when it is not the language of the home (as in programs like Head Start) is likely to interfere with

the full development of the native heritage language and create permanent cognitive impairment. The disruptive effects of early introduction of English, for example, is shown by the fact that children in the United States with Mexican backgrounds who attend school through the second grade in Mexico do better academically by the time they reach the sixth grade than their younger siblings who begin school in the United States and have had more exposure to English but less to Spanish.

The fact that code switching is a particular skill is supported by research on the acquisition of code-switching ability by children. The evidence for this comes from the fact that young children learning two or more languages may make a number of switches that would be “ungrammatical” in adult speech before they fully develop the skill to simultaneously manage two discrete linguistic systems. Encouraging code switching as a pedagogical and parenting strategy may therefore actually contribute to the development of both languages, though care should be taken that one language does not come to dominate and inhibit the development of the other. This consideration is particularly important where the heritage language lacks the social status or community reinforcement of the ambient national language.

Conclusion

Until such time as we develop tools to examine language processing in the brain at the level of neurons or molecules, the study of code switching will continue to offer one of the best opportunities to observe the ongoing process of sentence production in real time and constitutes the next best thing to being able to see inside the brain itself. Unfortunately, as we have discussed, popular misunderstanding of the phenomenon has led to negative attitudes toward the practice; consequently, labels such as *Spanglish* (which was even the title of a motion picture), *pocho*, and *mix-mix* (in the Philippines) may be associated with a deficit view of code switching. Code switching needs to be seen as the remarkable mental feat that it is and its users recognized for their linguistic skill. Far from being criticized due to ignorance, code switchers should be celebrated for their competence.

Rudolph C. Troike

See also Discourse Analysis; Language Acquisition Device; One Person-One Language (OPOL); Second-Language

Acquisition; Spanglish; Status Differences Among Languages

Further Readings

- Gingràs, R. (1974). Problems in the description of Spanish-English intrasentential code-switching. In G. Bills (Ed.), *Southwest areal linguistics* (pp. 167–174). San Diego: University of California at San Diego, Institute for Cultural Pluralism.
- Jacobson, R. (Ed.). (2001). *Codeswitching worldwide II*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- McClure, E. (1977). Aspects of code switching in the discourse of bilingual Mexican-American children. In M. Saville-Troike (Ed.), *Linguistics and anthropology* (pp. 93–115). Washington, DC: Georgetown University.
- Meyers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Nishimura, M. (1985). *Intrasentential code-switching in Japanese and English*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Park, J., Troike, R. C., & Park, M. (1989). *Constraints in Korean/English code-switching: A preliminary study*. Paper presented at the 9th Second Language Research Forum, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18, 581–618.

COGNATES, TRUE AND FALSE

People learning a new language often rely on their knowledge of their native language as they attempt to communicate, especially when the two languages are related and have many words that look or sound alike. This is a useful strategy, but it can backfire, as many language students know. Some cases can be humorous and provide listeners with a good laugh or at least a stifled one. A well-known example concerns a young unmarried woman who studied some Spanish to use when visiting Spain. The first night in Spain, at a formal dinner, she is asked to give a short speech. She rises and begins by explaining that she is *embarazada* that her Spanish is not better. Some of the guests who knew some English laughed, guessing her faux pas. Only later did a sympathetic friend explain that the Spanish word she used means *pregnant*, not *embarrassed*, as she had intended.

This story illustrates the problems false cognates can cause. False cognates, such as *embarazada* and *embarrassed*, are words from two languages that look alike but come from different roots and have completely different meanings. When language learners, like the woman in the story, try to draw on the surface similarity to fill a gap in their vocabulary, the results can indeed be *embarrassing*.

Even though false cognates can cause communication problems for language learners, they can be an important resource to draw on for building a wider vocabulary in the new language. Cognates are words derived from the same root or, literally, words that are born together (from the Latin *co*, meaning *with* or *together*; and *gnatus*, meaning *born*). English language learners must draw on all available resources, including cognates, because they face a formidable task in acquiring English vocabulary.

Michael Graves cites studies showing that native-English-speaking third graders have a reading vocabulary of about 10,000 words. The average 12th-grade student's reading vocabulary is nearly 40,000 words. This means that children acquire about 3,000 words each year. Much of this vocabulary is acquired through reading. As they read, students infer word meanings from context. Estimates of the number of words students learn from context vary. However, middle-grade students learn somewhere between 800 and 8,000 words annually simply from reading. School texts contain more words than does oral language that form part of the academic vocabulary students need to succeed academically. Students who read more acquire more of these words. It is a clear case of the rich getting richer.

Many English language learners start third grade with far fewer than 10,000 words. Because they have more limited vocabularies, they do not read nearly as much in English as do their native English-speaking classmates. Since reading is a major source of vocabulary acquisition, English learners do not acquire as many words from reading as their native English-speaking peers. As a result, rather than catching up, they may actually fall further behind each year. However, when teachers read to English learners and provide time and encouragement for bilingual students to read, vocabulary growth is accelerated. Further, teachers of English learners can help their students acquire English vocabulary as they infer word meanings by looking for cognates.

As a cautionary note, there are some cognates whose meanings have drifted far apart. An international student from Mexico might say she plans to

inscribe at a university in the United States, when she actually plans to *register*. Her choice of words is understandable, since the Spanish word *inscribir* means *register*. While the Spanish *inscribir* and the English *inscribe* come from the same Latin roots and are related, the meanings in the two languages are very different. A jeweler might *inscribe* a spouse's name on a wedding band, but one cannot *inscribe* at the local college. Nevertheless, many cognates retain similar meanings.

Often, people think of the benefits of instruction in cognates for native Spanish speakers, since Spanish and English have so many cognates. However, other languages, especially those from the Indo-European language family, share cognates with English. The authors became aware of this when they were living and teaching in Lithuania. Among the food items they once purchased was a box of breakfast cereal. They noticed that on the side panel, the company had listed the ingredients in several different languages. Many of the words for basic ingredients, such as *sugar*, *honey*, and *salt* showed remarkable similarity across a range of languages, at least in the written form. The company listed the ingredients in the following languages: German, Romanian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Polish, Czech, Croatian, Slovakian, Slovenian, Yugoslavian, Estonian, and Hungarian. Ingredients were also listed in Russian and Bulgarian, but these were written in Cyrillic script. In the latter cases, students would have more difficulty noticing cognates across different writing systems unless they heard them spoken rather than try to read them. Table 1 lists the words for *sugar*, *honey*, and *salt*.

It is interesting to note that not all of these languages are members of the Indo-European language family. Both Estonian and Hungarian belong to the Uralic language family. Even though these languages are not related to the others, the names for the ingredients are remarkably similar. The word for *sugar* is similar in all the languages. Despite the fact that some spell the word with *s*, some with *z*, and others with *c*, those letters probably all represent similar sounds. The words for *honey* are also similar except for the German *Honig*, which is close to the English word. The other languages have a word like the English word *mead*, which is a drink made with honey. Finally, all the words for *salt* start with *s*, and most of them include an *l*. This brief comparison of basic words across a range of languages suggests that students from a number of language backgrounds could

Table 1 Translations of the Words *Sugar*, *Honey*, and *Salt* Across Languages

<i>Language</i>	<i>Example 1</i>	<i>Example 2</i>	<i>Example 3</i>
<i>English</i>	sugar	honey	salt
<i>German</i>	Zucker	Honig	Salz
<i>Romanian</i>	zahăr	miere	sare
<i>Lithuanian</i>	cukrus	medus	druska
<i>Latvian</i>	cukurs	medus	sāls
<i>Polish</i>	cukier	miód	sól
<i>Czech</i>	cukr	med	sůl
<i>Croatian</i>	šećer	med	sol
<i>Slovakian</i>	cukor	med	sol'
<i>Slovenian</i>	sladkor	med	sol
<i>Yugoslavian</i>	secer	med	so
<i>Estonian</i>	suhkur	mesi	sool
<i>Hungarian</i>	cukor	méz	só

benefit from cognate identification and study. This can be done as a fun activity rather than as a dull exercise in linguistics.

James Cummins's studies have established that what a person knows in one language can transfer to a second language because there is a common underlying proficiency. Cummins cites research that shows an interdependence among the concepts, skills, and linguistic knowledge in two languages. As a result, vocabulary knowledge transfers across languages. Since words may be thought of as labels for concepts, if a student knows a concept in the first language, the student more easily acquires the vocabulary for that concept in a second language. If the two languages are related, the words used to express a concept may look and sound alike. Since many words that make up academic English have Latin roots, students who speak a Latinate language, such as Spanish or French, already know related words. By accessing these cognates, English learners can rapidly increase their academic English vocabularies.

Table 2 lists some English-Spanish cognates from social studies and science.

More than 80% of the limited-English students in U.S. schools are native Spanish speakers, and

Table 2 Social Studies and Science Cognates in English and Spanish

<i>Social Studies</i>		<i>Science</i>	
<i>English</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Spanish</i>
civilization	civilización	geography	geografía
history	historia	biology	biología
past	pasado	analysis	análisis
pioneer	pionero	diagram	diagrama
colonial	colonial	experiment	experimento
diary	diario	formula	fórmula

between 20% and 30% of the English words in school texts have Spanish cognates. For these reasons, it is especially helpful to teach native Spanish speakers to identify and use cognates.

Teachers can help students access cognates by engaging them in activities that increase their awareness of similar words across languages. Joan Williams lists several strategies teachers can use. For example, a teacher might begin by putting book pages on an overhead transparency and having students find cognates. Students could work in pairs to identify cognates. The teacher could also create a cognate wall. Pairs of students could add the cognates they find to the wall. This activity could extend throughout a unit of study, and students could list as many cognates as possible related to the topic. Further, the class could develop a cognate dictionary, using the words from the cognate wall.

A similar exercise can provide students with some lighthearted moments by identifying false cognates. They would no doubt find it interesting to know that a *tuna* in English is a type of fish, while in Mexican Spanish it is the fruit of a cactus and in Spain it is the name of a roaming group of minstrel singers.

Timothy Rodríguez suggests that once students identify cognates, they can work together to categorize them. This is an excellent activity to raise word consciousness and increase the important academic skill of categorization. Rodríguez's students found several ways to classify Spanish-English cognates. For example, some, like *colonial* have the same spelling. Others, like *civilization* and *civilización*, have a predictable variation in spelling. The derivational suffix *-tion* in English is almost always spelled *-ción* in Spanish. This is a great spelling lesson learned quickly. Other cognates like *sport* and *deporte* have the same root. Some

cognates share only one of the meanings of the word. An example is that *letter* in English can refer to a letter of the alphabet or a business letter, but in Spanish, the cognate *letra* means only a letter of the alphabet. As students collect cognates, they can categorize them. This exercise helps make them more aware of the different cognates that exist. Students can then apply their knowledge of cognates to academic English reading.

Although drawing on false cognates can lead to embarrassing moments, accessing true cognates can boost vocabulary acquisition for many English language learners. Teachers should take advantage of this valuable resource to help English learners build academic language proficiency in English.

Yvonne S. Freeman and David E. Freeman

See also Grammar-Translation Method; Indo-European Languages; Spanish Loan Words in U.S. English

Further Readings

- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Nash, R. (1990). *NTC's Dictionary of Spanish cognates thematically organized*. Chicago: NTC Publishing Group.
- Rodríguez, T. A. (2001). From the known to the unknown: Using cognates to teach English to Spanish-speaking literates. *Reading Teacher*, 54, 744–746.
- Williams, J. (2001). Classroom conversations: Opportunities to learn for ESL students in mainstream classrooms. *Reading Teacher*, 54, 750–757.

COGNITIVE BENEFITS OF BILINGUALISM

This entry focuses on how bilinguals differ from individuals who speak only one language in performing a variety of simple cognitive tasks. It explores the intersection of linguistic and cognitive skills, along with factors that should be considered in studies comparing bilingual and monolingual subjects, notably students.

Researchers have found that some of the cognitive advantages of being bilingual include enhanced cognitive functioning, a greater number of cognitive pathways, and enhanced memory and brain plasticity. Andrea Mechelli and her collaborators explain that

brain plasticity refers to the ability of the brain to functionally change and that learning a second language helps build density in the gray matter of the brain. The findings of their study provide evidence of the impact of second-language acquisition on the structure of the human brain.

A comparison of grammar, sentence structure, and word usage of two distinct languages and the inherent complexities of the cognitive process has found that bilinguals have a greater understanding of the intricacy of language. The higher the degree of bilingualism, the more cognitive benefits accrue to the individual. It is worth noting that not all bilinguals have these advantages, especially those with underdeveloped skills in two languages. The more bilingual the person is, the more noticeable are the advantages.

In addition, bilingualism has been found to foster classification skills, concept formation, analogical reasoning, visual-spatial skills, and creativity and has other cognitive gains. The ability to know two or more words for one object or idea may provide an added cognitive flexibility. If a word in one language can mean two or more different things, bilinguals, who are able to bridge the first language to the second language, are thereby provided with an added dimension to the word. To illustrate this, Colin Baker provides an example using the Welsh word *ysgol*, which means both *school* and *ladder* in Welsh and provides the bilingual with the added dimension in English of *school as a ladder*. Knowing two languages opens up a bilingual's mind to ways in which to differentiate concepts and enhance and expand meaning. Bilingual persons experience two different ways in which to conceive and think about an idea or concept; hence, their thought process broadens. Ellen Bialystok found that compared with monolingual children, bilingual children can count words in a sentence, which is a difficult task for children at a young age. Young bilinguals appear to have a deeper processing ability, which helps them to understand that words can be isolated from sentences. This understanding of the identity of words helps them understand parts of speech and the intertwining of words to make meaning. Bilinguals have also been shown to be more analytical regarding the structure of language. It is this metalinguistic awareness that is so important for children's reading skills.

Luis Moll has defined two types of cognitive structures: (a) structures of explanation and (b) structures for cognitive activity. Structures of explanation aid a

person in the organization of perception in new ways. The structures for cognitive activity operate on the level of cognitive process. As second-language learners are learning and using a new language, they are relying on both the structures of explanation and the structures for cognitive activity they already have acquired in their first language. Both operate on the level of cognitive processes, which contain the structures for memorization and recall that are so important for building a solid base for the new language.

This is the area of the brain where context cluing and the formation of concept mapping take place, in order to relate what has been learned to the actual production of language in the areas of reading, writing, and oral construction. As the two learned languages intertwine, the brain enables the speaker to draw on what has been learned in both languages, therefore giving the bilingual a broader basis for problem solving and critical thinking. Knowing more than one language gives bilinguals more information and knowledge to draw from. Consequently, they are able to analyze the information obtained and use either deductive thought processing or inductive reasoning to or build upon a concept.

According to Ron and Suzanne Scollon, people use cognitive schemas to do things to communicate and socially interact in a language and culture. A person learning his or first language develops cognitive schemas for that culture and social environment. As this same person learns a second language, other cognitive schemas must be learned. Also, second-language learning builds new neural pathways, according to Fred Genesee. The brain develops this new knowledge by building new neural pathways, then "rewires" itself and prepares for more information input, which includes finer problem-solving and critical thinking skills and an increase in the creative process.

Strategies to Enhance Bilinguals' Cognitive Skills

Teachers of second-language learners are encouraged to use strategies that help develop reflective and problem-oriented teaching styles. Language learning helps to develop problem-solving and critical thinking techniques and enhances bilinguals' skills already in place. Josué M. González and Linda Darling-Hammond point out that cognitive mapping and conceptual scaffolding are areas in which the brain is able to make new connections and create ways to conceptualize

relationships between words and abstract ideas. Through the use of cognitive coaching, teachers are able to help second-language learners understand the constructs and similarities between their native language and their new language. Edward Pajak explains that cognitive coaching is driven by four assumptions: (1) that all forms of behavior are influenced by a person's perceptions; (2) that teaching is a decision-making process during all stages of instruction; (3) that to change behavior, there should be some form of alteration of the mind; and (4) human beings' intellectual abilities grow throughout a person's lifetime.

The interaction between teacher and language learner can be a powerful tool to help students acquire strong problem-solving and critical thinking skills in the area of language development by someone who models reflective thinking. According to Pajak, these techniques rearrange and restructure mental processes among the participants, regardless of whether they are teachers or students.

Conceptual scaffolding in learning allows and encourages the building of ideas and concepts upon a framework so that each new idea or concept emerges from a prior one. Previous knowledge a person has in his or her first language is built upon with each new piece of knowledge learned in the second language. Thus, immigrant students who possess essential skills (i.e., in reading, writing, comprehension, and mathematics) in their native languages will have an advantage when learning a new language, particularly in those subject areas needed for school or in the workplace. This framework the learner uses to add new pieces of information learned (such as vocabulary, grammar, and cultural knowledge) is the very basis for the learner to make connections and comparisons and build on bilingual skills. This precept is one that bilingual educators use to encourage language learners to draw on a base of understanding in their native language in order to build a second language and transfer this new knowledge to their everyday lives at home, in the community, and in the workplace.

In the field of bilingual education, it is common knowledge that a second language is acquired through both subconscious and conscious learning. It is therefore thought that learning both in a simulated environment (the classroom) and in an authentic environment (the world outside the classroom) are integral to the sound acquisition of a second language.

Colin Baker distinguishes between "paper and pencil" intelligence and the wider scope of intelligence.

So much of what society deems intelligence is measured by tests or the "paper and pencil realm" of intelligence. Baker emphasizes that the language in which the testing is conducted (i.e., whether it is the stronger and more dominant language of the individual) is an important factor in testing. Based on his research, Baker found that areas of mental activity other than the intelligence quotient (IQ) needed to be investigated in order to further delve into cognitive functioning among multilinguals. As Baker explains, IQ testing has to do with convergent thinking and deals with only one correct answer. Divergent thinking, Baker proposes, should be another style to investigate in the realm of testing because divergent thinking involves imagination and creativity, like finding more than one correct answer to a problem—more of a multiple questioning, which can be used to discover other avenues of looking at a question by asking more questions. In the Ellis Torrance Test of Creative Thinking, Torrance analyzed answers to the "uses of an object" (e.g., unusual uses of cardboard boxes or tin cans) in four categories: fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration. Baker summarizes that in the areas of scoring for these categories, the question to be asked is this: Does the ability to speak more than one language add to cognitive abilities due to the increased fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration in thinking?

James Cummins found that these four areas (fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration) differed depending on whether the bilinguals tested were balanced (equally fluent in both languages) or nonbalanced. Balanced bilinguals did better in the categories of fluency and flexibility scales of verbal divergence but not as high on originality of thought. As reported by Baker, Cummins proposes the notion of a threshold level of language competence; he asserts that bilingual children should attain this level in both of their languages. If that is not the case, there might be cognitive deficits. Hence, such competence should be attained for them to benefit from cognitive growth as an influence of bilingualism. Bialystok, as reported previously, found through research that bilingual children were superior to monolinguals on measures of cognitive control of linguistic processes. This is to say that the children could differentiate, for example, the semantic (order of words) structure of a sentence for its grammatical correctness.

Baker admits that there are limitations to this research, such as the matching of groups; comparing bilinguals and multilinguals needs to match all

variables, not just language, including social status, cultural background, level of fluency in each language, and educational background. Baker asserts that future research needs to address the following issues:

1. Match monolingual and bilingual groups on all variables other than language.
2. Possibly focus on other types of bilinguals, not just balanced bilinguals.
3. Investigate the cause-and-effect relationship of bilingualism. Does bilingualism come first and cause cognitive benefits, or do cognitive abilities enhance language learning, or do cognitive development and language learning work hand in hand?
4. Ask whether all children benefit from bilingualism or just certain children, depending on social class or cognitive ability level.
5. Consider the hopes and ideologies of the researcher; for example, Kenji Hakuta impels us to consider the rationale behind methods used by researchers.
6. Consider whether the cognitive effects found are temporary or permanent.

Cultural diversity and learning styles must also be discussed when exploring the cognitive benefits of bilingualism. All cultures do not problem solve or critically think in the same manner. Teachers frequently ask single-answer or closed-ended questions instead of open-ended questions that involve more complex problem-solving skills. Their emphasis may be on details, building the whole from the parts and moving from the specific to the general. Yet many cultures are more oriented to inductive thinking (working from the specific observation and building upon it) rather than deductive thinking (working from the broader generalization to the specific) and more interactive and communal in constructing critical thinking skills. Social interaction, group activity, and active participation in a meaningful environment are integral components to teaching second-language learners.

In the cognitive realm, a learner's particular style, the process he or she uses for problem solving and for demonstrating what is known and can be accomplished, is essential knowledge for an educator to progress in instruction and the facilitation of learning for an individual. When a person interacts with new ideas, situations, people, and information, there are

several different areas of involvement. According to Pat Guild and Stephen Garger, these include *cognition* (ways of knowing), *conceptualizing* (formulating ideas and thoughts), *affective reacting* (feeling and valuing), and *acting* (exhibiting some kind of behavior). These areas of involvement are magnified and become twofold for multilinguals because they bring different former knowledge from their native languages, including culture, communication, comparisons, connections, and communities, and therefore must learn to function well in these areas in multiple languages.

Cognitive development is stimulated by cognitive conflict or sociocognitive conflict, as Genesee explains. This conflict is derived from social interaction between peers who have different perspectives of a problem. Peer collaboration on a project is beneficial to a person's cognitive development, and the ability to look at a problem from two different languages with different ways of reasoning, both inductive and deductive, brings yet another dimension to the problem or situation. This is what research by Genesee and others refers to when they say that through the learning process, in the acquisition of another language, one's cognitive abilities change and grow through the construction and development of new neuron pathways and the "rewiring" of the brain. When paired with a bilingual partner, monolingual children gained new insight into the workings of a bilingual mind; in this way, the ability to view problems or challenges from a different linguistic perspective becomes highly valuable. Children who were paired with more competent partners were led to higher levels of thinking.

Cognitive connections in the brain are made between the first language and subsequent languages. As Baker explains, the bilingual person experiences two different ways in which to conceive and think about an idea or concept, allowing the thought process to broaden. Cognitive skills can be developed, and through the use of different teaching strategies and techniques, such as cooperative learning, cognitive mapping, and cognitive coaching, educators can facilitate bilingual students' learning by connecting their native languages to subsequently acquired languages.

Geri McDonough Bell

See also BICS/CALP Theory; Brain Research; Metalinguistic Awareness; Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (1993). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bialystok, E. (1992). Attentional control in children's metalinguistic performance and measures of field independence. *Developmental Psychology*, 28, 654–664.
- Cummins, J. (1975). *Empowering culturally and linguistically diverse students with learning problems*. Retrieved from <http://www.ericdigests.org/pre-9220/problems.htm>
- Gay, G. (2000). *Culturally responsive teaching, theory, research, and practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Genesee, F. (2000). *Brain research implications for second language learning*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.cal.org/resources/digest/0012brain.html>
- González, J., & Darling-Hammond L. (1997). *New concepts for new challenges: Professional development for teachers of immigrant youth*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics/Delta Systems.
- Gonzalez, V. (1999). *Language and cognitive development in second language learning: Educational implications for children and adults*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Guild, P., & Gager, S. (1985). *Marching to different drummers*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Hakuta, K. (1986). *Mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Mechelli, A., Drimon, J. T., Noppeney, U., O'Doherty, J., Ashburner, J., Frackowiak, R., et al. (2004). Neurolinguistics: Structural plasticity in the bilingual brain. *Nature*, 431, 757. Abstract retrieved from <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v431/n7010/abs/431757a.html>
- Moll, L. (1999). *Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Pajak, E. (1993). *Approaches to clinical supervision: Alternatives for improving instruction*. Norwood, MA: Christopher-Gordon.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (2001). *Intercultural communication*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

COLLIER, VIRGINIA P. (1941–)

Virginia P. Collier was born in Greenup, Illinois, in November 1941. During her childhood, she spent 5 years in Mexico and Central America, and from age 12 on, she served as assistant to her father (a professor

of Central American history at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro), conducting research in the libraries and archives of Guatemala City, San Salvador, Tegucigalpa, Managua, and San Jose.

Collier is professor emerita of bilingual/multicultural/ESL education at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. She is best known for her work with senior researcher Wayne Thomas, conducting longitudinal research on school effectiveness for linguistically and culturally diverse students, working with many school districts in all regions of the United States over the past 22 years. Their award-winning national research studies have had a substantial impact on school policies throughout the world. She is coauthor with Carlos J. Ovando and Mary Carol Combs of a popular book for teachers, *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms: Teaching in Multicultural Contexts*, a well-known, comprehensive text on research, policy, and effective practices for serving students of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. In addition, Collier has over 70 other publications in the field of language minority education, including her popular monograph *Promoting Academic Success for ESL Students*.

In her collaborative work with Wayne Thomas, Collier has contributed new theoretical perspectives for the field of bilingual/multicultural education. The research partners are well-known for developing the *prism model*, a theory and guide to empirical research. This model makes predictions about program effectiveness from a theoretical perspective. Collier and Thomas have tested the prism model by collecting and analyzing program effectiveness data, and they have refined the model on the basis of empirical findings. They have also developed unique theoretical perspectives on analyses of longitudinal student data, to demonstrate the importance of following English learners' achievement over long periods of time. By following individual student progress over 5 to 6 years at minimum (instead of the typical 1 to 2 years), they have shown that the typical short-term finding of "no significant difference across programs" has misled the field and policymakers; in fact, long-term findings yield extremely significant differences among school programs. Importantly, they have found with consistency in each of their research studies that only high-quality bilingual schooling has the potential to close the academic achievement gap. By introducing degree of gap closure as the primary measure of program success, rather than pre-post score differences

among groups, they have shown that English-only and transitional bilingual programs of short duration close only about half of the achievement gap, whereas high-quality long-term bilingual programs close all of the gap after 5 to 6 years of schooling through two languages.

After 24 years of teaching and conducting research, Collier retired from her position as professor of bilingual/multicultural/ESL education at George Mason University in 2005. During her association with George Mason, she served as research professor; associate director of degree programs for master's and doctoral students in bilingual/ESL education; director of the program for English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers; and instructor of graduate courses in methods, second-language acquisition, curriculum development, research, and policy in bilingual/multicultural/ESL and foreign-language education. In 1989, she received the Distinguished Faculty Award from George Mason University for excellence in teaching, scholarship, and service.

Proficient in Spanish and English, Collier has served the field of bilingual/multicultural/ESL education for 38 years as parent, teacher, researcher, teacher educator, and doctoral mentor. Her educational background includes a PhD (1980) from the University of Southern California, with specialization in intercultural education, bilingual education and linguistics; an MA with distinction (1973) from American University, with specialization in Hispanic literature and English linguistics, and a BA (1963) from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, with specialization in Spanish and Latin American studies.

Collier has served as keynote and featured speaker at national and international conferences in North America and Europe. She has received prestigious research grants, including a research grant (1996–2002) from the Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence (CREDE) and the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), U.S. Department of Education; Field-Initiated Studies Grant (1991–1992), U.S. Department of Education; a study grant from the government of Sweden (1982) to conduct research on the education of immigrants in Sweden; and an award (1981) for one of the top 10 dissertations in bilingual education, recognized by the National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education, U.S. Department of Education. Since 1988, both Wayne Thomas and Virginia Collier have been regularly interviewed by the popular media, with 153 published newspaper articles and interviews on television

and radio in the United States and abroad, reporting on their continuing research findings.

Judith H. Munter and Josefina V. Tinajero

See also Dual-Language Programs; Measuring Language Proficiency; Program Effectiveness Research

Further Readings

- Collier, V. P. (2004). Teaching multilingual children (abridged versions of "Teaching" and "Language" chapters from C. J. Ovando, V. Collier, & M. Combs, 2003). In O. Santa Ana (Ed.), *Tongue-tied: The lives of multilingual children in public education* (pp. 222–235). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Collier, V. P., & Thomas, W. P. (2004). The astounding effectiveness of dual-language education for all. *NABE Journal of Research and Practice*, 2, 1–20.
- Collier, V. P., & Thomas, W. P. (2007). Predicting second-language academic success in English using the prism model. In C. Davison & J. Cummins (Eds.), *International handbook of English language teaching* (pp. 333–348). New York: Springer.
- Collier, V. P., Thomas, W. P., & Tinajero, J. (2006). From remediation to enrichment: Transforming Texas schools through dual language education. *Texas Association for Bilingual Education Journal*, 9(1), 23–34.
- Ovando, C. J., Combs, M. C., & Collier, V. P. (2006). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (4th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2000). Accelerated schooling for all students: Research findings on education in multilingual communities. In S. Shaw (Ed.), *Intercultural education in European classrooms* (pp. 15–35). Stoke on Trent, UK: Trentham Books.
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2002). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement*. Santa Cruz: University of California, Santa Cruz, Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence. Available from http://www.crede.berkeley.edu/research/llaa/1.1_final.html
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2003). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement* (CREDE Research Brief #10). Santa Cruz: University of California, Santa Cruz, Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2005). *Thomas and Collier selected research sources on the Internet*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.thomasandcollier.com/archive.htm>

COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH

The communicative approach to language learning ushered in the beginning of learner-centeredness in language learning. Previously, in the mid-20th century, language teachers followed highly prescriptive methods, and language learning was understood to be primarily a matter of habit formation around various grammatical structures. That approach to language teaching and learning is described elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

The communicative approach can be *strong* or *weak*. The weak version stresses the importance of language learners to use the target language for communicative purposes. The strong version stresses that language is acquired through communication. The weak version has to do with learning to use the target language; the strong version has to do with using the target language to learn it.

In the 1960s, American linguistic theory began to change. Some of these changes stemmed from Noam Chomsky's assertion that to know a language is not simply habit formation and learning and applying rules of grammar. Knowing a language, according to the new thinking, also involves innovation and creativity. The communicative approach also drew from the works of Dell Hymes, John Gumperz, and other sociolinguists who questioned the competence-performance distinction and advanced the idea of language usage in social settings for communicative purposes. In Great Britain, the communicative approach developed slightly differently, partially from the concepts of language notions and functions and partially from concepts related to task-based learning. Language learning within these understandings became more a matter of developing students' proficiency in communicating meaning and less one of replicating structurally accurate language through rote exercises with little or no meaning.

The communicative approach arrived at a time when the field of language teaching appeared ready for a new approach because the winds of change were prevailing in the general educational community. During this period, there was increased interest in cooperative learning methods, multiple-intelligences theory, authentic assessment, and other learner-centered approaches to teaching and learning across the curricula. Traditional language learning methods such as the audio-lingual method went out of favor, and the

communicative approach offered a humane, less dreary way to learn.

The communicative approach is considered an approach, not a method, because there is no single universally accepted linguistic theory, learning theory, or instructional model that all teachers and learners follow. Instead, language teaching procedures and syllabi are grounded in broad theoretical concepts and beliefs about language acquisition. Because of this theoretical breadth, the communicative approach has been accessible to practitioners from a variety of traditions. Many have been able to identify with it and interpret it in different ways.

Since its emergence in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the communicative approach has gone through a number of phases. The first phase reorganized the teaching syllabus from one based on structure to one based on communicating meaning. In the second phase, attention was paid to analyzing learner needs and making that analysis an essential component of the approach. In the third phase, the focus was on developing interactive, group-oriented learning activities.

Beliefs and Principles

Adherents of the communicative approach follow a number of complementary beliefs and principles that guide a variety of curricular and instructional practices: (a) Learners learn a language by using it to communicate, (b) authentic and meaningful communication should be the goal of classroom activities, (c) fluency is an important dimension of communication, (d) communication involves the integration of different language skills, and (e) learning is a process of creative construction and involves trial and error.

Additional concepts that shape the communicative view of language are that (a) language is a system for the expression of meaning, (b) the primary function of language is to allow interaction and communication, (c) language structure reflects communicative use, and (d) units of language include not only grammar and structure but also communicative meaning as exemplified through discourse. Various linguistic theorists represent important concepts as they relate to the communicative approach. Each concept complements and extends the next and lends texture and depth to the description of the communicative approach, which, in turn, guides any of a number of ways in which the approach is manifest in practice. Language conveys meaning in the communicative

approach. Given this understanding of language, communicative teachers aim to make communicative competence the goal of language teaching and to develop procedures for teaching the four language skills (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing) that acknowledge the interdependence of language and communication.

Important features of communicative teaching include the following:

- Meaning is the primary focus.
- Dialogues illustrate communicative functions but are not memorized as a way to absorb patterns.
- Language learning is learning to communicate.
- Drilling is permitted, but it is peripheral.
- Comprehensible pronunciation is sought.
- Judicious use of the home language is permitted.
- Translation is permitted when needed and when there is a benefit.
- Communicative competence (not linguistic competence) is the desired goal.
- Mistakes are necessary to learning.
- Students are expected to interact with other people.
- The teacher cannot know exactly what language forms and structures the students will use.

A person who develops good communicative competence acquires both knowledge and ability to use language to determine (a) practical feasibility (Can it be done?), (b) feasibility with respect to available means of implementation (How can it be done?), (c) appropriateness to context (Is it appropriate to do?), or (d) actuality and what is entailed to do or accomplish something (What was done?).

There are four dimensions of communicative competence: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence. *Grammatical competence* is linguistic competence, or grammatical and lexical capacity. *Sociolinguistic competence* refers to the relationship between the social context in which the communication takes place and the communicative purpose of the interaction. *Discourse competence* refers to the interconnectedness of message elements in discourse to communicate meaning. *Strategic competence* refers to coping strategies communicators use to initiate, terminate, maintain, repair, or redirect communication. In this view, therefore, there is no single measure of proficiency or fluency; all four measures should be taken and reported as necessary.

Practices and Roles

Though its linguistic theoretical base is deep, little emphasis is placed on any particular learning theory in the communicative approach. Elements of learning theory must be extrapolated from communicative language teaching practices. One such element is that activities that promote real communication also promote learning. A second is that activities that use language to carry out meaningful tasks promote learning. A third element is that language that is meaningful to the learner promotes learning. Finally, acquisition of communicative competence is skill development, which acknowledges that practice is a means toward developing communicative skills.

It is difficult to describe a particular procedure that all lessons in the communicative approach employ, because many procedures are compatible with its beliefs and principles and no particular learning theory is embraced to the exclusion of others. Nonetheless, activities should enable learners to attain the communicative objectives of the curriculum; engage learners in communication; and require information sharing, negotiation of meaning, and interaction. These goals are achieved through a number of generally accepted teaching practices, including (a) exploiting real-life language in the classroom, (b) constantly using the target language, (c) encouraging student learning in the affective domain, (d) tolerating linguistic errors because accuracy is less important than fluency, (e) arranging instruction to encourage cooperative learning relationships between students, and (f) eliciting the understanding of grammar and vocabulary as an outgrowth of the range of functional and situational contexts that are a part of the lesson itself.

The communicative approach balances the role of the teacher, learners, and instructional materials and the relationships among them differently from traditional methods. The learner is seen as a negotiator between self, the learning process, the object of learning, and other learners. Failed communication is shared between speaker and listener and is something from which to learn. Successful communication is a joint accomplishment. The teacher serves multiple roles: facilitator and independent participant in the learning-teaching group. The teacher organizes resources and is also a resource. The teacher also guides classroom procedures and activities. Finally, the teacher is a researcher and contributor to students' learning. Additional teacher roles are needs analyst,

counselor, and group process manager. Instructional materials are used to promote communicative language use and may be text-based, task-based, or realia. *Text-based materials* may weave communicative activities into a structurally organized textbook. *Task-based materials* are typically one-of-a-kind resources that encourage pair communication and student interaction. *Realia* are authentic, real-life materials, such as signs, magazines, maps, pictures, or charts, around which communicative activities can be built.

Some suggest that instructional and classroom management arrangements in the communicative approach have much in common with predecessor methods, such as the audio-lingual method. The communicative approach does not reject traditional methods; it reinterprets and extends them into a more cohesive whole. Teaching points may continue to be introduced via dialogues that resemble dialogues from the audio-lingual method. What distinguishes communicative dialogues from audio-lingual dialogues is how they are used. Instructional arrangements in the communicative approach contextualize the teaching points introduced via dialogues by drawing from them in role play or simulation activities. However, there is disagreement about the level of control learners need over language skills before they can apply them to communicative tasks. Some maintain that learners must first have control over language skills before applying them to communicative tasks; others advocate for learner engagement in communicative tasks from the beginning of instruction.

Its strengths notwithstanding, the communicative approach surfaced a number of criticisms. For instance, in countries with educational traditions from different those in the United States and Great Britain, where the communicative approach is rooted, the communicative approach may be less successful because teacher and learner role expectations in the approach may not be culturally universal. Also, when teacher and learner role expectations are culturally appropriate, teachers may be underprepared for the additional expectations beyond content knowledge that are integral to the communicative approach, especially group process management and instructional materials development. Also, because of a lack of a learning theory common to all and consequent instructional models, it is difficult for teachers to learn how to use the approach in classrooms. Finally, without a structural foundation and minimal

attention paid to pointing out errors, language learners are at greater risk for replicating each other's errors, which can lead in rare cases to the formation of a classroom dialect. Because evaluators focus on communication, learners may never achieve learning the second language completely, because it is more difficult, in this approach, to learn to recognize one's own errors.

Contributions to Bilingual Education Practice

The communicative approach initiated the post-method era of language teaching, which subsequently included other learner-centered approaches, such as multiple intelligences, the natural approach, competency-based language teaching, and cooperative language learning. *Approaches* have in common a set of theories and beliefs about language and language learning from which principles for teaching a language are derived. None leads to a specific set of prescriptions for teaching a language, and teachers have latitude in how to apply these principles in classroom practice. In contrast, *methods* are specific instructional designs or systems based on a specific theory of language and language learning. Examples include the audio-lingual and grammar-translation methods, Total Physical Response, Suggestopedia, Counseling-Learning, and the Silent Way. Each contains detailed specifications of content, teaching procedures, and learner and teacher roles, and they allow for little individual variation in applying these specifications. Teachers must learn the method and apply it according to the rules.

Approaches have long shelf lives because their flexibility allows for continuous revision, and methods have short shelf lives because their specificity does not permit revision. When considered in conjunction with its methodological predecessors, the communicative approach complements methods such as the audio-lingual and grammar-translation methods by offering an environment that extends the reach of mastering structure as an end in itself to a means to the greater end of fluent communication.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Audio-Lingual Method; Grammar-Translation Method; Language Defined; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Literacy and Bilinguality; Natural Approach

Further Readings

- Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics*, 1, 1–47.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J., & Hymes, D. (1986). *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Blackwell.
- Hymes, D. (1996). *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Toward an understanding of voice*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Littlewood, W. (1981). *Communicative language teaching*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Richards, J., & Rodgers, T. (2001). *Approaches and methods in language teaching* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Savignon, S. (1972). Teaching for communicative competence: A research report. *Audiovisual Language Journal*, 10, 153–162.
- Savignon, S. (1991). Communicative language teaching: State of the art. *TESOL Quarterly*, 25, 261–277.

COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

Although the term *communities of practice* is sometimes used to refer, somewhat generically, to learning communities or learning groups, it also refers to the social learning theory posited by educational theorists Jean Lave and Étienne Wenger. In the late 1980s, they developed the concept of communities of practice to explain how people develop new knowledge in real-life situations. This theory, which has been applied in research on bilingual education and second-language learning, is based on the notions of situated learning, social interaction, apprenticeship, and identity. Communities of practice in bilingual classrooms promote social interaction, group learning, and a shared knowledge of the cultures, norms, activities, and discourses that make up the situated experience of a second-language learner in school.

Language Learning and Communities of Practice

More than just a general group of learners, a community of practice is a cohesive aggregate of participants whose participation is guided by more experienced

community members as they travel along the developmental path of language and school learning. Bilingual children in school must learn at least one language (in immersion programs) and often two (in the case of maintenance bilingual programs) and, at the same time, grade-level academic content. Their socialization to the target language(s) and to school is facilitated by their interactions within communities of practice.

Communities of practice in bilingual classrooms emphasize the dynamic social component of learning and highlight collaboration and cooperation between students who are learning language and academic content at the same time. In the classroom, incorporation of ideas drawn from communities of practice benefits bilingual students by providing a community network within which learners can participate to gain linguistic and content knowledge. As learning theory, the community of practice concept is used to understand how bilinguals engage and interact in communities to learn language and content.

Lave and Wenger's initial notion of developing new knowledge in real-life situations has since been expanded to include traditional venues for learning, such as school classrooms. As a social theory of learning, the community-of-practice perspective provides a way to view how members of a particular community work in concert to learn and create knowledge within a particular practice. Community of practice differs from other social theories of learning in that it highlights the contextual nature of learning (it is situated in particular settings, such as a classroom). Other notions specific to the theory include apprenticeship (old-timers socialize newcomers) and participation as a developmental trajectory (one moves from a legitimate peripheral participant to a full participant in the learning practice). This theory was not designed specifically with language learning at its core; rather, it is a theory of learning that incorporates language.

Wenger defines a *practice* as something that includes the rules and procedures, language and tools, forms and documents, symbols and visual images, and roles and responsibilities that members of the practice are responsible for knowing and taking on. The overall social environment, artifacts, and tasks and activities in which members participate thus represent a social practice. The practice in a bilingual or second-language classroom is what teachers and students do on a daily basis to promote language and content learning. Activities such as morning message or daily

reviews in both languages are part of the class practice. Within the community-of-practice model, novices or “newcomers” becoming socialized to the common learning practices of a particular situation, such as first- and second-language learning in school, work with experts, or “old-timers,” to gain access to accepted practices.

In communities of practice, people learn through the process of participating in particular communities and their day-to-day work. Broadly defined, a *community of practice* is a group of individuals working together toward a common goal whose shared knowledge and common interest facilitate their learning and, ultimately, acquisition of the common goal. In the case of many bilingual students in school, their common goal is acquisition of two languages, usually the majority and minority languages spoken in their larger community. Within a community of practice, learning is a social endeavor in which community members come together based on shared interest and engagement (all learning two languages) and all members are engaged in a common practice—becoming bilingual. A community of practice in a bilingual classroom can consist of students from the same linguistic background, such as Spanish speakers in a transitional bilingual class. It can also be made up of learners from varied languages, as in dual-language programs.

Bilingual Education as Practice

The relationship of the communities-of-practice model to bilingual education is twofold. It is employed as a learning theory in educational research, commonly used in research on bilingual learners, and as a concept synonymous with the idea of a *learning community*. As a learning theory, communities of practice view learning as a social process, rather than an individual one. Since the inception of the term *communities of practice* in the late 1980s, community-based learning has grown tremendously in popularity and has penetrated the fields of bilingual education and second-language acquisition in research and in education generally.

Its usefulness notwithstanding, the term *community of learners* was singled out in 2006 by the Lake Superior State University in its annual superlative list of terms new to the English lexicon as a highly overused expression. The fact that this otherwise undesirable label has been bestowed upon the term suggests that learning communities are now ubiquitous in educational settings.

Three characteristics must be in place to establish a community of practice: *mutual engagement*, a *joint enterprise* such as a task or activity, and a *shared repertoire of negotiable resources*. Within the community of practice in the bilingual classroom, students are mutually engaged in a common task or, more specifically, a joint enterprise, such as a classroom assignment or a 6-week theme-based project. The shared repertoire of negotiable resources includes language and specific ways of using language in certain communities, as well as the various tools, routines, stories, and genres that are used in particular practices. In a bilingual classroom in the United States, the shared repertoire consists not only of the target languages being used by the teacher and the students (e.g., Spanish and English, or Cantonese and English) but also the academic and social communicative competence (including lexicon, grammatical structure, semantics, pragmatics) in the languages being studied.

It is not necessary that members in a community of practice hail from a homogeneous background. In the same way that a bilingual classroom consists of highly heterogeneous populations, in terms of language proficiency, ethnicity, nationality, and level of education, a community of practice represents a diverse community of members. It is also important to note that communities of practice may or may not be intentionally created communities; some simply develop organically, while others are consciously created.

A classroom is an example of a heterogeneous community that has a joint goal, shared repertoire, and mutual engagement in academic and social endeavors. In a classroom, all students are expected to carry out a common, negotiated enterprise, such as the learning of a particular content area subject, for example, math or social studies. The shared repertoire is particularly important in a classroom of language learners because it refers not just to common registers and discourse about the content area or topic the students are learning but also to the shared understandings of the activities and artifacts involved in the overall practice. As students work collectively on a common enterprise, they continue to develop the shared resources that form a part of their practice. For example, fourth-grade students in a writing workshop in English know the parts of the writing process and how to carry it out, and they know that in the prewriting, or drafting phase, a “sloppy copy” is an acceptable product. All of these aspects of the class are part of the shared repertoire and joint enterprise and serve as part of the classroom practice.

Within the community-of-practice theoretical framework, the term *legitimate peripheral participation* describes the process of how newcomers shift from the periphery of the community to the center, to become full participants in the community of learners. *Legitimate* is used in this phrase to give credibility to the status of the novices in terms of their engagement and membership in the community, despite the fact that they have not yet become masters of the community's knowledge. In a transitional bilingual classroom, a recent immigrant with limited proficiency in the majority language would be considered a legitimate peripheral participant. In a Mandarin Chinese and English two-way bilingual classroom, the monolingual Anglophone child could also be a legitimate peripheral participant—until he or she gains enough proficiency in Mandarin Chinese to be considered fluent. This shift from legitimate peripheral participation to full participation (and fluency in the target language) reflects one's learning. However, the movement from the periphery to the center of participation is not a unidirectional trajectory. The dynamic experienced by learners is characterized by multiple shifts in identity as they move along an often uneven path of learning.

The concept of *identity* is central to community of practice. As members progress from legitimate peripheral participants to full participants in a community, their identities shift and transform. According to the authors of the framework, identity is the “negotiated experience” that is coconstructed by the learner and the community members with whom he or she engages in a learning situation. A participant in the process of learning works to develop the many varied and competent identities that are necessary for appropriate participation in a particular situation or practice. For a language learner to be successful in school, a student must know how to negotiate academic situations in whichever language he or she is addressed. For example, in a bilingual classroom, a student learns to play myriad academic and social roles, including scientist, helper, mathematician, group member, and teacher's pet—in two or more languages. The bilingual student's identity changes and develops as he or she interacts with bilingual interlocutors, texts, and resources to gain new knowledge about language and content.

School-based ethnographic research that relies on the community-of-practice concept has been conducted with bilingual students from a variety of language minority backgrounds, including Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Polish, and Punjabi. Although the

community-of-practice framework is widely employed in research studies of language minority students, some researchers have criticized it for being too simplistic a theory to explain language learning. They claim the framework does not take into account the complex social aspects of learning in school. Bilinguals in schools, including those who have successfully exited bilingual or second-language support programs, are often relegated to the margins of the greater educational society, with little hope of becoming legitimate participants in the classroom or educational community. Further, since the community of practice views learning as a group endeavor rather than as a traditional teacher-student classroom relationship, some researchers maintain that the framework is not compatible with classroom learning. Nevertheless, the community-of-practice framework is heavily utilized as a foundational theory in understanding how bilinguals learn their first and second languages in schools.

Sometimes called *learning communities*, *learning networks*, or *communities of learners*, communities of practice are created (often purposefully and intentionally) in bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) classrooms. In bilingual classes, children naturally form communities of practice that share expectations of learning, interaction with each other, and a bond that includes the understanding of what it is like to be a learner in a bilingual classroom. Students share an understanding of how their teachers will use both languages in class—be it Spanish in math class and English in social studies, or translation in each class. They also understand as a classroom community when and where to talk science, math, or music and in which target language they are studying.

Outside and Inside the Classroom

Communities of practice are also created in in-service and pre-service teacher education for second-language learning. Practitioners are encouraged to work in teams or communities to better serve the needs of students learning two languages. Communities of practice can thus include not only students but also teachers, administrators, parents, and other community members. In two-way bilingual programs, for example, there is an emphasis on creating community between members of both language groups. Often, bilingual community members, such as politicians, local celebrities, and family members of students, are encouraged to participate in school practices and activities (such as science fairs or holiday celebrations)

that work to create a cohesive and supportive school environment. At both the elementary and secondary levels, the push to create communities of practice is strong and is growing ever stronger. This emphasis on communities of practice is seen in many recently published pedagogical texts that promote the development of learning communities within schools; in professional journals, such as TESOL's (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) practitioner publication, *Essential Teacher*, which includes several regular columns under the heading "Communities of Practice"; at conferences for researchers and educators, such as NABE (National Association for Bilingual Education) and AERA (American Educational Research Association); and in schools and classrooms themselves.

Holly Hansen-Thomas

See also Classroom Discourse; Language Socialization; School Leader's Role; Situated Learning; Social Learning; Vygotsky and Language Learning

Further Readings

- Kanno, Y. (1999). Comments on Kelleen Toohey's "Breaking them up, taking them away: ESL students in Grade 1": The use of community-of-practice perspective in language minority research. *TESOL Quarterly*, 33, 126–136.
- Lave, J. (1991). Situating learning in communities of practice. In L. Resnick, J. Levine, & S. Teasley (Eds.), *Perspectives on socially shared cognition* (pp. 63–84). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, É. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Toohey, K. (2000). *Learning English at school: Identity, social relations, and classroom practice*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Wenger, É. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

draw on the meaning system imposed by the language they learned first in order to produce their second language? Does how they became bilingual affect the way they are able to express meaning in their two languages? These questions were addressed in the early 1950s, first by Uriel Weinreich and then by Susan Ervin and Charles Osgood, who proposed a distinction between *coordinate* and *compound bilingualism*.

Weinreich was interested in describing how bilingualism develops when speakers from two different languages come into contact and speakers from one of the groups attempt to learn the language of the other group. Weinreich distinguished among three types of bilinguals, based on the relationship among *signs* (concrete objects), *signifiers* (the words used to denote them), and *signified* (the representation of meaning associated with the words). In this view, Type A bilinguals have an independent word and meaning system. In other words, for this type of bilingual, signifiers used in Language A have a meaning that is independent from the meaning of the same signifiers in Language B. For example, a Type A bilingual would associate a particular meaning for the signifier *pencil* in English and another meaning for the same signifier, *lápiz*, in Spanish. For bilinguals of this type, the two meanings are associated with language-specific information, because the meanings were constructed not only from information processes occurring in each language but also as a result of formations that were built up from separate experiences that shaped the meaning of the words within specific contexts.

According to Weinreich, Type B bilinguals have a single meaning system for words in the two languages. This means that any new words the learner acquires are necessarily tied to the meaning those words already have in the learner's first language. Accordingly, *pencil* and *lápiz* are separate words, but their underlying meaning is the same across the two languages. The reason for this is because Type B bilinguals acquire their second language in the same contexts as they acquired their first language.

Weinreich also proposed a Type C bilingual, who in the early stages of learning a second language translates every new word using the meaning system of the first language. As in Type B bilingualism, the meaning of any new word remains the same as in the first language (*pencil* as an object for writing, drawing, etc.), with no meaningful association between the signifier *lápiz* and what a *pencil* signifies in Spanish. The difference between Type B and Type C

COMPOUND AND COORDINATE BILINGUALISM

How do bilinguals organize meaning associated with their two languages? Do some bilinguals live in and express two different worlds of meaning, while others

is essentially strategic. Type C bilinguals necessarily translate from their first language to the new language in order to learn it, while Type B bilinguals build up proficiency in their two languages using one meaning system.

Ervin and Osgood collapsed Weinreich's three-part system into two main categories, called *coordinate* and *compound* bilinguals, with Weinreich's Type A representing the former and Types B and Type C combined to form the latter. For them, the two languages of a coordinate bilingual correspond to two independent meaning (signifying) systems. A compound bilingual, in contrast, has one meaning system for the two languages. The added value of Ervin and Osgood's work was that it considered how an individual might become one type or the other, an extension of the original idea that has generated popular as well as academic interest ever since. To wit, Ervin and Osgood hypothesized that the difference between compound and coordinate bilingualism could be explained in terms of the contexts in which an individual acquired the second language. Moreover, while Weinreich talked mainly about adult bilinguals who were also literate in their first language, Ervin and Osgood were interested in child bilingualism as well as bilingualism in adulthood. For them, *compound bilingualism* was the result of individuals having learned the second language while constantly relying on their first language or of learners growing up with the two languages in their daily lives. For adult learners, it mattered not whether the second language was learned in school or in a foreign country. What was important was the existence of one meaning system, regardless of when or under what conditions bilingualism was acquired.

Ervin and Osgood argued that *coordinate bilinguals* were distinct from compound bilinguals, not only because the meaning system of the two languages was language-specific but also because the conditions under which they learned the two languages enabled learners to develop separate meaning systems. Coordinate bilinguals, they asserted, do not learn by translating from one language to another or by relying on what words mean in the other language. Rather, coordinate bilinguals develop because they learned their two languages in different contexts. By *contexts*, they mean separate domains, such as home, school, religion, recreation, education, and work. These domains can exist either in the same geographic environment or in different places. For example, children who grow up using their two languages for separate purposes in different domains as well as children who

grow up learning one language in one country and a second one in another country are both likely to develop into coordinate bilinguals.

Problems With the Compound-Coordinate Distinction

As with any concept, it is important to examine the compound-coordinate distinction against the background of the period in which it was created. In the 1950s, language was viewed as a habit that was formed through the reinforcement of correct forms. Semantics, the study of word meanings, was in its infancy. As linguistics became more sophisticated and researchers began testing the Ervin and Osgood hypothesis, several problems emerged, leading to an almost complete rejection of the distinction. Karl Diller pointed out that the terms *compound* and *coordinate* are poorly defined and often contradictory and no experimental evidence supports the basic distinction. Since the original work was done at the word level, once Ervin and Osgood extended the meaning of the two kinds of bilingualism to include how they were developed, new questions arose that began to erode confidence in the distinction. For example, if a child grows up speaking English to his father and other family members and Spanish to his mother and her family, becoming equally proficient in the two languages over time and into adulthood, is this person a compound or coordinate bilingual? According to Ervin and Osgood's definition, he would be compound; according to Nelson Brooks, however, he would be coordinate, a "true" bilingual, who has high proficiency in two languages with highly developed meaning systems in both. Ervin and Osgood addressed this issue in their original work by suggesting that there may be two types of compound bilinguals: those who rely on their first language to build a meaning system and those who rely on both of their languages, but with neither language having prominence. Over time, it became clear that the original distinction was more like a continuum, with no sharp differences between the two concepts.

As Diller also pointed out, compound bilinguals, as defined by Ervin and Osgood, should be better translators than coordinate bilinguals, because many in this category learned their second language through translation techniques. However, Wallace Lambert found no difference between compound and coordinate bilinguals in their abilities to translate from one language to the other. Another difficulty Diller alluded to is the

claim that compound bilinguals have merged linguistic systems. This may be a possibility for beginning language learners and children who acquire two languages in childhood but not for highly proficient compound bilinguals, because a merged linguistic system would always cause interference from one language to the other. In other words, once a bilingual becomes highly proficient in two languages, regardless of the route, the original distinction no longer serves any purpose.

A Distinction Persisting in New Forms

Like many of the concepts developed in the 1950s to capture variation among bilinguals, the compound and coordinate bilingualism categories have remained alive despite serious doubts about their validity and usefulness. One of the reasons the distinction has persisted is because it became attached to bilingual behaviors that were hinted at in the original work. For example, compound bilingualism became associated with code-switching behaviors among bilinguals who grew up in the United States, acquiring two languages simultaneously and using them for similar purposes within various cultural settings. Bilinguals of this type, it was argued by Joshua A. Fishman, would eventually shift to the dominant language, namely, English. To avoid language shift and language loss, Fishman argued that bilinguals needed to develop diglossia or social bilingualism, the functional distribution of two languages into separate domains of use, much like what coordinate bilinguals do when they grow up speaking one language in one country (or social context) and a second language in another country (or social context). Bilingualism without diglossia, akin to compound bilingualism without separate places in which the meaning systems of the two languages live separate lives, was considered to be a weaker type of bilingualism that was bound to atrophy over time.

Code switching and code mixing, sometimes referred to as *intersentential* and *intrasentential* code switching, respectively, were also perceived by many language purists as incomplete systems or interlanguages that were neither fully one language or the other and thus inferior to “pure” languages. This perspective, along with the idea that diglossia was a necessary condition for the development of bilinguals who did not mix their two languages, harkens back to the 1950s claim by Ervin and Osgood, and later Lambert, that coordinate bilinguals

were the only “true” bilinguals; compound bilinguals, relying on a single meaning system, were not “true” bilinguals because they either mixed their two languages or relied on translation for expressing meaning in the second language. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that ethnographers, who lived and studied communities populated by bilinguals who learned and used two languages in their daily lives, found that code switching and diglossia, like their predecessors’ compound and coordinate bilingualism, were much more complex than the earlier research had assumed.

Despite many problems with the distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism and its offshoots, some researchers continue to use the concepts to study bilingual autobiographical memory and bilingual long-term memory. Moreover, the distinction continues to be mentioned as a way to understand bilingualism, with little or no critique of its usefulness or validity as a construction of bilingual realities.

Christian Faltis

See also Bilingualism Stages; Brain Research; Concurrent Translation Method; Contrastive Analysis; First-Language Acquisition; Language Dominance; Metalinguistic Awareness; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Brooks, N. (1964). *Language and language learning: Theory and practice*. New York: International Thomson.
- Diller, K. (1970). “Compound” and “coordinate” bilingualism: A conceptual artifact. *Word*, 26, 254–261.
- Ervin, S., & Osgood, C. (1954). Second language learning and bilingualism. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology Supplement*, 49, 139–211.
- Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23(2), 29–37.
- Lambert, W. E. (1969). Psychological studies of the interdependencies of the bilingual’s two languages. In J. Puhvel (Ed.), *Substance and structure of language* (pp. 99–126). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in contact*. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.

COMPREHENSIBLE INPUT

This controversial concept was developed by Stephen Krashen in the 1970s and 1980s in connection with the

input hypothesis, which claims that the way humans acquire language is by understanding messages or by receiving *comprehensible input*. In the late 1970s, Krashen referred to comprehensible input as *intake*. About a decade earlier, S. Pit Corder had distinguished intake—language that a learner understands, takes in, and uses—from input—any stretch of language available to the learner. Krashen originally claimed that intake alone was both necessary and sufficient for second-language acquisition. His preliminary writings focused on the acquisition of grammatical structures, mainly morphemes. By the mid-1980s, he extended his claims about comprehensible input to include the acquisition of lexical items embedded in messages and the acquisition of literacy.

The input hypothesis asserts that learners become more proficient in a second language when they understand language input that includes grammatical structures slightly beyond their current proficiency levels. Messages directed to the learner that contain language structures too far beyond the learner's current proficiency do not help the learner develop greater or expanded proficiency, because they leave gaps in understanding and therefore in production. Krashen uses the expression $i + 1$ to capture the idea of language input that is "slightly beyond" the learner's current level of competence. In the expression, the term i equals the learner's current competency level, so that $i + 1$ is the next level or stage the learner is ready to acquire. Messages to the learner that contain structures that extend well beyond the learner's current proficiency level, say, $i + 5$ or $i + 9$, are by definition incomprehensible, and thus, because the learner cannot process the structures in the message, the structures will not be acquired.

Krashen (with Tracy Terrell) points out, however, that this is a theoretical and conceptual portrayal. Comprehensible input does not need to be finely tuned to each learner's $i + 1$ level to be useful for acquisition. In a classroom where language learners are at different levels of proficiency, a teacher cannot possibly adjust for all the variations in level present in the classroom. The teacher's role is to make sure that learners understand what is being communicated to them orally or in writing. If learners understand the input and there is an ample amount of it, learners are likely to receive $i + 1$ geared to their acquisition needs. This is what Krashen refers to as "casting a net" of language wide enough to ensure that there are multiple instances of the individual student's $i + 1$.

Sources for Comprehensible Input

Given the importance of comprehensible input for second-language acquisition, what are some of the ways that learners gain access to $i + 1$? According to Michael Long, there are four ways that input can be made comprehensible: (1) Some speakers, especially language teachers, caregivers, and people in continuous contact with foreigners, modify their input to learners; (2) learners use more than linguistic resources to assist comprehension; (3) speakers often orient their communication with language learners to the here and now; and (4) it is possible to modify the interactional structure of conversations between speakers and learners.

Modified Input

Teachers, caregivers, and people who interact with foreigners often modify—simplify and elaborate—to ensure meaningful communication. According to Krashen, the key characteristics of simplified input are as follows:

- Slower rate and clearer articulation, which helps learners identify word boundaries more easily and allows more processing time
- More use of high-frequency vocabulary, less slang, fewer idioms
- Syntactic simplification, shorter sentences

Modified input that simplifies language has been shown to facilitate comprehension in numerous studies. These include caregiver studies done in the 1970s by Toni Cross and in the 1990s by Catherine Snow and Charles Ferguson; research on foreigner talk done by Ferguson in the early 1970s; and studies of teacher talk in classroom settings, like those conducted by Rod Ellis, and Michael Long and Charlene Sato in the early 1980s. Another form of modified input is the use of elaborations, paraphrasing information and providing definitions of low-frequency words, when the words are introduced for the first time. As Ellis found, elaborations, used judiciously, have been shown to be helpful to learners who are at more-advanced stages of language acquisition.

When teachers modify their language to learners in these ways, they enable them to understand language that is slightly beyond their input levels and thus to acquire more advanced structures. As learners

become more advanced speakers, the complexity of language addressed to them also becomes more advanced, so that modifications are adjusted to the needs of the learners.

Extralinguistic Support

A second way that learners understand language that is slightly beyond their current ability is by paying attention to extralinguistic information and using their knowledge about the world to make sense of language directed to them. *Extralinguistic information* means cues and clues about what is happening in the exchange of information as the teacher or more capable language user attempts to communicate with learners. When speakers cast a net of language, learners are able to understand much of what is being communicated because of what they already know about language (e.g., greetings, descriptions, labeling, story parts, etc.). Input to learners can also be made meaningful when the speaker uses visual supports (photos, drawings, videos), nonverbal gestures (smiles, frowns, hands, pointing), paraverbal support (whispers, sighs, expressive sounds), graphic organizers (Venn diagrams, T charts, maps), and realia (real objects that students can see, touch, and feel) that focus learners on the concrete here and now. All of these extralinguistic mechanisms provide support to the net of input that speakers cast over learners as they strive for $i + 1$.

Focus on the Here-and-Now

Especially for beginning language learners, language can be made comprehensible by linking it to ideas and expressions that the learners can literally see, touch, and feel in front of them. As Krashen and Terrell argue, the here-and-now also refers to using language that is mainly in the present tense or in the form of commands to which the learners respond physically.

Interactionally Modified Input

Another way that teachers make input comprehensible derives from the way they modify the interactional structure of conversations with learners. *Interactionally modified input* has become more widely known as *negotiation for meaning*, which, according to Long, is a process by which learners and teachers

give and interpret signals regarding how much they think they understand each other. This results in adjustments to form, structure, and content of the conversation, until an acceptable level of understanding is reached.

Long argues that interactional modifications are likely to occur in two-way communicative tasks, where native speakers and language learners negotiate the meaning of what they are saying to make it more comprehensible to one another. Because the native speaker needs to exchange information with the learner, he or she must focus on learner feedback to be successful. As the learner negotiates information with the native speaker, this compels the native speaker to adjust language input until what is being said is comprehensible to the learner. Through this two-way exchange of information, learners are provided with comprehensible input that promotes language acquisition.

Situating Comprehensible Input

It is important to situate Krashen's introduction of the concept of comprehensible input historically and in terms of its epistemological framework. Comprehensible input, as the essential ingredient for second-language acquisition, is tied to several important beliefs about language acquisition that were current when Krashen first developed the concept. An important idea in Krashen's work is that language acquisition happens exclusively inside the head of the learner. This perspective comes from the belief that the mind and the way it works are separated from what happens in the world. In other words, learning is not social, but individual, and unconnected to becoming a member of a particular socio-cultural group. While what happens in the world can affect whether or not people (teachers and peers) enable input to be comprehensible, acquisition is always the result of the internal processing of comprehended messages, not the result of becoming a member of a community where the language being learned is used as a tool.

Krashen developed the concept of comprehensible input at a time in the 1970s when the work of cognitive linguist Noam Chomsky, first-language psychologist Roger Brown, and child language experts Toni Cross, Elissa Newport, Lila Glietman, and Henry Glietman was at the forefront of new ideas about language acquisition. In simple terms, the prevailing

belief in the late 1970s and early 1980s was that when people comprehend language, an internal language mechanism, the *language acquisition device* (LAD) processes the language. The LAD is connected internally to an innate human capacity to learn language through the universal grammar. According to the *universal grammar theory*, humans have the capacity to acquire any language; the language system they acquire and become proficient in depends on the language they hear and understand most. The LAD organizes the language that is comprehended according to the rule system generated through the universal grammar. With continued language input, the LAD organizes the language so that over time, if there is sufficient language input, the person develops full competency in that language.

Linguistically, Krashen relied on Chomsky's *generative theory of language*, which he had developed in the 1960s and early 1970s. This view held that language is a generative system made up of deep- and surface-level components and that what is important to understand is how individuals acquire competency in the generative system, not how they perform language itself. For Chomsky, the deep structures of language are innately human, and they are derived from the interaction between the universal grammar and the LAD. Young children intuitively acquire certain grammatical rules that will eventually enable them to generate an infinite number of language-specific grammatical sentences. What children actually produce as a result of rules is unimportant, because if the rule is acquired, the production will be grammatically correct according to that rule system. Although Krashen did not use generative grammar theory in his work, he relied on Chomsky's basic ideas about linguistic competence, especially how children intuitively and with minimal effort acquire language structures. Moreover, like Chomsky, Krashen gave minimal importance to performance or output. In fact, a corollary of the input hypothesis is that speaking does not lead to acquisition: Its role is to generate more comprehensible input. Krashen claims that when learners speak, they encourage input because people converse with them, supplying input that is likely to be related to the topic of the conversation and, consequently, meaningful to the learner.

Krashen relied a great deal on child-language research as evidence to support the value and role of comprehensible input in language acquisition. Much of this research examined how caregivers (usually

highly educated mainstream parents) interacted with infants and toddlers who were in the process of acquiring their native languages. This research found that caregiver speech to young children was syntactically simpler than adult-to-adult speech and roughly tuned to the child's current level of linguistic competence. Caregiver speech was also found to be oriented to here-and-now speech about topics, objects, and events that the child could easily perceive because they were in the immediate environment. Krashen interpreted this research as strong evidence for how simplified speech and extralinguistic support provide the child with the necessary ingredient for language acquisition.

Another belief that Krashen relied on to develop his ideas about comprehensible input was that there are two distinct ways of developing ability in a second language: consciously or subconsciously. The conscious process results in knowing about language and its rules and was at the time the most prevalent way to teach second languages. Acquisition of a second language, however, happens subconsciously, when the focus is on meaning and messages are comprehensible. For Krashen, subconscious acquisition is akin to "picking up" a language by being immersed in a setting where meaning and purpose are central. The reason people are successful at picking up a language is that many of the messages addressed to them are aimed at making meaning, in other words, comprehensible input. An important implication of the distinction between learning and acquisition is that the only way to gain proficiency in a second language is through acquisition, by receiving continuous comprehensible input. Learning is useful only as a monitor, to make corrections either before or after speaking or writing.

Problems With Comprehensible Input

The idea of comprehensible input as the essential reason for second-language acquisition is troubling to many in the field of language acquisition research, so much so that by the turn of the century, as Karen Watson-Gegeo and Sarah Nielson documented, few second-language acquisition scholars referred to comprehensible input as central to theoretical work in second-language acquisition. Accordingly, despite the substantial contribution the input hypothesis and comprehensible input have had on second-language

acquisition studies, it has received strong rebukes from several researchers, who criticize the term as being atheoretical, unmeasurable, and extremely vague. Kevin Gregg argues that the input hypothesis does not stand up to conditions that any theory of second-language acquisition needs to meet. In particular, Gregg is concerned that Krashen does not adequately define the terms he uses in his writings on comprehensible input. For example, Krashen interchanges the term *language* with *grammatical structures*, when he apparently really means a particular set of grammatical morphemes. Gregg and others have also expressed concern that there is no way to measure comprehensible input.

Lydia White rejects the input hypothesis because it places too much emphasis on comprehensible input, when, for her, it is *incomprehensible input* that is crucial for second-language acquisition. If the input is comprehensible, then there is no need for learners to negotiate for meaning. White contends that comprehension difficulties provide important negative feedback to learners, enabling them to adjust their developing language based on feedback provided in the conversational repair work.

Susan Gass questions whether it is comprehensible or *comprehended* input that is responsible for second-language acquisition. For her, comprehensible input implies that the speaker controls the comprehensibility through modified input, use of extralinguistic support, and focus on the here-and-now. In comprehended input, the onus for comprehension is on the learner and the focus is on the extent to which the learner understands language addressed to him or her. So which is it, comprehensible or comprehended input that matters to second-language acquisition? Krashen argues that in order for learners to move to the next level of competency, they must process the *i + 1* they receive. It is not enough for speakers to modify their input to, or in interaction with, learners; ultimately, the learner has to comprehend the language for it to be useful for acquisition.

Merrill Swain also makes the argument that in addition to comprehensible input, learners need to produce *comprehensible output* in order to develop proficiency in a second language. Swain argues that comprehensible input may be necessary for the beginning stages of language development, but in order to develop complex syntax required for long stretches of language used in descriptions, explanations, justifications, and summaries, learners need to practice with comprehensible

output. As Krashen pointed out, one of the corollaries of the input hypothesis is that speaking is the result of acquisition, not its cause. Swain argues that nudging learners to speak moves them from semantic processing to syntactic processing. When learners are forced to produce language, they may recognize the gap between what they want to produce and what they are able to, and because of this, they may pay closer attention to how native speakers use language for extended discourse. Pushed output involves providing learners with useful and consistent feedback, which encourages self-repair; this may lead to more accurate and precise language use.

Finally, there is the problem of how comprehensible input becomes intake and how intake leads to acquisition. As indicated by Eun Sun Park, most studies involving comprehensible input assume that some combination of speech modifications, extralinguistic support, a here-and-now emphasis, and negotiations for meaning involving judicious push output stimulate acquisition. However, in fact, as claimed by Long, most studies involving comprehensible input have focused on showing that language and conversational modifications promote the comprehension of input. Park argues that few studies have been able to show that comprehensible input promotes acquisition, mainly because the construct of *acquisition* has not been sufficiently explained or operationalized. Moreover, all of the research used to support the input hypothesis comes from Western settings involving mainstream middle-class, well-educated people. There are many examples of caregiver speech interaction in non-Western societies in which caregivers do not adjust their speech to young children, making no attempt to provide comprehensible input, and yet children in all of these settings acquire the language of their communities. Thus, even the supposed link between language/conversational adjustment and comprehensible input is questionable.

Current Developments

Despite the long-term debates over the role of comprehensible input in second-language acquisition, there is, as documented by Park, considerable support for the idea that when learners can negotiate comprehensible input and are also encouraged to repair their output in order for it to be more comprehensible, such “interactional contexts” are more conducive to language development than just providing comprehensible

input. Moreover, as documented by second-language researchers, such as Stephen Cary, Jana Echevarria, Anne Graves, Mary Ellen Vogt, and Deborah Short, though there is little value in pursuing the role of comprehensible input as the single reason for second-language acquisition, the idea of providing language learners with lots of comprehensible input is highly regarded among classroom teachers working with language learners and native speakers together. Especially among teachers working in school settings filled with English learners where language and content are integrated, belief in the value of comprehensible input for promoting language acquisition appears to be exceptionally strong, regardless of what research has to say about its usefulness and despite the fact its theoretical basis has been judged as largely indefensible.

Christian Faltis

See also First-Language Acquisition; Krashen, Stephen D.; Language Acquisition Device; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Monitor Model; Second-Language Acquisition; SIOP; Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English

Further Readings

- Cross, T. (1977). Mother's speech adjustments: The contribution of selected child listener variables. In C. Snow & C. Ferguson (Eds.), *Talking to children* (pp. 151–188). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Faltis, C. (1984). A commentary on Krashen's input hypothesis. *TESOL Quarterly*, 18, 352–357.
- Ferguson, C. (1975). Towards a characterization of English foreigner talk. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 17, 1–14.
- Gass, S., & Madden, C. (Eds.). *Input in second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House
- Gregg, K. (1994). Krashen's monitor theory, acquisition theory, and theory. In R. Barasch & C. Vaughan James (Eds.), *Beyond the monitor model* (pp. 37–55). Boston: Heinle & Heinle.
- Krashen, S. (1985). *The input hypothesis: Issues and implications*. New York: Longman.
- Long, M. (1982). Native speaker/non-native speaker conversation in the second language classroom. In M. Long & C. Richards (Eds.), *Methodology in TESOL: A book of readings* (pp. 339–354). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Park, E. S. (2002). On the potential sources of comprehensible input for second language acquisition. *Working Papers in TESOL and Applied Linguistics*, 2(3), 1–21.
- Snow, C., & Ferguson, C. (Eds.). (1977). *Talking to children*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Swain, M. (1985). Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), *Input in second language acquisition* (pp. 235–252). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- White, L. (1987). Against comprehensible input: The input hypothesis and the development of L2 competence. *Applied Linguistics*, 8, 95–110.

CONCURRENT TRANSLATION METHOD

The Concurrent Translation Method is widely used in bilingual education classrooms where teachers interchangeably use two languages during instruction. While implementing the Concurrent Translation Method, a teacher constantly alternates between the target language (e.g., English in the United States) and students' native language. Although its effectiveness has been contested, the Concurrent Translation Method remains one of the most commonly used bilingual instructional methods. As illustrated in the example on the following page, a bilingual (English/Arabic) second-grade teacher uses the Concurrent Translation Method while introducing a whole-group science lesson to native English and Arabic speakers. (Note: Arabic writing begins in a right-to-left direction.)

In bilingual classrooms, teachers may employ the Concurrent Translation Method in different ways and for different purposes. Some teachers may tend to use this method throughout the entire instructional school day, while others may use it only sparingly, depending on the context. For example, teachers may choose to use the Concurrent Translation Method when they are team teaching with a non-bilingual education teacher, because in this context, native speakers of different languages are brought together for instruction.

The intentions of the teachers who use this method are twofold. First, bilingual teachers using this method generally strive to ensure that all students comprehend fully by repeating the same information in both languages. Second, they seek to include all students during the lesson, regardless of their native language. While this method is used with the best of intentions, it has been proven to be ineffective.

<i>Teacher:</i>	Today we are going to learn about electricity.	اليوم سنقوم بالدراسة عن الكهرباء.
		[direct translation of above]
	What does electricity mean to you?	ماذا تعني لكم الكهرباء؟
		[direct translation of above]
<i>Jeremy:</i>	Like when we turn on the lights.	
<i>Huda:</i>		تساعدنا في رؤية الأشياء في الظلام.
		[It helps to see things in the dark.]
<i>Teacher:</i>	Okay. Good thinking. So we need electricity to turn on the lights so we can see in the dark.	تفكيرٌ جيد. نحن نحتاج الكهرباء لتساعدنا في تشغيل الإضاءة كي نتمكن من أن نرى في الظلام.
		[direct translation of above]
<i>Teacher:</i>	Now, let's do an experiment with our fifth-grade buddies.	الآن، لنقم بإجراء تجريبه عمليه مع أصدقاءنا الطلبة في الفصل الخامس.
		[direct translation of above]
<i>Teacher:</i>	Are you ready?	هل أنتم مستعدون؟
		[direct translation of above]

Although the Concurrent Translation Method is one of the most commonly used in bilingual education classrooms, the inherent drawbacks to this method seem to outweigh the benefits. According to many researchers, such as Rodolfo Jacobson, Judith Lessow-Hurley, and Robert Milk, there are several major criticisms regarding this method:

1. *Tuning Out the Nondominant Language.* Since students know that the information will eventually be provided in their dominant language, they often become accustomed to (a) not paying close attention

when their nondominant language is being used and (b) overly relying on getting the information via their dominant language.

2. *Lack of High-Quality Exposure to Target Language.* One of the main premises of bilingual education is to develop proficiency in the target language. However, when the Concurrent Translation Method is overly used, the exposure to the target language is of low quality, because this method provides only a rough direct translation. Therefore, students are not required to develop critical thinking skills and

strategies in the target language. In other words, students develop a passive response when the target language is in use.

3. *Lack of Motivation for Students and Teachers.* Another criticism regarding the Concurrent Translation Method relates to one of the most important aspects of the learning process—motivation. Using concurrent translation in bilingual classrooms tends to be extremely boring for students and goes against what research suggests for motivating students and contextualizing the subject matter.
4. *Draining for the Teacher to Implement.* This method can become increasingly taxing on a teacher who is constantly trying to alternate between two languages. One way to lessen the amount of effort on the part of the teacher is to separate the languages according to the person presenting the lesson. For instance, the teacher can consistently conduct the lesson in one language while a fellow teacher or paraprofessional can conduct the instruction in the other language.
5. *Disproportionate Time Spent in Each Language.* Teachers often underestimate the amount of time the target language is used during instruction. In other words, teachers have a tendency to dedicate less time to a student's native language. One consequence of this disproportionate language use is that students may come to think of English as the more valuable language. Another consequence is that the amount of time devoted to the primary language for academic purposes will be minimized, which may affect student achievement.
6. *Random Use of Languages.* Teachers may assume that they are implementing the Concurrent Translation Method, when, in reality, they often code-switch during instruction. Lessow-Hurley contends that the most effective ways to use languages concurrently during academic instruction are after the teacher has articulated a complete thought. Although we need to recognize that code switching is linguistically complex and serves a variety of purposes (e.g., expressing group solidarity, stressing a point, etc.), much of the literature on dual-language instruction recommends that teachers separate the languages entirely or at least try to avoid code-switching in the middle of a spoken phrase, sentence, or thought.
7. *Loss of Instructional Time.* Approximately one half of instructional time is spent on directly translating the lesson. As a result, a lot of instructional time ends

up being wasted, which results in less elaborated language and fewer critical connections to the content. An alternative to the Concurrent Translation Method where instructional time does not have to be lost is discussed in the next section.

Given the numerous criticisms of the Concurrent Translation Method, we may ask ourselves whether it would ever be appropriate to use such a method. Many bilingual educators and researchers, such as Rodolfo Jacobson, for example, advocate for a separation of languages either by content area or by time of day. This separation is ideal in dual-language bilingual education programs. However, many bilingual classrooms may have the need to use both languages concurrently. Therefore, two alternative methods are widely recommended in lieu of the Concurrent Translation Method: (1) the preview–review method expounded upon by Lessow-Hurley and (2) the new concurrent approach developed by Jacobson.

In the preview–review method, the two languages are used within the same lesson. However, the languages are separated according to the lesson components. Generally, teachers introduce and conclude the lesson in one language and use the other language for teaching the lesson. Teachers usually choose the primary language for the preview–review and the second language for the teaching of the content of the lesson.

Jacobson, who coined the term *New Concurrent Approach* (NCA), has studied it since the 1970s. The difference between the Concurrent Translation Method and NCA is how the pattern of language use plays out in the classroom. While the Concurrent Translation Method occurs as a direct translation, NCA provides for cognitively rich concurrent use of both languages. In other words, when teachers employ NCA, they alternate between the languages by building on the content progressively with each remark (regardless of the language being used at that specific time). In the following example, a bilingual (English-Spanish) education teacher alternates between the two languages:

Teacher: ¿Qué aprendieron durante el paseo al museo?
[What did you learn during the field trip to the museum?]

Cecilia: Aprendimos cómo los dinosaurios vivían y qué comieron. [We learned how the dinosaurs lived and what they ate.]

Teacher: What did you notice about the dinosaurs' teeth? Cuéntame algo acerca de la forma o

tamaño de los dientes. [Tell me something about the shape or size of their teeth.]

Leslie: Oh, like when the meat eaters had sharp teeth so they could eat other dinosaurs.

Alberto: *Y los que comen zacate tienen dientes planos.* [And the ones that ate grass have flat teeth.]

Teacher: *¿Tienen otras observaciones acerca de los dientes?* [Do you have any other observations about the teeth?]

In the above example, the teacher uses the two languages to build on scientific concepts, so that the students gather new information by actively attending to each language. Instead of directly translating each utterance as in the Concurrent Translation Method, the teacher purposefully alternates between the two languages. The aim is that both languages are used in a balanced manner and structured so that the students do not tune out either language.

Although the Concurrent Translation Method is widely used, greater attention to alternative methods such as the preview–review method and the New Concurrent Approach would be useful. To gauge which alternative method best would suit their classrooms, bilingual teachers must consider a variety of factors, such as instructional goals, teacher and student bilingual proficiency, and the demographic/linguistic makeup of the class.

Kimberley K. Cuero and Hamsa Aburumuh

See also Code Switching; English as a Second Language (ESL) Approaches; Primary-Language Support

Further Readings

- Jacobson, R. (1995). Allocating two languages as a key feature of a bilingual methodology. In O. García & C. Baker (Eds.), *Policy and practice in bilingual education: Extending the foundations* (pp. 166–175). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Lessow-Hurley, J. (2005). *The foundations of dual language instruction* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson Education.
- Milk, R. (1993). Bilingual education and English as a second language: The elementary school. In M. B. Arias & U. Casanova (Eds.), *Bilingual education: Politics, practice, research* (pp. 88–112). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

CONTAINER THEORY OF LANGUAGE

It is not uncommon for persons unfamiliar with linguistics to suggest that the brain and speech mechanisms of children probably function better when they are unencumbered by more than one language. In this view, it is assumed that to avoid confusion, developing one language at a time is preferable to using two or more languages concurrently, especially in school classrooms. This can lead to the conclusion that bilingual education is unwise. The basis for this is the notion that the brain and the apparatus for language learning and production are similar to a one-lane road or a container with limited capacity. Parents and even school personnel are often surprised to learn that the human brain appears to have unlimited capacity to process language and that its limits, if any, are not yet known.

To understand the reasons for these false assumptions, it is necessary to understand some important features of languages, how they are learned, and their patterns of use. For many people, perhaps for most, the organs of speech production become accustomed to one language and have difficulty learning new sounds that do not exist in the mother tongue. The nuances of one's native language are learned early on by the nerves and muscles involved. In time, muscles and nerves lose the ability to make sounds that are not used in that language. The trilled "r" in Spanish is difficult for native English speakers because it does not exist in English and it is difficult for the speech organs of monolingual English speakers to produce. For native Chinese speakers, the challenge is even greater because Chinese does not contain the "r" sound at all, trilled or otherwise. Some scientists suggest that some sounds may be forgotten, because at birth, babies are capable of making the sounds of every language in the world. This seems logical. If there existed a language whose sounds could not be learned by infants, that language would quickly evolve and be replaced by a modification of that language that would not include the "impossible" sounds. What may actually happen in infancy is that children's brains keep track of sounds that are used in their environments and keep those sounds as part of their active repertoires of speech. Sounds that are not part of their native languages fade away, making it difficult to learn a second language without a distinguishable accent. It is important, however, to distinguish between speech and language.

While meaningful sounds are part of what we commonly know as *language*, they are more properly called *speech*, because they concern only the spoken version of a language, not the written form.

Accents and Communication

Accents also influence the perception of language interference in the brain. Hence, they require additional explanation. Most accents do not pose a serious problem to communication. It is possible for a brilliant scientist like Albert Einstein to speak heavily accented English and to be no less brilliant for it. Like Einstein, many Americans speak with an accent, a situation in which the sounds and inflections of the native language creep into spoken English but do not impair the person's command of the language. Usually, accents are a minor problem that can be eliminated through coaching, although most people have little need for this. Movie and stage actors quickly learn accents when they are called for by the parts they are playing. In those cases, the opposite situation obtains: The actor has a great accent but may not know the language well enough to order breakfast. For more serious problems of accents, it may be necessary to take up a sustained regimen of exercise, not unlike what must be done for little-used muscles. Severe accents tend to occur among adults but rarely last very long in children because, among the latter, the muscles and nerves involved in speech production retain the ability to utter new and unfamiliar sounds. This flexibility in the speech organs lasts into early adolescence in most cases.

The presence of an accent is not indicative of confusion between languages or of trying to do more than the brain can handle. It is simply the result of having learned only the necessary sounds for one's native language and discarding, involuntarily, all others and subsequently finding a need to produce them.

Most of the discussion above has to do with the mechanics of speech production. It has little to do with languages taking up too much space in the brain. It is also related to the efficacy of language teaching methods, a topic discussed below. Elsewhere in this encyclopedia, the core elements of language are reviewed, such as phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. It is primarily in the phonology of language that an "accent" is most noticeable. Much of what we associate with interference between languages is little more than an "accent" emanating from

habits of speech rooted in the first-acquired language. They are not due to size limitations of the brain.

Why the Container Theory Is Misleading

The human brain is capable of learning and processing many languages. In fact, scientists today are not certain of the number of languages that can be learned and used by an average human. The lack of a definitive answer to this fascinating question is that the number of variables that bear on the number of languages is too large and complex to control in a laboratory setting. Whatever the maximum number of possible languages may be, it is not true that an average child can become confused by using two or three languages in school. Depending largely on the age at which a given language is learned, a discernible "accent" may be present. This does not mean that the child in question does not have a total and complete command of a language in every other respect: vocabulary, sentence construction, grammar, semantics, and so on.

This fact becomes easier to grasp when we set aside the idea that the brain is a container that holds a limited amount of language and that one language is enough to fill it. The brain has an enormous capacity to process data; and data in small and large sets make up language. Persons who speak several languages find it easier to learn additional languages. The reason is that languages inform each other in the process of learning them. Once a child understands what he or she can do with language and the process is made enjoyable, it becomes easier to figure out how to do the same thing with the other language he or she is learning. This process is part of the innate curiosity of children to explore and understand their environments. In short, our capacity for language learning is improved by experience in using language—any language.

Some linguists believe that humans have a built-in predisposition to learn languages, called *common underlying proficiency*. This capacity, according to theorists like James Cummins, facilitates the learning of new languages. If this is true, it can be argued that humans are "hardwired" to handle more than one language at a time. Language has several functions. It is, among other things, an analytical tool. Using one's native language to help understand the workings of another facilitates the learning of the second language. Learning the second language facilitates the third, and so on. For most children in schools today,

this bit of science remains untested due to the lack of understanding by teachers of the processes involved.

An Alternative Metaphor: The Computer

However useful it may be in adult life, it is not usually required of children in the United States that they learn more than two languages, the language of their parents and English, the lingua franca of the wider society. Our current understanding of the brain leaves no doubt that the brain is much more than a mere container. The complexities of language can be understood only if we abandon the idea of “brain as container” and replace it with the idea of “brain as computer,” with a number of processors functioning simultaneously. It is possible for one set of processors to be learning math, science, or social studies, while another set is quietly engaged in sifting and sorting the peculiarities of the second language the child is trying to learn. This multitasking capacity is unique to the human brain, a supercomputer more powerful than any electronic computer yet devised. It bears remembering that computers were invented by brains, but there is not a brain that has ever been created by a computer.

If the brain is not a container and if it can process more than one language at a time, why is it difficult for schools to teach children who come to school speaking a language other than English? The answer is that language teaching and language learning are complex phenomena that are not intuitive. The *art of teaching languages* must be preceded by a good understanding of the *science of language*, an understanding that many teachers are not given during their days as undergraduates preparing to teach. The problem here is the inadequacy of teacher education programs, rather than the inadequacies of young brains. Many immigrant children enter American schools lacking academic mastery of the language of their parents. They may not be literate in that language and therefore do not have the tools of that language to use when learning their second language, English. In their haste to teach English and prepare students for high-stakes tests, many schools overlook this handicap and push these students, prematurely, into English-only instruction. The result is an overly protracted period of mastering English. What they need is not fast-and-furious English. What is most helpful is to provide the child with ways to fill the gap that is left by incomplete academic mastery of the first language.

Academic language mastery in the first language provides the child with a useful set of tools to use in learning the second.

What Learning Theory Tells Us

Avoiding the use of a child’s home language while learning English is a mistake. Learning theory suggests that learners make better progress when they use what is already known as a bridge to what they wish to learn. This is a cornerstone principle in bilingual education programs. It is compatible with the learning and language theories advanced by well-known scientists, such as Lev Vygotsky, Jean Piaget, Noam Chomsky, and others.

Regrettably, while the problem of inadequate teacher education has been known for some time, the realization that teachers must be prepared to teach English to nonnative speakers has not had a major impact on teacher education. University students who are preparing to become teachers of English in the public schools spend a good deal of time and effort learning how to teach English literature to native speakers of the language and how to express themselves properly in tests, such as the SAT writing section. During their years of preparation, teachers in training may never focus on teaching the language to immigrants and other nonnative speakers, the segment of the student population that is growing faster than any other. They also learn to teach the beaux arts of a language, its poetry, and its fiction more than its use as an instrument for learning. Much of the problem schools encounter in teaching English to English language learners is due to limits in the knowledge base of the profession, not the limitations of the bilingual brain.

Josué M. González

See also BICS/CALPS Theory; Brain Research; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Learning a Language, Best Age; Linguistics, an Overview; Raising Bilingual Children; Semilingualism; Teacher Qualifications; Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies

Further Readings

- Baker, C., & Hornberger, N. H. (Eds.). (2001). *An introductory reader to the writings of Jim Cummins*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (1980). The entry and exit fallacy in bilingual education. *NABE Journal*, 4, 25–60.

CONTINUA OF BILITERACY

The *continua of biliteracy* model offers an ecological framework in which to situate research, teaching, and language planning in linguistically diverse settings. *Biliteracy* is defined here as any and all instances in which communication occurs in two or more languages in or around writing. Instances of biliteracy include biliterate events, actors, interactions, practices, activities, programs, sites, situations, societies, and worlds. The model or framework uses the notion of intersecting and nested continua to demonstrate the multiple and complex interrelationships between bilingualism and literacy and the importance of the contexts, media, and content through which biliteracy develops. The notion of *continuum* is intended to convey that, although one can identify points on the continuum, those points are not finite, static, or discrete. On any one biliteracy continuum there are infinitely many points; any single point is inextricably related to all other points; and all the points share fundamental commonalities. Furthermore, across the multiple intersecting and nested continua, there are many points at which connection, transfer, and reinforcement of biliteracy may occur.

The continua of biliteracy model is an ecological framework, metaphorically incorporating themes of evolution, environment, and endangerment, paralleling those in biological and environmental ecology. Specifically, an ecological view of language posits that languages (a) live and evolve in an ecosystem along with other languages (*language evolution*); (b) interact with their sociopolitical, economic, and cultural environments (*language environment*); and (c) become endangered if there is inadequate environmental support for them vis-à-vis other languages in the ecosystem (*language endangerment*). Significantly, the ecology movement is not only concerned with studying and describing those potential losses but also countering them.

Origins and Implications of the Framework

The initial impetus for formulating the continua of biliteracy framework was the Literacy in Two Languages project, a long-term comparative ethnographic research project in two language minority communities of Philadelphia, beginning in 1987.

Looking to scholarly literature to inform the research, Nancy H. Hornberger, the author of this entry, found very little work on biliteracy, which left the definition of the term implicit, assuming a meaning roughly glossed as reading and writing in two languages or in a second language and focusing primarily on mastery of reading and writing in two languages.

A broader theoretical common ground that emerged in considering the larger literatures on bilingualism, the teaching of second/foreign languages, literacy, and the teaching of reading/writing was that dimensions of bilingualism and literacy are traditionally characterized in terms of polar opposites, such as first versus second languages (L1 versus L2), monolingual versus bilingual individuals, or oral versus literate societies. These polar opposites turn out, under the scrutiny of research, to be only theoretical end points on what is in reality a continuum of features. This notion became the building block for the continua model of biliteracy.

Specifically, the continua framework depicts the *development* of biliteracy along intersecting first language-second language, receptive-productive, and oral-written language skills continua; through the *medium* of two (or more) languages and literacies whose linguistic structures vary from similar to dissimilar, whose scripts range from convergent to divergent, and to which the developing biliterate individual's exposure varies from simultaneous to successive; in *contexts* that encompass micro- to macrolevels and are characterized by varying mixes along the monolingual-bilingual and oral-literate continua; and with *content* that ranges from majority to minority perspectives and experiences, literary to vernacular styles and genres, and decontextualized to contextualized language texts.

The notion of continuum conveys that all points on a particular continuum are interrelated and the intersecting and nested relationships among the continua convey that all points across the continua are also interrelated. This ecological framework suggests that the more their learning contexts and contexts of use allow learners and users to draw from across the whole of each and every continuum, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development and expression. Implicit in that suggestion is the recognition that there has usually not been attention to all points and that movement along the continua and across the intersections may well be contested. In educational policy and practice regarding biliteracy, there tends to be an implicit privileging, such that one end

of each continuum is associated with more power than the other (e.g., written development over oral development). There is a need to contest the traditional power weighting by paying attention to, granting agency to, and making space for actors and practices that have traditionally been the less powerful ends of the continua.

As mentioned earlier, the original work in which the continua of biliteracy framework arose was the Literacy in Two Languages project in Philadelphia. Through participant observation, interviewing, and document collection in school and community settings in the Puerto Rican community of North Philadelphia and the Cambodian community of West Philadelphia, Hornberger, along with a group of graduate students, sought to understand biliteracy attitudes and practices in classroom and community and their fit with local, state, and national policies and programs addressing them. The continua framework proved useful in analyzing the data and drawing conclusions from the research; and by the same token, the ongoing research continually informed the evolving framework.

For example, an early paper from this project showed how *biliteracy contexts* for Puerto Rican and Cambodian students in Philadelphia in the 1980s were framed and constrained by an ecology in which national policies—such as the proposed English Language Amendment, the Bilingual Education Act renewals of 1984 and 1988, and the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986—emphasized English acquisition at the expense of minority language maintenance; the educational system used minority languages only to embed the more powerful English literacy; and the assimilative charm of English pulled students' biliterate development toward this language. Hornberger in collaboration with Joel Hardman published a study of adult biliteracy development in programs in this same community, in which they highlighted the inadequacy of an autonomous, cognitive-skills-based view of literacy with its emphasis on a single, standardized schooled literacy in the second language. They made the argument for the benefits of an ecologically complementary ideological, cultural practice view.

Hornberger and Cheri Micheau found that faculty and staff of two-way bilingual programs in the Puerto Rican community continually faced challenging decisions related to the *media of biliteracy*, such as (a) placement of students in English-dominant and Spanish-dominant streams, (b) distribution of English

and Spanish in the program structure and the classroom, and (c) instruction and assessment in a language ecology of coexisting standard and nonstandard varieties of English and Spanish. In an ethnographic dissertation study of literacy, identity, and educational policy among Cambodian women and girls in Philadelphia, Ellen Skilton-Sylvester expanded the original continua framework to include *biliteracy content*, to account for the important role of contextualized, vernacular, and minority texts in the women's and girls' biliterate development.

Applications for Analysis and Action

Beyond these analytical uses within the ecology of languages in Philadelphia, the continua framework has been applied toward both analysis and action in a range of other ecological contexts in the United States and internationally, as illustrated in studies published in a book, *Continua of Biliteracy*, edited by Hornberger and summarized here. At the program level, Mihyon Jeon found in the continua framework a rationale for Korean-English two-way immersion program policies, while Viniti Basu contrasted the ecology of bilingual education in two schools of New Delhi, India, showing why one school is more successful in making its students proficient in their second language. At the level of multilingual classroom ecologies, Diana Schwinge analyzed via the continua how two U.S. bilingual education teachers adapted a mandated curriculum to use the available linguistic, cultural, and textual resources in their classrooms to enable students to become biliterate, while South African colleagues Carole Bloch and Neville Alexander used the continua as a model to explore ways of developing, trying out, and demonstrating workable strategies for teaching and learning multilingually in one Cape Town primary school.

Bilingual teacher professional development offers other instances of biliteracy ecology that the continua framework has been used to elucidate and shape. Comparing two groups of bilingual teacher education candidates in the Southwest, namely, Mexican normal school graduates and Latina paraprofessionals, Bertha Pérez and colleagues found the biliteracy continua dynamically present within the teacher preparation program in the acceptance of the use of English and Spanish vernaculars, which, in turn, enables the teacher education candidates to understand the local community's use of the vernacular while also providing

opportunities for development of their own academic use of standard English and Spanish. Hardman and Melisa Cahnmann each used the continua framework to look closely at tensions and struggles in the classroom practice of English as a Second Language/bilingual teachers, around the control of content in one case and the teacher's assessment and correction of students' oral and written productions in the other. Equally, the continua model has been applied to consider students' biliteracy, in a consideration of language minority student voices in rural Arkansas (Felicia Lincoln) and of biliteracy development among Latino youth in New York City (Carmen Mercado).

Other uses of the continua framework also illustrated in this publication include its application as an ecological model for considering language policy: Bloch and Alexander on South Africa's multilingual language policy, Colin Baker on the Welsh National Curriculum, and Hornberger's work looking comparatively at implementational and ideological spaces for multilingual education in South Africa, Bolivia, and Paraguay. In the United States, the continua framework has been applied in describing, analyzing, and interpreting Puerto Rican community bilingualism and heritage language education for Korean American and Chinese American learners. This work, conducted by Rebecca Freeman, Holly Pak, and Hornberger and Wang, highlights the centrality of ecology and identity in the biliterate development of heritage languages and their speakers.

Taking up themes of ideology and identity in relation to the ecology of biliteracy, a group of researchers and educators in the Pacific Islands have used the continua framework to explore the language policy/practice connection in classrooms they characterize as *linguistic borderlands*: In these classrooms, teachers contend with postcolonial educational policies designating English as the main medium of instruction, even though the children come to school speaking Marshallese, Palauan, or Samoan. The authors, Marylin Low and her colleagues, called attention to the need for a dialogic space where community members can query which language(s) should be the medium of instruction and for what purposes. Christine Hélot applied the continua framework as a lens to elucidate ideological principles and biases underlying language education policies in France, which tend to favor prestigious bilingual education for monolingual learners and neglect the bilingualism of minority speakers; and she reported on a language awareness initiative carried out

in a small, rural primary school in a multicultural community in southern Alsace that reverses the imposed relations of power. This initiative begins to bridge the gap between prestigious bilingualism and minority bilingualism by opening the school to parents and making classrooms inclusive of all the languages and cultures of their pupils.

In New York City, Lesley Bartlett's ethnographic study of multilingual, multimodal, transnational literacy practices of Latino immigrant youth in Manhattan employed the continua of biliteracy framework in seeking to understand how academic English literacy intersects with out-of-school literacy practices of these youth and how their multiple literacies might serve as resources in school. In the Bronx, Sharon Utakis and Marianne Pita considered the transnational practices and identities of the Dominican community, arguing that the continua of biliteracy provides a framework by which to articulate policy and pedagogical changes needed to do justice to the educational needs of Dominican students, in contrast to current policy and practice that presents these students with unacceptable forced choices between Spanish and English, home community and host community, and local and global affiliations.

The potential of the continua framework as a tool teachers can use in opening up ideological spaces in the local contexts of classrooms, in turn, contributing to changes in the community and society, is a theme emerging from the above work. Reciprocally, Hornberger's consideration of community and classroom challenges faced in implementing transformative multilingual language policies in three national contexts—postapartheid South Africa's new constitution of 1993, Bolivia's National Education Reform of 1994, and Paraguay's postdictatorship education reforms of 1992—illustrates that ideological space opened up by top-down policies can contribute to the emergence of new discourses in implementational spaces at the grassroots level.

Future Directions

There remain unanswered questions about the continua framework. It has proven useful in ethnographic research and as a guide for action but has yet to be tested as a basis for experimental or survey research. Likewise, it originated as a descriptive framework and has developed as an applied lens for research but remains relatively uncharted for predictive and

explanatory uses. Such uses need further exploration through continuing research and development in a wide range of settings and circumstances.

Meanwhile, the continua framework is already being put to activist, transformative uses at individual, classroom, community, and societal levels. For instance, language planners can use the continua to look closely at particular instances of biliteracy, identify contradictions between beliefs and practices or discrepancies between policy and implementation, and then use those contradictions and discrepancies to further pry open ideological and implementational spaces for biliteracy development. The model moves beyond a programmatic concern to offer an overarching conceptual tool and tangible methodological guide to address the challenges of multilingual education found everywhere in our world, a schema for understanding and intervention at micro- to macrolevels.

Basic questions about biliteracy remain: Who becomes biliterate and where, when, how, and why do they do so? What is the role of family, home, school, community, and wider society in fostering and promoting biliteracy? Perhaps the continua framework can contribute to answering such questions and thereby serve teachers, researchers, and policymakers in bringing about more optimistic and just language and literacy futures for all learners.

Nancy H. Hornberger

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Critical Literacy; Hornberger, Nancy; Language and Identity; Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; Language Policy and Social Control; Literacy and Biliteracy; Views of Bilingual Education

Further Readings

- Bartlett, L. (2004). *Transnational literacy practices of Latino immigrant youth: A social analysis*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Freeman, R. D. (2004). *Building on community bilingualism*. Philadelphia: Caslon.
- Hélot, C. (2005). Bridging the gap between prestigious bilingualism and the bilingualism of minorities: Towards an integrated perspective of multilingualism in the French education context. In M. Ó. Laoire (Ed.), *Multilingualism in educational settings* (pp. 15–32). Hohengehren, Germany: Schneider.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1989). Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research*, 59, 271–296.
- Hornberger, N. H. (Ed.). (2003). *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2005). Nichols to NCLB: Local and global perspectives on U.S. language education policy. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 20(2), 1–17.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2006). Voice and biliteracy in indigenous language revitalisation: Contentious educational practices in Quechua, Guarani, and Maori contexts. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 5, 277–292.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Hardman, J. (1994). Literacy as cultural practice and cognitive skill: Biliteracy in a Cambodian adult ESL class and a Puerto Rican GED program. In D. Spener (Ed.), *Adult biliteracy in the United States* (pp. 147–169). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Mischeau, C. (1993). “Getting far enough to like it”: Biliteracy in the middle school. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 69, 30–53.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2000). Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives. *Language and Education: An International Journal*, 14, 96–122.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Wang, S. C. (2008). Who are our heritage language learners? Identity and biliteracy in heritage language education in the United States. In D. M. Brinton, O. Kagan, & S. Bauckus (Eds.), *Heritage language education: A new field emerging* (pp. 3–35). New York and London: Routledge.
- Low, M., Penland, D., Ruloked, E., & Sataua, P. (2004). *Oral traditions and English: Language policy/practice relations in postcolonial classrooms*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics, Portland, OR.
- Skilton-Sylvester, E. (1997). *Inside, outside, and in-between: Identities, literacies, and educational policies in the lives of Cambodian women and girls in Philadelphia*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Utakis, S., & Pita, M. (2005). An educational policy for negotiating transnationalism: The Dominican community in New York City. In A. S. Canagarajah (Ed.), *Reclaiming the local in language policy and practice* (pp. 147–164). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Contrastive analysis was developed in the mid-1940s as a hypothesis of second-language acquisition tied to

a method for teaching languages. Proponents of contrastive analysis regard language as a conditioned response, a process derived from a behaviorist approach to learning. They believe that errors produced by second-language learners are the result of interference from the learner's native language. Contrastive analysis refers specifically to the process of comparing the structures of two languages with each other for the purpose of determining the degree of difference between the two languages. From this analysis, it is posited that teachers will be able to predict errors that learners of a given native language will make in learning a specific second language (L2). From this information, teachers will be able to design materials and methods that focus on the areas of greatest contrast, which are predicted to be the areas of greatest difficulty for learning. Contrastive analysis was one of the most influential approaches to teaching an L2 in the 1960s and 1970s. The audio-lingual method represents one such method that relied on the tenets of behaviorism and contrastive analysis.

Contrastive analysis is important for bilingual education, as it represents one of the first direct applications of theory to the development of methods and materials for teaching an L2. Although the theory behind contrastive analysis has fallen out of favor, many practices originally designed on the basis of it are still quite prevalent in bilingual and L2 classrooms. Contrastive analysis is seen as the precursor to the development of the field of applied linguistics, a field that holds bilingualism and bilingual education among its central foci.

Development of the Theory

Originally developed in the 1940s and 1950s, the contrastive analysis hypothesis was based on structural linguistics as well as behavioral psychology, the predominant theories of language and learning at the time. Charles Fries originally presented contrastive analysis in 1945. Later, Robert Lado, of Georgetown University, presented the contrastive analysis hypothesis. This hypothesis stems from the view of learning as the development of a new set of behaviors or habits. Language was defined in terms of language structures at the level of the sound system (phonology), the word or lexicon (morphology), and the sentence (syntax or grammar). With the structural view of language and the behavioral view of learning, the task for practitioners was to determine which habits

needed to be “undone” and which new habits needed to be formed in order to be successful in learning a second language.

The core concept of contrastive analysis is that the main source of errors and difficulty in learning the L2 occur as a result of interference, the transferring of habits from the native language to the target language. The hypothesis states that these difficulties stem from the differences that exist between languages. Given the behaviorist theory of learning, the greater the differences, the greater the learning difficulties will be. The most important task of those conducting contrastive analysis is to compare aspects of the two languages in order to predict the difficulties and errors that will occur in L2 learning. Having compared given aspects of the two languages, the instructor can ignore what is common to them, as that part of learning the two languages will proceed without much difficulty. The instructor is expected to teach and develop teaching materials that focus on the areas of difference. Those differences are then practiced through extensive repetition, the hallmark of behaviorist learning.

The contrastive analysis hypothesis had a strong and a weak version. The strong version held that it was possible to completely contrast the system of one language (grammar, lexicon, and phonology) to the language system of an L2 and design teaching materials from that comparison. The weak version of the hypothesis took its starting point from observations of actual difficulties or errors that learners displayed when learning an L2 and attempted to account for those errors on the basis of differences between the first or native language and the L2. For this version, one starts with evidence from real language data, such as from inaccurate translation, foreign accents, and common student errors in the target language.

For example, in comparing the grammar of English and Spanish, the placement of the adjective in relation to the noun is often reversed: “a sound mind” is *una mente sana* (a “mind sound”). A second example from the comparison of English and Hungarian would yield the observation that Hungarian employs postpositions while English employs prepositions: “in the house” and *a házban* (the “house in”). These examples represent areas in which the contrastive hypothesis would predict difficulties for learners of either language. That is, the new structures would have to be learned. Other areas of the language structure that are the same, such as the placement of the article (e.g., *the* and *a* in English) before the noun, would be learned

automatically through positive transfer for learners of both Spanish and Hungarian, as all three languages place the article before the noun.

The application of contrastive analysis to teaching rests on the notion that students will “naturally” acquire features of the new language that are similar to their first or stronger language. Therefore, teaching time should focus on those features of the L2 that contrast with the first or stronger language. Based on these ideas, teachers, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, were trained in contrastive analysis with the aim of analyzing and comparing grammars of the first and target languages of their students and often training their students to compare and contrast the language systems as well. The method par excellence tied to the contrastive analysis theory was the audio-lingual method, through which learners are drilled to produce correct responses and errors are immediately corrected, in order to maintain a strong emphasis on habit formation.

In its initial conceptualization, contrastive analysis focused on smaller structures of language, in particular at the level of phonology, morphology, and syntax. Later, contrastive analysis techniques were applied to broader-level features of language, such as pragmatic and discourse-level features. According to Robert Kaplan, these studies, also called *contrastive rhetoric*, focus on comparisons of pragmatic functions of language, such as politeness strategies or ways in which speakers of different languages organize narratives for different purposes, such as argument or explanation. This extension focused attention on another central source of inspiration for contrastive analysis: the study of language contact and, by extension, the relationship between language and thought as articulated in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis—language influencing the way native speakers perceive the world.

Difficulties With Contrastive Analysis

Beginning in the 1960s, a number of problems were identified relative to the contrastive-analysis hypothesis. First, from a methodological perspective, it proved difficult to clearly outline the places in which two languages do contrast and to determine the degree of distance between them. That is, the question of how to measure difference and distance was difficult to answer. Second, in terms of errors and their relationship to language structure, empirical studies beginning

in the 1960s demonstrated that many errors made by L2 learners could not be explained on the basis of structural differences between the two languages. Moreover, certain errors that contrastive analysis predicted to occur did not actually occur. Indeed, other studies began to show that learners had more difficulty in learning structures that were quite similar between the two languages, a result in direct conflict with the predictions of contrastive analysis.

In addition, studies of classroom practice showed that imitation, reinforcement, and error correction, the hallmarks of the behaviorist theory, did not seem to be central to the process of language acquisition as predicted by the contrastive analysis hypothesis. Even after years of pattern practice, some errors remained. Finally, the shift in paradigm to mentalist or cognitive models of language learning, heralded by the Chomskyian revolution in the 1960s, led to a new interpretation of language learning and the purpose of learner errors. Essentially, errors were seen not as habits transferred “incorrectly” to the second language, but rather as hypothesis-testing activities on the part of the learners as they developed new rules for organizing a developing language system. In sum, the contrastive-analysis hypothesis served as a source for empirical research ideas that ultimately proved untenable in the face of newer models of learning.

Contrastive Analysis Revisited

As with many applied areas, contrastive analysis as a practice has carried on long after its theoretical promise ended. In the classroom, practices developed on the basis of contrastive analysis are still often used and even advocated. These practices include the use of language labs for language drills, as well as teachers and students comparing elements of language structure and analyzing learners’ errors. Instead of tying such activities to mechanical drills, they are tied to the cognitive notion of *noticing differences* as a cognitive strategy for focusing attention in learning particular aspects of a language.

Insights from contrastive analysis have also been fruitfully employed in machine translation software that is becoming increasingly sophisticated and that draws insights from the nature of similarities and differences in languages at the structural (sentence) level as well as the semantic (meaning) and discourse (paragraph) levels. These are translated, by means of artificial-intelligence programming and used in translation software.

Finally, Claire Kramsch and Paul Kei Matsuda believe that a reconsideration of some of the insights derived from contrastive analysis, coupled with reconsiderations of the insights of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and its concern with linguistic relativism, are leading to a reevaluation of the role of culture in the field of L2 teaching and learning. In this sense, contrastive analysis remains an important contribution to the field of bilingual education and L2 teaching and learning, as its insights continue to be reevaluated in the light of advances in theories in language and learning.

Juliet Langman

See also Audio-Lingual Method; Error Analysis; Interlanguage

Further Readings

- Fries, C. (1945). *Teaching and learning English as a foreign language*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kaplan, R. B. (1966). Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. *Language Learning Journal*, 16, 1–20.
- Kramsch, C. (2004). Language, thought, and culture. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *Handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 235–261). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Matsuda, P. K. (2001). On the origin of contrastive rhetoric: A response to “The origin of contrastive rhetoric revisited” by H. G. Ying (2000), *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 11, 257–260.
- Lado, R. (1957). *Linguistics across cultures*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Robinet, B. W. (1983). *Second-language learning: Contrastive analysis, error analysis, and related aspects*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sridhar, S. N. (1981). Contrastive analysis, error analysis, and interlanguage: Three phases of one goal. In J. Fisiak (Ed.), *Contrastive linguistics and the language teacher* (pp. 207–241). Oxford, UK: Pergamon.
- Wardhaugh, R. (1974). *Topics in applied linguistics*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Willems, D., Defrancq, B., Coleman, T., & Noel, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Contrastive analysis in language: Identifying linguistic units of comparison*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

These concerns increased after 1974, when the U.S. Supreme Court made it clear that a failure to provide specialized instruction to these children constituted a violation of law. Although the decision did not mandate bilingual education, it was the preferred solution in many schools and communities, including the San Francisco Unified School District, the original venue of the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) decision. One of the most consequential results of this landmark decision was to spur state efforts to improve their programs across their respective school districts. Much of this came about through the expansion of state-level bilingual education efforts. For a time, the legal requirement that English language learners be provided appropriate instruction enhanced the development of bilingual education in the public schools.

Federal funding for bilingual programs was first provided through an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. That amendment, known as Title VII, ESEA, or simply the Bilingual Education Act, provided funding for local school implementation of bilingual programs, with awards provided to schools that were successful in a competitive grant process. Funding levels depended on the amounts requested by the programs and could vary extensively, owing to the variation of bilingual education strategies being implemented. Because participation in Title VII was voluntary, it provided opportunities to pilot new bilingual education models but did not include mandates requiring states to implement bilingual programs. The *Lau* decision provided greater pressure for states with large numbers of *limited-English-proficient* (LEP) students (another label for *English language learners*, used often in policy documents) to adopt more effective instructional practices for this student population and to provide funding to support those efforts. An analysis of state requirements conducted in 1982 revealed that by then, 9 states had mandated implementation of bilingual instructional programs for LEP students. Another 16 states provided local option program implementation. Whether mandated or implemented at local option, all of these programs implied additional funding. They required information on the level of funding needed to implement an effective program.

COSTS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Educators, policymakers, and others have long struggled with issues related to the additional costs involved in educating English language learners.

Early Bilingual Education Cost Studies

In the early 1970s, researchers initially debated issues as basic as what actually constitutes a “bilingual education” program. In 1973, José A. Cárdenas, an expert on

language minority children's education, proposed that although local variants of bilingual programs existed, the critical elements of a universal bilingual education model included the following: (a) determination of students' language dominance and fluency; (b) staffing and staff utilization; (c) specialized staff training; (d) specialized materials; (e) instructional methodologies used; (f) time and space factors, including instruction in either language, grouping, and organizational patterns for instruction; and (g) special efforts targeted on expanding community involvement.

The Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA) conducted one of the earliest cost studies of bilingual programs in the mid 1970s. In that seminal study, the IDRA research team used a *panel of experts* methodology to identify what practitioners in the field of bilingual education considered to be critical elements of an effective bilingual education program. These included student assessment, program evaluation, supplemental curricular materials, staffing, staff development, and parent involvement. In the IDRA bilingual education cost model, only those costs unique to the implementation of the specialized program were considered. For example, the costs of providing a teacher with state-adopted English language textbooks were not included, since all students would be provided these. On the other hand, specialized costs were considered, such as the additional assessments required to determine LEP students' native language and English language proficiency for instructional placement purposes. In addition, the costs of specialized staff training and professional development, specialized materials and auditory equipment, and program evaluation were included.

IDRA researchers collected actual cost information on the various components and developed an actual dollar cost figure for program delivery. The bilingual education cost levels varied slightly depending on the grade levels involved and the number of years a program had been in existence, with newer programs reflecting slightly higher costs for startup. The funding amounts ranged from \$200 to \$250 per student served, in 1976 dollars. A Houston Independent School District researcher, Herbert Alston, used the same methodology to estimate bilingual education costs in the Houston School District and came within \$2 of IDRA cost estimates.

The first IDRA study focused on implementing bilingual programs in Texas. Later replications of the study, by IDRA, included analyses of costs in Colorado and Utah. These later studies conducted by

María del Refugio Robledo, Roberto Zárate, Michelle Guss Zamora, and José A. Cárdenas, respectively, determined that in addition to the basic costs identified in the Texas study, Colorado and Utah costs included additional resources needed to recruit and retain bilingual teachers, a resource that is more available in Texas than in other states. Costs in these two additional states reflected a similar pattern, though totals tended to vary slightly based on school finance differences among states. Whereas the Texas study was limited to kindergarten through sixth grade, the Colorado and Utah studies included middle and high school costs and were divided into startup versus maintenance costs. Results in both states reflected slightly higher costs for the upper grade levels.

RAND Corporation Cost Study

In addition to the IDRA-generated bilingual education cost estimates, other researchers have conducted bilingual education cost estimates that have taken a slightly different approach. For example, in 1981, RAND Corporation researchers assessed the actual financial outlays of school systems to implement bilingual education program variants in a number of school districts in selected states around the country. In this study, program variants examined included pull-out programs, where LEP students were removed from the regular class and provided one-on-one or small-group supplemental instruction by an additional teacher; team teaching, in which a bilingual and an English monolingual alternated instruction to a group of LEP students; and bilingual programs delivered by a bilingual teacher in a self-contained classroom environment.

The cost estimates derived from this study revealed that add-on costs in different locales ranged from \$200 to \$700 per student, depending on the approach used and additional staff involved in delivering the program. Given the historical lack of interstate communication regarding LEP program funding, such variations were not surprising. But the RAND study, like the IDRA study, clearly revealed the complexities involved in attempting to assign a "real world" cost estimate for providing bilingual instruction in a wide variety of environments and program models.

Later Cost Studies of Bilingual Education

Interest in defining what constitutes an *adequate education* that fueled many education finance reform

efforts in the 1990s—spurred by state-level challenges regarding the level of funding provided to local school systems—led to research studies on the cost of education, both bilingual and otherwise. The research approaches vary widely but can be generally characterized into a range of types. In its primer on cost models, the National Access Network grouped the major methodologies into the following:

1. *Professional judgment studies*: costing techniques that rely on gathering input from groups of education professionals (teachers, administrators, special program designers, etc.) on the essential components necessary for a particular type of program, followed by collection of data on the actual dollar costs of those services.
2. *Expert judgment studies*: evidence-based methods that rely on a combination of effective schools research in tandem with expert panels to define and cost out “effective” educational practices.
3. *Successful school or school district studies*: based on data on existing school operations, followed by development of costs actually experienced in those settings.
4. *Cost function (or value-added) studies*: attempt to determine, compared with an average district, how much a district would need to spend to reach a certain performance target, in light of particular student characteristics.

A survey and related analyses conducted by Bruce Baker and Paul Markham in 2002 indicated that state funding levels and approaches continued to vary widely around the country, despite an emerging recognition that funding levels should not be as disparate for reasons other than instructional model variation and state-specific factors, such as teacher salaries, and so on. In their study, Baker and Markham reported that states fund LEP-targeted instruction in a variety of ways, ranging from flat grants based on student counts to providing funding for additional personnel units in state formulas. Some states use varying student “weights” that range from 10% of regular program costs in Texas to 50% add-on funding in New Mexico. These wide variations may be due to a lack of a more robust body of studies of bilingual education funding patterns.

In a later analysis of LEP add-on funding using common core data, the authors concluded that among

the 12 states whose data were reviewed, 50% provided funding considered adequate, 50% provided funding that could be defended as “rational,” and 33% were considered equitable.

The Arizona Bilingual Education Cost Study

Some of the latter studies have been driven by school finance litigation challenging the adequacy level of funding provided to local school systems by their respective states. In some of the challenges, costs for “special populations” include add-on costs for serving LEP students. As part of litigation related to provision of services needed for LEP students in Arizona, a federal court judge mandated a study of add-on costs associated with providing required service for this student population in that state. The study was conducted by the National Conference of State Legislatures and relied on input from expert state and national judgment panels to identify critical program elements. The Arizona specific cost study concluded that the incremental student costs—those costs over the costs required to provide instruction to non-LEP students—ranged from \$2,571 for high-need elementary schools to a low of \$1,026 in additional costs for low-need high school level LEP students. As this entry is written, the Arizona legislature and the federal courts are still arguing the issue, for example, in *Flores v. Arizona* (1992), as reported elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Conclusion

Consideration of the additional costs required to provide specialized bilingual instruction to LEP students will continue to be addressed as states struggle with a new round of legal challenges that attempt to require states to provide sufficient funding to deliver an adequate education to all students. This new round of litigation may lead to further questions regarding what is an “adequate bilingual education” and how much it costs to provide it to different pupils with different languages, different English skills, differing program models, and differing state and local school systems.

Additional research is needed on the actual costs involved in providing specialized instruction for LEP students in the United States. The early cost studies, conducted by IDRA and the RAND Corporation, were

valuable contributions to the literature and provided important examples of add-on costs involving special populations. Later studies by the Education Commission of the States and Baker and Markum provided insights into how states were funding programs at the time. The Arizona cost study is one of a very few studies that have attempted to develop true estimates of the costs for providing specialized services to LEP students. Some state-level cost studies have tended to either ignore special costs involved in serving LEP students or lump these programs into “special population” estimates that group very different pupil subgroups into broad categories. Such designs have provided insufficient information to policymakers in need of good estimates in support of good policy making. More often than not, lack of comprehensive information has tended to support long-standing state practices of providing insufficient funding for these programs. The result is that today, few states have readily available bilingual education cost information to guide their decision making. Because LEP student needs may vary and program approaches result in varying costs, it is inappropriate to prescribe one uniform amount for all states serving LEP students around the country. By the same token, after allowing for state-specific and program-variant cost variations, funding for English language learners should be much more uniform across and within states.

María Robledo Montecel and Albert Cortéz

See also Flores v. State of Arizona; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

- Alston, H. (1977). *Estimates of personnel needed and costs of HISD bilingual education program*. Houston, TX: Houston Independent School District.
- Baker, B. D., & Markham, P. L. (2002). State school funding policies and limited English proficient students. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 26, 659–680.
- Cárdenas, J. A. (1997). *Texas school finance reform: An IDRA perspective*. San Antonio, TX: Intercultural Development Research Association.
- Cárdenas, J. A., Bernal, J. J., & Kean, W. (1976). *Bilingual education cost analysis*. San Antonio, TX: Intercultural Development Research Association.
- Carpenter-Huffman, P., & Samulon, M. (1981). *Case studies of delivery and cost of bilingual education: A RAND note*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Education Commission of the States. (2007). *Recent state policies: Bilingual and ESL*. Available from <http://www.ecs.org/ecs/ecscat.nsf>
- Flores v. Arizona, 48 F. Supp.2d 937 (D. Ariz. 1992).
- Guss-Zamora, M. (1979). The cost of bilingual education: Some research findings. *Journal of the Texas Association for Bilingual Education*, 1(1), 21–33.
- Guss-Zamora, M., Zárate, R., Robledo, M., & Cárdenas, J. A. (1979). *Utah: Bilingual education cost analysis*. San Antonio, TX: Intercultural Development Research Association.
- McGuire, C. K. (1982). *State and federal programs for special populations*. Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States.
- National Access Network. (2006). *A costing-out primer*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from http://www.schoolfunding.info/resource_center/costingoutprimer.php3
- National Conference of State Legislatures. (1975). *Arizona English language learner cost study*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Robledo, M., Zárate, R., Guss-Zamora, M., & Cárdenas, J. A. (1978). *Colorado: Bilingual education cost analysis*. San Antonio, TX: Intercultural Development Research Association.

CRAWFORD, JAMES (1949–)

James Crawford is among the foremost authorities on bilingual education policy in the United States. A journalist by training and consumer of academic research and literature by character, he has consistently provided astute coverage and analysis of bilingual education policies and politics for more than 20 years.



Crawford grew up in Knoxville, Tennessee, and attended Harvard College, graduating cum laude in 1971 with a bachelor's degree in English. He began his journalism career in 1979 as a newsletter editor for the Massachusetts Coalition for Occupational Safety and Health in Boston, and he soon began to contribute to publications including *The Nation*, *Mother Jones*,

Common Cause Magazine, *Business & Society Review*, *In These Times*, Jack Anderson Enterprises, Pacific News Service, and United Feature Syndicate.

In 1983, Crawford became the congressional editor of *Federal Times*, a weekly source of news and information about the U.S. Congress and the federal government. He joined the staff of *Education Week* in 1985 as a staff writer and Washington editor. At the newspaper, Crawford soon began to focus on bilingual education and its various dimensions—social, cultural, and political—always with an eye on the shifting public policy in that arena. He covered the issue at a period of contentious national debate about the best way to teach English language learners. This debate was largely fueled by ideological passions about language loyalty, immigration reform, and national identity. Crawford injected a healthy dose of skepticism and an interest in research and pedagogy. His reporting avoided the superficial, scattershot analysis that typified most coverage of bilingualism and bilingual education at the time. Instead, he examined the research literature in many disciplines: applied linguistics, socio- and psycholinguistics, second-language acquisition theory and teaching, contemporary and historical language and education policies, and language planning. Crawford's obvious expertise in the field and his ability to explain complex policy issues to a lay public—including research methodologies and conclusions—set him apart from other journalists. He attended numerous bilingual education conferences, academic symposia, and other venues, interviewing teachers, administrators, parents, and university researchers. Thus, he came to know the field through a relentless search for information and perspective.

During Crawford's tenure at *Education Week*, Congress went through the process of reauthorizing the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act). Crawford covered the frequently rancorous House and Senate committee hearings. He wrote extensively about the ideological stances of Federal Department of Education officials and their connections to "English-only" organizations. Consequently, his investigative reporting on the reauthorization process was thorough and even muckraking. His *Education Week* articles still stand as a detailed and fascinating historical record of the federal debate about bilingual education policy during the Reagan administration.

Crawford left *Education Week* in 1987 to pursue freelance writing on bilingual education and language. He published his first book, *Bilingual*

Education: History, Politics, Theory, and Practice, in 1989. Now in its 5th edition and renamed *Educating English Learners: Language Diversity in the Classroom*, the book remains one of the most widely used texts in teacher training programs. Crawford continued to write and lecture throughout the 1990s, publishing three more books and monographs: *Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only"*; *Language Loyalties: A Source Book on the Official English Controversy*; *Best Evidence: Research Foundations of the Bilingual Education Act*; and *At War with Diversity: U.S. Language Policy in an Age of Anxiety*. He has also published articles in numerous anthologies and edited volumes, as well as in professional and academic journals, like the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Bilingual Research Journal*, and the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*.

From 2004 to 2006, Crawford served as executive director of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), the largest professional organization of bilingual educators in the United States. At NABE, he was known for his vast knowledge of and insights into government policy. Crawford's ability to navigate the political culture of Washington and Capitol Hill made him particularly effective. Under his leadership, the organization gained status as a nationally recognized voice for the rights of English language learners.

Today, James Crawford continues to serve the field as an independent writer, lecturer, and consultant, specializing in language and education policy. He is the founder and director of the Institute for Language and Education Policy, an organization that seeks to promote research-based advocacy for English language and heritage language learners.

Mary Carol Combs

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Bilingual Education in the Press; National Association for Bilingual Education; Official Language Designation; Appendix E

Further Readings

- Crawford, J. (1989). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice*. Trenton, NJ: Crane.
- Crawford, J. (1992). *Hold your tongue: Bilingualism and the politics of "English only."* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Crawford, J. (Ed.). (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Crawford, J. (1995). Endangered Native American languages: What is to be done, and why? In T. Ricento & B. Burnaby (Eds.), *Language and politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and realities* (pp. 151–165). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Crawford, J. (1996). Seven hypotheses on language loss: Causes and cures. In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages* (pp. 51–68). Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University, Center for Excellence in Education.
- Crawford, J. (1997). *Best evidence: Research foundations of the Bilingual Education Act*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Crawford, J. (1997). California's Proposition 227: A postmortem. *Bilingual Research Journal* 21(1). Retrieved from <http://brj.asu.edu/archives/1v21/articles/Issue1Crawford.html>
- Crawford, J. (1998). Anatomy of the English-only movement: Social and ideological sources of language restrictionism in the United States. In D. Kibbee (Ed.), *Language legislation and linguistic rights* (pp. 96–122). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Crawford, J. (1998). Language politics in the United States: The paradox of bilingual education. In C. J. Ovando & P. McLaren (Eds.), *The politics of multiculturalism and bilingual education: Students and teachers caught in the cross fire* (pp. 106–125). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Crawford, J. (2000). *At war with diversity: U.S. language policy in an age of anxiety*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Crawford, J. (2001). Review of *Language policy and identity politics in the United States*, by R. Schmidt. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106, 1465–1466.
- Crawford, J. (2002). Comment [in response to focus article on bilingual education by Eugene García]. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 155/156, 93–99.
- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Crawford, J. (2006). The decline of bilingual education: How to reverse a troubling trend? *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 1(1), 33–37.
- Crawford, J. (in press). Loose ends in a tattered fabric: The inconsistency of language rights in the United States. In J. Magnet (Ed.), *Language rights in comparative perspective*. Markham, Canada: LexisNexis Butterworths.
- Crawford, J., & Krashen, S. (in press). *English learners in American classrooms: 101 questions, 101 answers*. New York: Scholastic.

Web Sites

- James Crawford's Language Policy Web Site & Emporium:
<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jwcrawford>

CREDENTIALING FOREIGN-TRAINED TEACHERS

There are an estimated 20,000 immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries who are professionally trained and experienced teachers but remain an unrealized source of human capital in the United States. Typically, they are underemployed and earning a minimum wage. With the rising number of language minority students in U.S. public schools and the shortage of bilingual education teachers, teachers with foreign credentials can be a viable domestic resource that can help to meet the U.S. shortage of bilingual education teachers. This entry describes efforts in this direction that have already been tried and proven successful.

Although various mechanisms exist for credentialing foreign-trained teachers, such as requiring them to pass state-mandated credentialing exams, not all such efforts have been effective in mobilizing this resource. One notable effort in credentialing foreign-trained teachers was Project Alianza, funded by the Kellogg Foundation in 1998. Because project participants already lived in the United States, the project explored the potential that *normalistas*, Mexican teachers with credentials obtained from a normal school in Mexico could contribute to the education of immigrant students, avoiding the need to recruit teachers outside the country. Project Alianza identified and selectively enrolled qualified normalistas, who held documented U.S. residency status in university teacher preparation programs of study. In this way, participants were able to address issues linked to the U.S. educational system through formal study in college classrooms and practical work in K–12 classrooms in ways similar to those required of U.S.-trained teachers.

The prototype for Project Alianza was derived from a pilot program at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), in which 27 credentialed normalistas participated in an accredited program of study that combined the resources of CSULB and one of the campuses of Mexico's Universidad Pedagógica Nacional (UPN). This binational effort enabled the normalistas to obtain a *licenciatura* (equivalent to a bachelor's degree) through the UPN and then complete California teacher certification requirements at CSULB. Project summary outcomes indicated that of the 27 normalistas, only 4 passed all three portions of the California Basic English Skills Test (CBEST), thereby highlighting one of the problems all such

programs encounter—in short, that the levels of English language proficiency acquired in Mexico are not sufficient for college-level academic work. Of the 27 normalistas, 10 were hired as fully credentialed bilingual teachers in the Los Angeles area, and the remaining participants obtained only paraprofessional positions.

During the summer of 1997, an advisory group met to retool the design for Project Alianza. The advisory group included the Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA), the Mexican and American Solidarity Foundation, and Arizona State University (ASU) as research partners. Each Project Alianza university site was also part of the advisory group and included California State University Long Beach, Southwest Texas State University (now Texas State University), University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA), and University of Texas Pan American (UTPA). During the second through fourth years of the project (1999–2001), additional satellite institutions were selected and mentored by the founding project institutions. These satellite institutions, in chronological order, were the University of Texas at El Paso, Texas Woman's University, Texas A&M International at Laredo, and California State University, Bakersfield.

Challenges in Credentialing Foreign-Trained Teachers

The credentialing of foreign-trained teachers tested existing university structures and curricular policies, creating a need for systemic changes. For example, admission offices were often underprepared to evaluate and validate foreign transcripts when assigning student classification and ranking (e.g., freshman, postbaccalaureate) to newly admitted normalista cohorts. Faculty and staff at all levels were challenged by the normalistas' language status as nonnative English speakers. In addition, the faculty and staff teams assigned to implement Project Alianza were tasked not only with realizing project goals but also with having to challenge institutional practices that hindered normalistas' academic progress once they had been admitted. Faculty members also discovered that the normalistas' training had emphasized the "banking" approach to teaching, contradictory to constructivist teaching approaches reflective of best practices in constructing knowledge. Beyond having to pass English language state-mandated admissions tests, normalistas also had to negotiate

myriad bureaucratic processes at the institutions of higher education and degree-issuing agencies in their countries of origin, at U.S. foreign credentialing agencies, and at their respective U.S. admitting university campuses. These efforts required inordinate time and energy for normalistas and project staff alike.

Empirical studies also identified a variety of challenges that informed the Alianza coordinators and directors about normalistas' notions and their professional development needs. Interviews with potential candidates prior to the selection process revealed that many normalistas were against bilingual education because of preconceived notions that the approach had detrimental effects on the education of language minority students. They also perceived bilingual education teachers' proficiency in Spanish to be inadequate to impart competent instruction and further believed that the role of schooling was to provide instruction only in English. Some perceived that bilingual education countered American values such as patriotism to the United States, acquisition of the English language, assimilation, and acceptance into the majority society. Others were concerned that bilingual education might cause students to speak English with an accent. These insights were valuable to the pedagogical design to prepare competent bilingual education teachers. Project organizers found these beliefs to be instructive because they were not very different from the language attitudes of the general population. Because they had not experienced bilingual education in their own country or in their own studies, these Mexican teachers relied on the rhetoric they had heard and read in the media with respect to bilingual education.

New challenges emerged as the normalistas interacted with their U.S. programs of study. While normalistas were usually prepared to teach reading, science, and mathematics in Spanish, their language proficiency was not the only skill needed to teach in a bilingual education classroom. They lacked knowledge about the sociopolitical, sociocultural, and historical experiences unique to language minority students in the United States. Since the normalistas' identities had been continually affirmed in their native country, they did not have a sense of the struggle of ethnic minorities and their situated experiences within the U.S. educational system.

Programs of study were therefore designed to assist normalistas to understand the diverse teaching

contexts that they would encounter. A core curriculum addressed essential knowledge about the cultural history of language minorities in the United States; the theoretical foundations of bilingual education; research on cognition, bilingualism, and biliteracy; sociocultural and sociolinguistic issues; and language loss, dialects, and attitudes toward language varieties within language minority communities. Normalistas had to learn about the influence of culture, language, and ethnicity on the social construction of identity and how these processes affect teachers' expectations of students. In addition, normalistas faced a considerable challenge in speaking and writing English at advanced levels, as required by the culture of the schools; in mastering standardized testing, including credentialing examinations; and in delivering instruction competently in English.

In terms of their native-language proficiency, normalistas possessed high oral language proficiency in Spanish; however, their writing proficiency varied, reflecting either the rigor of their program of study or their attained levels of education. Project Alianza coordinators therefore consistently monitored student academic needs and progress in order to secure the appropriate training for the normalistas.

Initial findings further indicated that normalistas were less adaptive than other teacher candidate groups in working with students who spoke language varieties of Spanish and English and were less inclined to integrate principles of multicultural education into their instruction. Once hired as certified teachers of record, principals reported that normalistas needed additional professional development in the areas of classroom management, teaching children with special needs, and inclusion practices.

Addressing the Challenges

Each Project Alianza site team relied on the binational nature of the project, turned to existing community resources and structures, and examined existing programs of study to enact changes necessary to realize project goals. One key community partnership included the Mexican Consulate as an unofficial but engaged partner. The binational nature of the project facilitated the exchange of information with this office, making the Mexican Consulate a hub for recruitment. Universities also utilized different types of media within their communities to disseminate information about the innovative program. This included the Internet, as

well as Spanish and English language newspapers, radio, and television. Universities prepared brochures to share with school districts, community agencies, county offices, and professional teacher organizations. Word of mouth was extensive, pervasive, and effective. The combined efforts of all of those involved resulted in strong responses from communities typically underserved by universities. An unplanned but welcome effect of Project Alianza was that of bringing participating universities in closer touch with immigrant communities involved in the project.

One of the project's goals was to strengthen binational ties with Mexico and to expand university students' awareness of the transnational influences on the U.S. educational system. Each university participated in a binational experience in which project coordinators selected normalistas and other teacher candidates to attend summer institutes in different cities in Mexico. The coordinating triad, U.S. universities, the Mexican American Solidarity Foundation, and Mexican normal schools (*escuelas normales*) facilitated 6-day summer institutes that provided cultural seminars about Mexico and the Mexican educational system. Seminars were held at urban, rural, private, and public schools and cultural institutions. The summer institutes culminated in a 1-day microteaching experience in which U.S. students taught in a public school with the assistance of an Mexican peer student from the *escuela normal*.

Since the acquisition of English was a priority, some universities hired a tutor of English as a Second Language (ESL) as a strategy to accelerate the acquisition of English, while other sites paired English-dominant-speaking students with normalistas as a way to increase basic interpersonal communication skills and expand their use of academic language. As the normalistas progressed through their program of study, cross-coordination with faculty members in other academic departments became a continual activity. Faculties had to be apprised of the students' particular language needs and the importance of allowing the students to study while they acquired proficiency in English. This accommodation required increased planning, modifying teaching approaches, and increasing the number of tutoring sessions.

Owing to the diversity and uniqueness of each normalista cohort, universities were charged with tailoring programs of study that met requirements unique to each site and the community it served. The cohort at

CSULB, for example, was made up of credentialed normalistas who had applied as degree-seeking students, paraprofessionals (teacher assistants), and traditional students. Each student's bilingual language proficiency was measured with a placement test. Then, the students were enrolled as a blocked cohort in a degree-seeking and teacher certification program. The students took night and weekend courses with Spanish-language-proficient faculty. The Project Alianza cohort at Southwest Texas State University (now Texas State University) was distinct and included normalistas and paraprofessionals enrolled in the teacher preparation component of an undergraduate degree program. Some of the credentialed normalistas, who possessed a command of English, pursued teacher certification through a postbaccalaureate program. In contrast, the University of Texas at Pan-American Project Alianza cohort included normalistas who already possessed a bachelor of arts degree (*licenciatura*). Their professional education and bilingual education coursework led to certification through a postbaccalaureate, four-semester, dual-language program that also included enrollment in summer courses.

The profile of the UTSA Project Alianza diverged from the others and included normalistas with different levels of credentials, paraprofessionals, and college-aged students. Normalistas with a bachelor of arts degree (*licenciatura*) in education were allowed to complete a six-semester postbaccalaureate program of study and were accepted into the project if their transcripts demonstrated a grade of B+ or better (8.5 on a 10-point system) in their programs of study. Individuals without a *licenciatura* were given college credit from courses completed beyond the *normal básica* (equivalent to 1 year beyond high school in the United States). These students were required to demonstrate a grade of B+ or better in their teacher preparation programs. Normalistas with only *normal básica* were accepted as first-year, degree-seeking students, having met the grade point average (GPA) requirement.

At the UTSA, all normalista applicants were screened using the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency; only those who could demonstrate an intermediate level of English proficiency were accepted. Paraprofessionals and first-generation college students were accepted into the project if they had completed a minimum of 30 college semester hours of the core curriculum and held a minimum

2.25 GPA. The applicants were also screened informally for Spanish language proficiency during their interviews and formally through the Bilingual Prochievement Test, which assessed their listening, speaking, reading, and writing proficiencies.

Benefits of Credentialing Foreign-Trained Teachers

The implementation of Project Alianza redefined teacher preparation programs by challenging institutions of higher education to broaden their perspectives of enhancing bicultural and binational relationships. Moreover, with the success rate documented at each university, there was a change in attitude that coincided with an awareness of the social and economic potential that normalistas, as professionals with a somewhat divergent set of prior experiences, could offer U.S. schools and universities.

Empirical findings indicated that after having completed their programs of study, normalistas demonstrated competency as knowledgeable teachers of culturally and linguistically diverse students, once they had acquired the essential mediation tools stemming from their comprehension of and commitment to the philosophy of bilingual education. They were observed activating and employing children's cultural knowledge and engaging them in the construction of new knowledge and skills. In addition, the majority of the normalistas had an internal sense for control and believed all children could learn. Findings also indicated a positive main effect of "spirituality" as moral worth, a factor mediating normalistas' general teaching efficacy and personal teaching efficacy. Having a positive efficacy was viewed as influencing normalistas' perceived ability to teach and to have an impact on students. Another study revealed that rather than simply viewing teaching as a profession, the normalista perspective was one of moral commitment and vocation.

Project Alianza expanded the definition of the "college student" by having granted university admission to foreign-trained professionals acquiring English language proficiency. This resulted in requiring monolingual faculty members within and outside of teacher education programs to adapt instruction for linguistically diverse learners, which reified the circumstance of U.S. public schools at all levels. Similarly, Project Alianza offered faculty members teaching bicultural bilingual education courses

increased opportunities to engage bilingual education methods and theoretical principles in their teaching and to witness the unfolding second-language acquisition of adult learners.

Conclusion

In retrospect, an added project goal providing a teacher “induction year” would have strengthened the normalistas’ professional growth and supported their transition into bilingual education classrooms, probably making the process smoother. As first-year teachers in a U.S. bilingual classroom, they would have benefited from scheduled consultations with faculty and from having faculty conduct classroom observations to provide feedback, answer questions, and provide coaching as needed. This is, therefore, a recommended teacher retention strategy for future projects.

Institutions of higher education are well-advised to articulate, research, and establish a border pedagogy within their teacher preparation programs and to provide for its diffusion in public schools. This can be achieved by preparing more bicultural/bilingual education teachers to meet the academic needs of an expanding number of culturally and linguistically diverse student populations in U.S. schools. Foreign-trained educators such as normalistas are viable assets to the education of Spanish-speaking students in terms of the cultural, linguistic, academic, and professional knowledge and experience they possess. To maximize their potential as effective teachers in U.S. classrooms, foreign-trained teachers must be engaged in a comprehensive program of study that develops competency.

*Belinda Bustos Flores
and Mary Esther Soto Huerta*

See also Bilingual Paraprofessionals; Culturally Competent Teaching; Teacher Certification by States; Teacher Preparation, Then and Now; Teacher Qualifications

Further Readings

- Cantú, L. (1999). Project Alianza: Tapping community resources for bilingual teachers. *IDRA Newsletter*, 2(2), 1–2, 8.
- Clark, E. R., & Flores, B. B. (1997). Instructional snapshots in Mexico: Preservice bilingual teachers take pictures of classroom practices. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 21, 103–113.
- Clark, E. R., & Flores, B. B. (2000). Report on a study of normalistas’ ethnic identity and teaching efficacy. *NABE News* 24(1), 20–23.
- Clark, E. R., & Flores, B. B. (2001). Is Spanish proficiency simply enough? An examination of normalistas’ attitudes towards Spanish, bilingualism, and bilingual teacher pedagogy. *MEXTESOL Journal*, 25(3), 13–27.
- Flores, B. B. (2001). Thinking out of the box: One university’s experience with foreign-trained teachers. *Educational Policy Analysis Archives* 9(18). Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v9n18.html>
- Flores, B. B., & Clark, E. R. (2002). *El desarrollo de Proyecto Alianza: Lessons learned and policy implications*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Center for Bilingual Education and Research.
- Flores, B. B., & Clark, E. R. (2004). A critical examination of normalistas self-conceptualization and teacher efficacy. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 26, 230–257.
- Flores, B. B., Strecker, S., & Pérez, B. P. (2002). Critical need for bilingual education teachers: The potentiality of normalistas and paraprofessionals. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 26, 687–708.
- García, A. G., & González, J. M. (2000). *The views of Mexican normalista and U.S. bilingual education teachers: An exploratory study of perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Center for Bilingual Education and Research.
- Pérez, B. P., Flores, B. B., & Strecker, S. (2003). Bilingual teacher education in the Southwest. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *The continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings* (pp. 207–231). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Petrovic, J. E., Orozco, G., González, E., & Díaz de Cossio, R. (1999). Mexican normalista teachers as a resource for bilingual education in the United States: Connecting two models of teacher preparation. In J. M. González (Ed.), *CBER explorations in bi-national education* (Issue No. 1, pp. 1–88). Tempe: Arizona State University, Intercultural Development Research Association.
- Supik, J. D. (1999). Project Alianza: A model teacher preparation and leadership development initiative: First year findings. *IDRA Newsletter*, 26, 3–6.
- Vallejo, C., & García, A. G. (2001). Teacher recruitment and employment practices in selected states: Promising prospects for foreign-trained teachers. In J. M. González (Ed.), *CBER explorations in bi-national education* (Issue No. 5, pp. 1–41). Tempe: Arizona State University, Intercultural Development Research Association.

CRITICAL LANGUAGES FOR THE UNITED STATES

What is most problematic about defining *critical languages* for any government or nation is the range of stakeholders involved—academic, governmental, private sector, and others. This entry focuses on how the U.S. government has set standards for what its various components consider to be the most critical language needs for the near future until 2015.

The existence of a common priority list across federal agencies is doubtful; indeed, the terminology used for such priorities varies from unit to unit. For the Department of State, a single list of “critical languages” has been promulgated on the department Web site. In contrast, the Department of Defense has developed (for official use only; i.e., not for publication) a bipartite “Strategic Language List”; this is divided between “Immediate Investment Languages,” for which there is a requirement for substantial organic capability projected through 2015, and “Stronghold Languages,” which require in-house capability to be developed and/or identified. No rank ordering is being given because, again, there is no consensus-based ranking of language needs across the various federal agencies. As the experience of the late 20th and early 21st centuries has made clear, priorities shift by the decade and, indeed, sometimes even by the year or month.

Within these limitations, the following is a reasonably reliable list of critical languages for the United States in the 21st century, in alphabetical order:

1. *Arabic*—including Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and regional dialects
2. *Chinese*—including Mandarin, Gan, Cantonese, and Wu (Shanghai)
3. *Indic*—including at least, but not necessarily limited to, Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi, and Urdu
4. *Korean*
5. *Persian*—including at least, but not necessarily limited to, Dari/Afghan, Farsi/Iranian, Kurdish, Pashto, and Tajiki
6. *Russian*
7. *Turkic*—including at least, but not necessarily limited to, Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Turkish, Turkmen, and Uzbek

Although the initial impression is that the focus of this critical languages listing is largely within the realm of the Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs), many federal organizations also place a high value on the development of language and cultural communicative skills in the more commonly taught languages for their personnel. The Department of Defense includes French, Portuguese, and Spanish among its “immediate investment languages,” perhaps more a recognition of the ongoing strategic value of these languages than the more short-term tactical importance of many of the LCTLs, particularly within the former Soviet republics and the Muslim sphere of influence.

In an attempt to more broadly provide support the development of a national capacity for the critical languages in particular, a major announcement was made on January 5, 2006. On that date, President George W. Bush addressed a conference of approximately 50 American university presidents to announce the introduction of the National Security Language Initiative (NSLI). NSLI is unprecedented in American history in that it is a joint project of four major federal agencies: the Department of Defense, the Department of Education, the Department of State, and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. The initiative has three major goals: (a) expanding the number of Americans mastering critical-need languages, beginning study at an earlier age; (b) increasing the number of advanced-level speakers of foreign languages, in particular those classified as critical need; and (c) increasing the number of foreign-language teachers and necessary resources.

Were it to be fully funded, NSLI would be composed of 14 separate programs and have a total starting budget of \$115 million dollars for fiscal year 2007. Some pieces of NSLI were in fact already in existence in the Department of Education with appropriated funds for fiscal year 2006, such as the Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) and the National Flagship Language Initiative (NFLI). Other portions received funding for fiscal year 2007, including the Youth Exchange-Summer Language Institutes (Department of State) and STARTALK, a new national initiative in summer language education (Office of the Director of National Intelligence Programs). It remains to be seen how warmly the NSLI initiative will be received by politicians in the Congress and by succeeding administrations.

Scott McGinnis

See also National Defense Education Act of 1958

Further Readings

- U.S. Department of Education. (n.d.). *National Security Language Initiative*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/inits/ed/competitiveness/nsli/index.html>
- U.S. Department of State. (n.d.). *Gilman Scholarship Program*. Retrieved February 19, 2007, from <http://exchanges.state.gov/education/educationusa/abroadgilman.htm>

CRITICAL LITERACY

To understand the concept of critical literacy, it is useful to compare it to that of *literacy* in its simplest and most commonly used form, namely, the ability to read and write with a degree of understanding. In education terms, literacy is the continued development of oral language into the written word and the ability to communicate through it. Literacy includes the concept of understanding what the text purports to tell us. Critical literacy can be regarded as a step above that of simple literacy. It is an approach to developing literacy skills that contextualize the reader and the text within socio-historical frames and the cultural and political environments of reader and text. In its broadest sense, critical literacy is also an approach to life, to language, to agency, and to the search for truths that are omitted from the text, as well as the reasons why those omissions occur. Literary criticism is one form of critical literacy, as, for example, articles in the *New York Times Book Review*. Theater critics also employ techniques of critical literacy to lay bare the meaning behind the text and the music in a performance. Many avid readers and theatergoers decide whether to read a book or attend a performance on the basis of what a trusted critic has to say about the work in question.

Critical literacy implies approaches to teaching literacy in the classroom, yet it also embodies empowerment, emancipation, and the ability of school people (teachers and students and others) to manifest change through language.

Though there are differences in how critical literacy is manifested in the classroom, in general, readers come to texts not only to gain meaning from them; texts are contextualized by the reader (who also resides within specific known contexts), who asks questions such as these: Who wrote this text and why? How does the writer benefit from this text? What are some unquestioned assumptions within this text? Who is

privileged by it? As students critically examine texts, they question social roles and power structures.

Just as students question texts within the world in reading and in writing, students question the world around them. Through writing, students often find their *voice*, the basis on which they express views and opinions and give balanced weight to “facts.” Often, writing becomes an act of resistance to what others wish students would value or adopt as their own. In writing, students find agency, and through this practice, students can engender change in small and big ways. Perhaps the most important change concerns the student’s own willingness to question or embrace what he or she is asked to read.

In the classroom, critical literacy is not confined within the boundaries of language arts: It is a distinctive approach to teaching that resides in all content areas. Where there is language, there can be a critical stance, and where there is content, there is language. Through reading and writing, students begin to learn about the world and about themselves within the world. They may begin to look at power structures and learn to question and take action against a status quo that historically and currently oppresses marginalized populations, including language minorities.

Historical Background

Ira Shor, a leader in the area of critical literacy teaching, traces the beginnings and historical path of this field to the 20th century. Critical literacy in the United States finds its beginnings as far back as John Dewey, who was born in 1859. Dewey, like Horace Mann before him, wanted to mediate growing class divisions through mass education. Dewey found that curricular divisions between elite students and those of the working class perpetuated class divisions. Elite students received a liberal arts education, in which philosophy and utility did not meet. Working-class students, however, received basic skills and job training. Dewey envisioned a curriculum for all, based in utility and philosophy—a curriculum that would develop reflective citizens for a healthy democracy. Dewey’s contributions to education have proven foundational to critical literacy, which is situated in the experiential realm. It differs greatly from the traditional study of philosophy, which is often dealt with as if the subject were external to the learner.

Along with John Dewey, the work of Lev Vygotsky and Paulo Freire, among others, has also contributed to critical literacy. Vygotsky, like Dewey, believed

that learning situates itself best in experience. In his work explaining the process of learning, he proposed the idea of the *zone of proximal development* (ZPD). Vygotsky believed that there is a zone in which a student can learn through interaction with a teacher or a more capable peer who helps the learner achieve more than what would be possible without such support. With Vygotsky's ZPD, learning begins with each individual student and his or her unique potential, just as in Dewey's thinking, learning begins in experience and is built into organized reflective knowledge through both theory and practice.

The work of Dewey and Vygotsky brought learning to the experiential and individual realm, but it was largely the work of Paulo Freire that brought learning and literacy to a broader social arena. Freire was a Brazilian educationist whose work has been highly influential. Freire emphasized the role of education in transforming lives, focusing on dialogue in learning and pedagogy as liberation. He considered a good education to be inherent to the practice of democracy but only when it is done in the pursuit of truth and justice. The notion embodied in the call in the 1960s to "speak truth to power" is rooted in Freire's teachings. Freire's work brings together the fundamental elements of Dewey's and Vygotsky's and adds to them the contextual aspects of learning: the power structures and roles in which students and teachers alike reside. In Freirian constructs, it is not the teacher who gives knowledge to the students; rather, knowledge is coconstructed, and student and teacher alike learn and grow through a process that is reciprocal and mutual.

Purposes of Critical Literacy

The aims of critical literacy include those of a more traditional vein, which is to facilitate the development of literacy skills in children. Critical literacy goes beyond a notion of literacy skills as performance skills (i.e., the learner's achievement in conventional reading/writing). Teachers who use critical literacy aspire to help children create a sense of self as a reader/writer *in the world*—a knowledge of what written text accomplishes, and for whom. Further, it acknowledges a child's agency; through critical literacy, both students and teachers can become agents for social change.

While some teachers may feel a reluctance to engage in what they deem "political" education, it warrants stating that educational acts are inherently political. Teachers who fear a critical approach to teaching may not understand that teaching methods aligned with status

quo ideologies can also serve to perpetuate oppressive social forces. Although that may not be a purposeful choice on the part of such teachers, it is a result of traditional teaching methodologies. Teaching is thus inherently political. Critical literacy is a means by which educators can uncover buried political assumptions and their eventual outcomes in the lives of children.

Classroom Practice

Allan Luke and Penelope Freebody are Australian educational researchers involved in the study of critical literacy. They have developed a four-tiered approach to early reading instruction, which addresses the following practices:

1. *Coding practices: Developing resources as a code breaker.* How do I crack this text? How does it work? What are its patterns and conventions? How do the sounds and marks relate, singly and in combinations?
2. *Text-meaning practices: Developing resources as a text participant.* How do the ideas represented in the text string together? What cultural resources can be brought to bear on the text? What are the cultural meanings and possible readings that can be constructed from this text?
3. *Pragmatic practices: Developing resources as text user.* How do the uses of this text shape its composition? What do I do with this text, here and now? What are others likely to do with it? What are my options and alternatives for action—that is, for responding?
4. *Critical practices: Developing resources as a text analyst and critic.* What kind of person, with what interests and values, could both write and read this naively and unproblematically? What is this text trying to do to me? In whose interests? Which positions, voices, and interests are at play? Which are the silent and absent?

These four tiers are taught simultaneously and organically, as children become readers and writers. Thus, critical practices are not an addition to optimal classroom practices. Rather, they are always included. These practices are framed within a notion of literacy as socially situated, and teaching resides in the sociological realm. The critical literacy classroom always recognizes the unique sociocultural identity of each student, as well as the ability each individual brings to become a critical interpreter of texts.

Classroom Practice: An Example

Critical literacy in the classroom is as varied as teachers' approaches. As curriculum in the critical literacy classroom most often stems from student interest, it does not lend itself to canned curriculum programs. An example of a critical literacy classroom is provided in the following vignette.

A ninth-grade U.S. history class is doing a unit on westward expansion. The basal text series includes a short, three-paragraph section on what is known in U.S. history as the "Trail of Tears." The text also includes a picture with a caption. Though the teacher is required by her school district to use that particular text and not substitute it with another, she is able to use supplemental material as well. As a part of her unit on westward expansion, the teacher asks the class to read the textbook paragraphs on the Trail of Tears and then discuss in groups the following questions:

1. Who benefits from the text as it is written?
2. Whose voice is silenced? Whose is privileged?
3. How is language used in the text? Are events glossed over or romanticized? Why?
4. Does it seem certain events or details are omitted? Why?

The teacher then provides the students with additional texts, or the students conduct research to find texts, including primary sources (such as the Indian Removal Act of 1838, journals from the period, newspaper archives) and secondary sources. The students may do research on their own, based on inquiry questions they have generated. The teacher and students alike then read and examine multiple and conflicting texts and engage in activities that contextualize the texts historically, culturally, and discursively, critically comparing texts to one another. Students are provided many choices in the direction of their explorations, reading, writing, and activities.

As students learn more about the event from various sources and perspectives, they investigate how ideologies in the different texts position various groups. They may reread texts multiple times through multiple lenses. Finally, students articulate their own views in regard to the texts. Through writing (e.g., a journal from the perspective of a Cherokee girl or boy, a letter of protest, etc.), students can find clarity in terms of their stance in regard to a given text or event. As

students examine and compare texts, the classroom is full of animated discussion. In the critical literacy classroom, multiple voices are heard (not just the teacher's). The most effective critical literacy classes include a final step, and that is in supporting students in creating opportunities to take social action, for example, participating in a demonstration or writing a letter to a member of Congress.

In the bilingual classroom, texts can be read, written, and/or discussed in the students' native language. Multiple sources can be found in both languages. Opinions from students from all over the world lend richness to classroom discussions that can be conducted bilingually. Any number of teaching methodologies can be used to scaffold participation of all students, each with an important role in generating ideas and interpretations for discussion.

Critical literacy is centered in student interest and agency, and so student engagement is often higher than in more traditional classrooms. Students have a sense of investment in curriculum that is negotiated. Student involvement is thus activated and sustained in a classroom that offers both knowledge and agency.

Conclusion

Like all approaches in education, critical literacy changes and grows. Critical literacy educators continue to study the relationships between language, power, and identity in the classroom. As research about critical literacy continues, it is increasingly incorporated in various iterations as an approach to literacy instruction in the classroom.

Students in bilingual classrooms are often falsely considered to have a deficit in learning simply because they are not native speakers of English. Critical literacy approaches, on the other hand, value the diversity in perspective and interpretation that bilingual and bicultural students bring to the classroom. Bilingual students thrive on critical literacy approaches that facilitate biliteracy development, while contributing to the creation of critical citizens of our world who understand the power of language in creating social change.

Cathy A. Coulter

See also Americanization by Schooling; Assimilation; Attitudes Toward Language Diversity; Languages and Power; Language Socialization; Latino Civil Rights Movement; Literacy and Biliteracy

Further Readings

- Luke, A. (2000). Critical literacy in Australia: A matter of context and standpoint. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 43(5), 448–461.
- Luke, A., & Freebody, P. (1997). The social practices of reading. In S. Muspratt, A. Luke, & P. Freebody (Eds.), *Constructing critical literacies* (pp. 185–225). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury.
- Shor, I., & Pari, C. (Eds.). (1999). *Critical literacy in action*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

CRITICAL PERIOD HYPOTHESIS

A *critical period* refers to a limited time within which an event can occur. A critical period hypothesis suggests that there is a point in time after which a given transformation will not occur or will occur only after tremendous effort, if necessary stimuli are withheld. A famous example of this in the field of ethology is the research of Konrad Lorenz on the domestication of the Greylag goose. Lorenz discovered that goslings would learn the characteristics and follow the first suitable moving stimulus they saw within a critical period of 36 hours.

Neurologists first attempted to document the relationship between the development of the brain and the process of language acquisition. Wilder Penfield and Lamar Roberts first introduced the idea of a critical period in the neurolinguistic literature, with their findings that children with significant brain damage from injury or disease were better able to relearn language than were adults. Following on these findings, Eric Lenneberg argued in his seminal book *Biological Foundations of Language* that maturational aspects of the brain result in a critical period for language development. Lenneberg hypothesized that if one's language capacity is not developed prior to puberty, it can never become fully functional. Focusing on abused (and feral) children, deaf children, and children with aphasia (a form of brain injury), further classic studies found that normal acquisition of a first language stopped after puberty. It is now widely accepted that a critical period for first-language acquisition exists.

Nevertheless, given that the natural "experiments" provided by feral children and others deprived of first-language stimulation are few and far between, it is impossible to draw definite conclusions except that

provided proper language stimuli, acquisition of normal language is guaranteed for children up to the age of 6. From this age, as Stephen Pinker summarized the evidence, acquisition is steadily compromised until shortly after puberty. Acquisition of normal language after puberty would be rare, if at all possible.

Supporting Theories

There are many theories that explain the critical period hypothesis. One of these is *brain plasticity theory*, which posits that the increase in age reduces the malleability of the brain and therefore reduces the ability of the individual to acquire language. Lenneberg believed that after *lateralization*—the development of specialized functions for each side of the brain—the brain loses plasticity. He claimed that lateralization of the language function is normally completed at puberty, making postadolescent language acquisition difficult. Another theory is *imprinting*. Imprinting can be compared to the taking of a still photograph, when a specific moment (i.e., behavior) becomes fixed in time. As opposed to instinct, imprinting theory relies on the acquisition of a particular behavior through imitation during the critical period in which learning of that behavior occurs, such as Lorenz's research with the Greylag goose.

Implications for Second-Language Learning

Both of these theories can be extended to explain the more difficult process of learning a second language. Indeed, the conclusion of the existence of a critical period for first-language acquisition has led many researchers to argue that there is also a critical period for second-language learning, since some of the same general language mechanisms that seem to "shut down" for first-language acquisition must logically affect subsequent language-learning endeavors. Lenneberg, whose research and evidence was based on first-language acquisition, generates several claims regarding second-language acquisition. He argued that most people (including adults) can learn a second language, although there is a rapid increase in what he calls "language-learning blocks" after puberty, resulting in the need for a conscious and labored effort (unlike the less laborious acquisition process of prepubescent children). Lenneberg also pointed out that foreign accents are not easily overcome after puberty.

Stephen Pinker argues that the language-learning circuitry of the brain is no longer needed once the mother tongue has been learned, and so it is simply discarded, making a second language more difficult to learn. Since the brain is metabolically greedy, it must make efficient use of resources. Having neural tissue lying around waiting to learn a second language is simply inefficient. For Pinker, then, the critical period is a product of natural selection.

The natural ability of young children to learn a second language with greater ease than adults and to acquire superior levels of fluency are now widely held beliefs, and not particularly controversial. Whether these observations prove the existence of a critical period for second-language acquisition and establish the extent to which age affects one's ability to learn a second language are questions researchers continue to study, with complicated and often contradictory results.

Research Studies

Many researchers have attempted to identify a specific age or age range in which there is a marked difference in the ability to learn a second language. Since it is generally associated with biological and maturational factors, the years prior to the onset of puberty are identified as the critical period. Although there is no consensus on a more precise age range that constitutes the critical period, it has been posited to range from approximately 5 to approximately 15 years of age. Generally, regular exposure to a second language prior to the age of 5 or 6

would mimic first-language acquisition, and thus it would more accurately be a case of acquiring two first languages. Nevertheless, this supports the critical period hypothesis claim that becoming a bilingual person occurs with greater ease and efficiency in this scenario, as compared to becoming bilingual later. Thus, it might be argued that the critical period for second-language acquisition is the same as that for first-language acquisition. For example, in a frequently cited study, Jacqueline Johnson and Elissa Newport showed that immigrants to the United States performed increasingly poorly on language tasks as their age of arrival increased. Performance on their tests was linearly related to age of arrival up to puberty. After puberty, performance was low but highly variable. Johnson and Newport concluded that the effects of the first-language critical period extended to a second language too.

But do such results really confirm the existence of a critical period? In *The Age Factor in Second Language Acquisition*, David Singleton and Zsolt Lengyel concede that in general, younger is better in the long run. However, the use of the term *critical period* is often reduced to the belief that a second language must be learned early or not at all. It seems that for a second-language critical period to exist, one must demonstrate that there is an offset and flattening period. In other words, there would be evidence of a sharp decline in ultimate proficiency attained in a second language as the terminus of the critical period approaches (see Figure 1a) or a complete discontinuity (see Figure 1b).

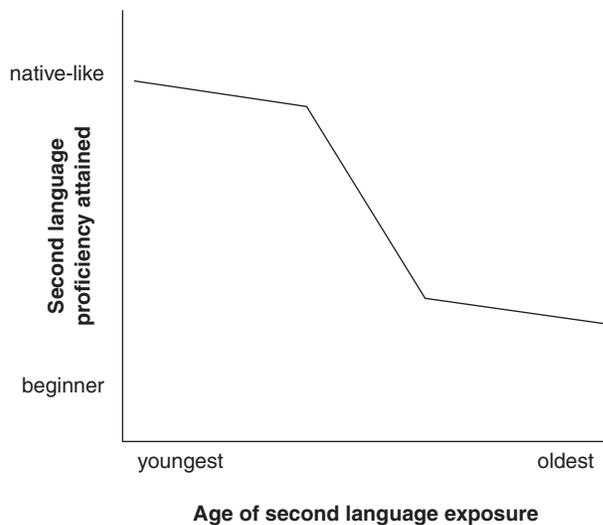


Figure 1a Decline in Second-Language Proficiency Attained

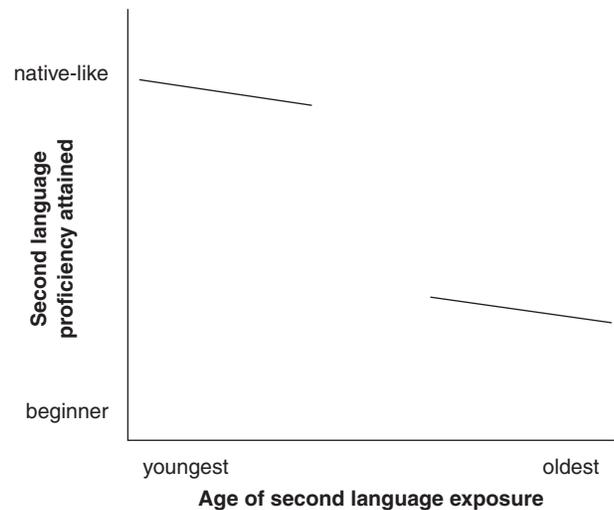


Figure 1b Discontinuity in Second-Language Proficiency Attained

This extreme view is simply not supported by research, and therefore many researchers in second-language learning prefer the terms *sensitive* or *optimal period*. For example, John Bruer suggests the analogy of a reservoir that gradually evaporates, as opposed to a window slamming shut. Kenji Hakuta, Ellen Bialystok, and Edward Wiley have demonstrated in their research that contrary to the predictions above, there is neither a sharp decline nor a discontinuity, but a steady decline in the degree of second-language acquisition success (see Figure 2).

Given the flat trajectory of the correlation found by Hakuta, Bialystok, and Wiley between age of exposure to, and ultimate proficiency in, a second language, their results provide evidence against both the critical and optimal periods. Their results also suggest that the “reservoir” never evaporates completely. However, because they tested the critical period ending at age 15 (the typical onset of puberty) and the other researchers have identified a much earlier critical period (5, 6, or 12 years of age), the results here have been questioned. Nevertheless, there is not enough evidence for the existence of a discontinuity, and it is still not clear whether there is a biological cause for variance in ultimate proficiency levels.

Also to be considered is the way “language” is operationalized for research purposes. For example, there may be different critical periods for different parts of language. Here, it may be useful to

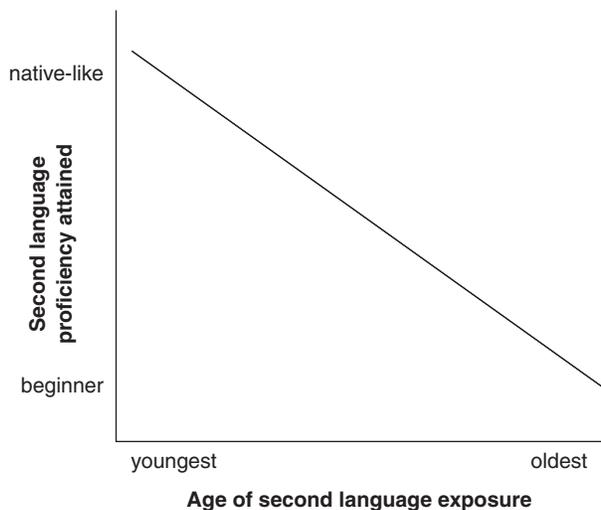


Figure 2 Steady Decline in Second-Language Proficiency Attained

distinguish between critical periods for speech and language. Generally, *speech* refers to the ability to and act of articulating the sounds necessary to language, whereas *language* refers to a system of communication involving lexicon (vocabulary) and syntax (rules or grammar). Pronunciation, an aspect of speech, is widely believed to have a critical period, whereas lexicon and syntax can be acquired well into adulthood. There are exceptions in both of these instances, nullifying the critical period as an inflexible rule and pointing more to an optimal period.

Directions for Future Research

What makes a particular period optimal is now the subject of much debate. Is this caused by physiological reasons, as per the lateralization theory? Or is it caused by experiential or environmental reasons? Karl Kim and his colleagues, for example, provide some evidence that children and adult language learners process second languages differently. Whereas the adult brain separates the two languages, using different parts for different languages, children use the same part of the brain to process both languages. Those who prefer experiential explanations of an optimal period point out that the fact that children and adults may process language differently is not necessarily a causal relationship between age and language proficiency and that there is little evidence to suggest it is. They instead point to social and experiential factors, such as confidence in one’s ability and the extent to which the experience of one’s first language interferes with one’s perceptions of other languages.

In other words, whether or not there is a critical or optimal period and whether or not there are biological or environmental explanations, it is still the case that with sufficient instruction, training, and practice, older children and adults can become fluent in a second language, overcoming even their foreign accents. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that even though starting earlier may be better in the long run, in the initial stages of second-language learning, older children and adults are quite efficient, progressing much more rapidly than young children. This is due to the more-sophisticated skills they bring to the learning task and to the background knowledge they already possess. This also helps to explain why bilingual education programs are so effective: They foster the growth of content-area background knowledge in the

first language, making instruction in the second language more comprehensible.

John Petrovic

See also Accents and Their Meaning; Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism; Learning a Language, Best Age; Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies

Further Readings

- Birdsong, D. (Ed.). (1999). *Second language acquisition and the critical period hypothesis*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bruer, J. T. (2002). *The myth of the first three years*. New York: Free Press.
- Hakuta, K., Bialystok, E., & Wiley, E. (2003). Critical evidence: A test of the critical-period hypothesis for second-language acquisition. *Psychological Science, 14*, 31–38.
- Johnson, J. S., & Newport, E. L. (1989). Critical period effects in second language learning: The influence of maturational state on the acquisition of English as a second language. *Cognitive Psychology, 21*, 60–99.
- Kim, K. H. S., Relkin, N. R., Lee, K., & Hirsch, J. (1997). Distinct cortical areas associated with native and second languages. *Nature, 388*, 171–174.
- Krashen, S. D., Scarcella, R. C., & Long, M. H. (1982). *Child-adult differences in second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Lenneberg, E. (1967). *Biological foundations of language*. New York: Wiley.
- Lorenz, K. (1971). *Studies in animal and human behavior*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Penfield, W., & Roberts, L. (1959). *Speech and brain mechanisms*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pinker, S. (1994). *The language instinct*. New York: Morrow.
- Singleton, D., & Lengyel, Z. (1995). *The age factor in second language acquisition*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Singleton, D., & Ryan, L. (2004). *Language acquisition: The age factor* (2nd ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

CULTURAL CAPITAL

The concept of cultural capital (sometimes referred to as *culture* capital) was originally developed by Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist influenced by the earlier work of Émile Durkheim and Max Weber. Cultural capital can be used to describe those cultural practices,

experiences, perspectives, and knowledge that are passed along from one generation to the next and can have a significant impact on a person's encounter with a different social or cultural group. How people place a particular value or lack of value upon particular forms of cultural capital can help educators understand how and under what conditions students learn best and achieve success in school. The concept of cultural capital can thus be used to examine how the enterprise of education acts as a critical springboard, granting the potential for minorities to transcend socioeconomic class differences. However, cultural capital also serves to explain how schools regulate and even regenerate these differences through the validation of the existing or dominant social class structure. According to Bourdieu, students in school are socialized and taught in a manner that consistently perpetuates their class status. In a very basic sense, cultural capital can be thought of as “coins in your pocket,” with “coins” being a metaphor for the cultural attributes a student brings to school. The currency that each student can render will correlate with positive outcomes that subsequently translate into a better education, and school success will facilitate the young person's acculturation into mainstream society. This presupposes, of course, that the school accepts the cultural “coins” of all their students and values them.

Bourdieu's theory largely revolves around four key points. First, each social class reproduces its own unique form of cultural capital. Second, schools are institutions that largely serve to add value to the cultural capital of the upper class and subtract value from the cultural capital of the lower class. Third, the notion of success in school consistently favors the upper class, and this success is later translated into tangible economic wealth. Fourth, schools act as a symbolic crossroad that officially sanctions the existing social hierarchy through their complementary academic hierarchy.

Another important dimension of Bourdieu's theory is the concept of the *habitus*, defined as the shared attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions that are rendered within one's environment. Perceptions in relation to the habitus are not individual, but are, rather, the perceptions that encompass the wider beliefs shared in a consensus among members of a particular community. For example, having a preference for attending a musical concert of either classical music or punk rock reflects particular individual dispositions and a particular habitus given those preferences; however, the

habitus between classical music and punk rock reflects elements unique to the wider perception of socioeconomic status and affluence among a particular community of music listeners. The habitus can also reaffirm negative predispositions, such as how classical music is better than punk rock because it is situated within a particular perception of affluence. A more relevant example can reveal how some English language learners (ELLs) could be led to believe that pursuing a higher education is an option limited only to fluent-English-speaking White students.

Cultural Capital and Linguistic Capital

For ELLs in the United States, cultural capital can be seen in the status assigned to the language of the dominant cultural group. Schools consistently ascribe greater value to English than to any other language spoken by their students. This exemplifies how cultural capital can also be more specifically translated into *linguistic capital*. Bourdieu has observed that linguistic capital is especially influential during a student's early years of schooling and that it is probably the most important factor influencing a student's career opportunities in comparison to other factors. Thus, ELLs arriving in the United States already speaking a dialect of standard English possess some form of linguistic capital that will allow for greater success in school. Linguistic capital in conjunction with cultural capital refers to knowledge about spoken and written language, as well as the communicative competence necessary for participating effectively in different contexts. However, linguistic capital assigns a hierarchical and situational dimension to language, and it can be used to observe how language has been disproportionately perceived and privileged by the dominant cultural group.

A good example is the differentiation in the social perception of Black English, which historically has been stigmatized due to its origin in racism and slavery. However, as the work of the linguist William Labov has illustrated, Black English or African American Vernacular English (AAVE), also known as Ebonics, constitutes a legitimate dialect of English, with a phonology and semantic structure consistent with that of other varieties of English. One could argue, of course, that because Ebonics has been correlated with historically racist attitudes toward African Americans, its linguistic capital is diminished despite

its linguistic validity. Shirley Brice Heath similarly observed that African American speakers of AAVE in her study spoke a dialect at home that was not privileged in the school setting and that these students encountered significant barriers for a quality education. There is reason to believe, therefore, that the negative attitudes of school people and of the students themselves may be similar with respect to certain varieties of AAVE. In short, it is possible for an African American student to internalize the same negative perceptions of his or her language as might be held by members of the dominant group in the community.

The concept of linguistic capital also has the capacity to explain the value of unique communicative practices shared among particular communities. For example, ELLs with Mexican backgrounds can also share a unique understanding of *consejos* (folk wisdom), *dichos* (proverbs), and *cuentos* (stories) that convey highly respected folk wisdom. We also know that ELLs of Mexican background can be responsible for a number of complex economic tasks in the process of translating English for their parents. Carlos Vélez-Ibañez has shown how ELLs of Mexican backgrounds can share *funds of knowledge* (skills and knowledge from students' households) that demonstrate the complex intellectual knowledge and practices of Mexican homes. Luis Moll has further interpreted how the funds-of-knowledge approach can be implemented by teachers for the culturally relevant instruction of public school students.

Thus, linguistic capital may serve to explain the various communicative practices inherent among ELLs and their families either in a positive light, acknowledging the diverse linguistic backgrounds within the school environment, or from a more negative perspective, focusing on the mismatch between the communicative practices that are valued at school and at home. Furthermore, a strict and narrow focus on the nature of linguistic capital itself falls short of explaining how these variations in capital influence the ability to succeed in school and in society. It would be a mistake to frame the scope of cultural capital as being limited to linguistic capital for ELLs, because it ignores other, less obvious practices that influence their schooling situations that cannot be explained solely by looking at the ability a student has to speak the language variety favored at school. These obstacles can also be explained through the notion of a hidden curriculum or a self-fulfilling prophecy,

which can be used to examine the less explicit dynamics of the educational process—including ways of acting or speaking or holding certain attitudes toward academic institutions or authorities. As an example, parents of a minority background who regard the schoolteacher as the authority in their child's education might not display overt engagement with the school, out of respect; this behavior may be misinterpreted by the school as lack of parental involvement and interest. This mismatch between the behaviors and dispositions common among mainstream parents (the cultural capital valued at school) and those that minority parents bring may have repercussions in the child's status as a "competent" or "at-risk" student.

The Influence of Class and Gender

To deepen an understanding about cultural capital would require understanding a complex definition of culture, specifically through the intersecting influences of gender, class, race, ethnicity, and language. An understanding of class differences in relation to cultural capital has been a consistent feature in the research, but gender has grown as an important dimension. For example, one obvious difference would be the perception of masculinity through working-class role models for young males in school, as evidenced through the work of Paul Willis. He has observed how male students perceive a trajectory into factory work and criticize their education at school as an effeminate, unworthy endeavor.

Cameron McCarthy has similarly noted how problematic conceptualizations about race and ethnicity are subsequently affected by the intersections of class and gender. For example, there can be unique variations between Mexican male and female immigrants in terms of how they interpret gender roles that are echoed in school and community. Mexican male immigrants can be quite comfortable thinking that it is their inherent destiny to take up unskilled labor at the meatpacking plant or in the fields. Mexican female immigrants can be brought up thinking that it is their inherent destiny to perfect their domestic skills in preparation for marriage. However, upper- and middle-class Mexican immigrants, male and female, would have far different interpretations about the role of education in their lives. Whereas these abbreviated examples hinge upon broad generalizations, they are meant only to indicate how there can be no clean categorization of any particular ethnic

group without taking into account the intersections of class and gender.

According to Bourdieu, social class is a critical component of how cultural capital is manifested in school. However, his theory has been criticized for feeding into a deficit perspective for explaining student failure, because theories of social reproduction act under the assumption that minorities are mostly destined to do poorly in school, due to the very nature of our societal structure. Students can benefit from the acknowledgment of different resources and backgrounds they bring to school and from transformative practices that allow them to gain new cultural knowledge and dispositions necessary to navigate different contexts and worldviews.

Heriberto Godina

See also Accents and Their Meaning; Ebonics; Hidden Curriculum; Languages and Power; Social Class and Language Status; Social Class and School Success; Status Differences Among Languages

Further Readings

- Bourdieu, P. (1977). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In J. Karabel & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Power and ideology in education* (pp. 487–510). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. London: Sage.
- Heath, S. B. (1988). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, W. (1982). Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science: The case of the Black English trial in Ann Arbor. *Language in Society*, 11, 165–201.
- Macleod, J. (1995). *Ain't no makin' it: Aspirations and attainment in a low-income neighborhood*. San Francisco: Westview Press.
- McCarthy, C. (1988). Rethinking liberal and radical perspectives on racial inequality in schooling: Making the case for nonsynchrony. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58, 265–279.
- Vélez-Ibañez, C., & Greenberg, J. (1992). Formation and transformation of funds of knowledge among U.S. Mexican households. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 23, 313–335.
- Willis, P. (1981). *Learning to labor: How working-class kids get working-class jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.

CULTURAL DEFICIT AND CULTURAL MISMATCH THEORIES

The principal focus of bilingual education is that of mediating language differences between students' families and schools. But language is firmly embedded in a cultural matrix. The meanings we ascribe to language differences flow from the more generalized societal views regarding the concept of *cultural differences*, a broader and deeper notion. Often, whether willfully or not, a school's conception about the meaning of cultural differences casts a strong influence on the type of language instruction it provides to students, whether or not they are English language learners.

During the last half of the 20th century, American social scientists and education researchers sought to explain the lack of school success by immigrants and minority youngsters in various ways. A strong research theme pursued in many studies was the link between a child's (or a group's) culture as a determinant factor in a lack of participation in educational institutions. This entry examines two of the most common sets of beliefs on this matter.

Cultural Deficit Theory

Adherents of cultural dysfunction as a determinant of engagement and success in school have argued that the effects of low family socioeconomic status are the result of a culture of poverty that has powerful effects across generations. They argue that this syndrome is transmitted from one poor generation to the next. It robs individuals and the groups they belong to of the ability to succeed in society or even to aspire or attempt to do so. The concept of a "culture of poverty" arose from the work of anthropologist Oscar Lewis. He observed acute multigenerational poverty and its effects in several countries and found surprising commonalities. According to Lewis, the very poor, regardless of race or ethnicity, live disintegrated lives characterized by fatalistic, violent, cynical, and unproductive attitudes and values. This situation of acute, multigenerational poverty with little hope of improvement produces an endemic dysfunction similar to what occurs in the caste systems of some societies. In caste systems, the poorest of the poor come to accept their marginality and believe they can do nothing to escape it. Long-term planning and future goals

fall victim to despair and anomie. According to the concept of culture of poverty, the poorest of the poor live for the moment and seek short-term gratification. They do not accept the idea that participating in education will bring rewards later, sometimes much later. The reason is that they do not often see this happen with people they know.

While much of Lewis's work was conducted abroad, in the United States, his findings were often applied to African Americans. Not surprisingly, the situation of immigrants and language minority groups was painted with the same conceptual brush. Among the earliest research was the study of Mexican and Mexican American peoples. Sociologist Lyle Saunders preceded Lewis by a decade. Saunders gave the following characteristics, in which he portrays significant variation between the Anglo- and Spanish-speaking ideal:

1. The Spanish American or Mexican American tends to be oriented toward the present or the immediate past. Anglos, on the other hand, are oriented toward change and progress. The Spanish-speaking people, having had until recently little contact with change, find the old and tried more attractive than the new and unfamiliar.
2. Anglos are doers and are preoccupied with success. Spanish-speaking people want "to be" rather than "to do." Life in the villages did not stimulate a drive toward success.
3. Spanish-speaking people are more inclined than Anglos toward acceptance of and resignation to whatever may come to them.
4. The Anglo has a greater preference for independence. In harmony with relations in the village culture, Spanish-speaking people accept the role of dependency as a quite natural relation.

Lewis's findings concerning Puerto Rican families in La Perla, then a San Juan slum, were similar to Saunders's findings concerning Mexicans. These perceptions about the nation's Puerto Rican and Mexican American population were important for several reasons. First, they seemed to confirm long-standing views held by non-Hispanics about Hispanics as mentioned in studies of popular literature. The second reason is that they seem to legitimize, through social science research, the use of the dominant "Anglo culture" as the normative model of being American.

Finally, they are important because these paradigms allowed educators and others to blame the victims of discrimination for their own woes. Admittedly, by the standards of contemporary social science research, these assertions about Latino culture are little more than stereotypes. It is important to remember that they, too, bore the imprimatur of social science and that many school people learned these theories during their own education.

In all of the cases mentioned above, the research focus was not on schools and education, although these ideas were seminal and easily spilled over into that field. It is unlikely that Lewis could have predicted either the excitement or the firestorm that would be produced by his work. Today, some scholars maintain that Lewis fueled a generalized rethinking of American social policy, with lingering effects in public policy that are felt to this day. His theory was used to confirm widespread fears that the growing urban underclass needed to be resocialized into psychologically stable, optimistic, hardworking citizens. With Lewis, the discourse of cultural deficits was put on the table in a serious way. His analysis became the basis of several government studies and programs that sought to help immigrants and poor people by attempting to change their native cultures and make them into something different.

Shortly after the publication of Lewis's work on the culture-of-poverty, researchers took up the theme with variations. Led by social scientists, research teams began to examine cultural deficit theory and its implications for education. Among the most important of these scholars were James Coleman and Christopher Jencks, both social scientists. They led research teams that looked into the links between family and community life and success in schools. They stopped short of blaming the culture of poverty but noted that family and community life influences school performance more than other factors. They argued that failure or success in school should be regarded more broadly as the result of the totality of influences on children's lives, not merely their experiences in the classroom.

In his seminal study *Inequality*, Jencks presented the results and interpretations of 3 years of research into various aspects of uneven conditions. He reported on a wide range of topics: (a) access to privileged schoolmates and fast classes; (b) the nature and extent of cognitive abilities; (c) the heredity/environment controversy; and, importantly, (d) the weight of economic background, race, and family background. To

some degree, Jencks and his research team disputed Lewis's more simplistic cause-and-effect relationships. The Jencks team pointed out that it is not a single factor, but several, that determined success in school of the urban poor. It was Jencks's belief in the importance of family and community influences that caused him to be associated with Lewis's theory that the poor carry with them the germ of failure. According to Jencks, schools and other social institutions lack sufficient power to overcome these factors. Jencks's views were complemented by those of Coleman, who argued that the effects of poor communities on children's lives may be more powerful than the effects of the schools they attend. The collective output of these scholars brought into question how much formal schooling can hope to accomplish with poor students, and even whether they should attend school at all. Lewis's anthropological perspective and Jencks's more sociological interpretations were widely regarded as being two peas in a single conceptual pod.

In fairness to Coleman, Jencks, Lewis, and other researchers of the time, it should be noted that their ideas were presented in a context of optimistic social policy, in which the actions by government and social institutions were believed to be important factors in reversing the negative influences of the past. By emphasizing the intractability of the effects of poverty and environment, Jencks and Lewis were accused of blaming the victims for their own misfortunes and lowering the expectations for what could be done through current and prospective government programs, such as Head Start and Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and subsequent amendments, such as Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act, which came later. The negative findings of this research did not deter advocates of these remedial programs aimed at fighting the long-term effects of poverty. To them, the studies bolstered the rationale for intervening in the distressed lives of poor children and families.

Cultural Mismatch Theory

Another explanation for the persistently high failure rate among racial and ethnic minorities also relates to a perceived lack of fit between their ethnic or racial groups, on one hand, and the overall culture of school and society, on the other. However, while the culture-of-poverty theory holds that the effects of profound multigenerational poverty are beyond the capacity of

social institutions to change, adherents of the incompatibility theory, also called *cultural mismatch theory*, argued that its effects can be overcome by modifying the institutions themselves, rather than the members of the group in question. These theories recognize cultural differences among groups but place the responsibility for cultural adaptation on the institutions instead of its clients. José A. Cárdenas, a prominent Texas educator, compared the difference between the two approaches this way, in a personal communication with the author: “It’s very much like trying on a pair of new shoes and, upon finding that the shoes don’t fit, asking the client to change feet.” An important element of this theory is that instead of assuming an intractable defeatism among the very poor, its proponents argue that cultural differences can be bridged and the cycle of poverty can be broken.

Cultural mismatch theory emphasizes microlevel sociological variables, including disparities between home and school environments, as the principal causes of school failure. Anthropologist John Ogbu has referred to these disparities as “primary cultural discontinuities” rooted in preexisting differences between immigrant and host societies. In this view, these primary cultural discontinuities cause conflict between students and schools and lead to academic failure. These twisted interactions, attributions, and labeling on the part of school staff and students result in disruptions of the teaching and learning process. Importantly, these disruptions lead to student rejections of the cultural values and academic demands of the school and, subsequently, to academic failure. Because of these cultural mismatches, minority students experience unintentional but inferior instruction in the classroom. It is a common view among scholars today that discontinuities and incompatibilities in values or beliefs exist but that students from those groups are capable of overcoming those incompatibilities and achieving success provided that the schools make curricular and methodological adaptations.

Adherents of the cultural mismatch theory propose remedies that avoid a negative valuing of the learner’s cultural background and promote a proactive use of the learner’s culture as part of the instructional regimen. In their proposals, there is agreement that the essential difference is in (a) designing educational programs capable of overcoming the negative effects of marginality and poverty and (b) causing social and cultural institutions to change in ways that allow entry to members of minority groups without asking them to

“change feet.” In this approach, the proposed remedies are based on avoiding comparisons between the child’s culture and that of more privileged members of society, especially when those comparisons result in the conclusion that the child’s culture is somehow deficient. Instead, proponents of a more positive approach would employ the strengths of the learner’s culture as elements that are embedded in the curriculum. In this way, minority students are given strong positive images of their own cultural groups with which to identify; and at the same time, they are exposed to the dominant culture and learn to accept and manipulate it more seamlessly. Teachers are expected to become “culturally proficient” in the learners’ cultures and to use elements of those cultures that lend themselves to classroom work. Various authors have used the terms *cultural capital*, *culture-based curriculum*, and *funds of knowledge* to describe the cultural resources that all groups possess and that can serve to make schoolwork more relevant to students.

Today, Oscar Lewis and the culture of poverty has been largely forgotten, although remnants of his theory abound, both in research and in instructional interventions. The most common interpretation today is more neutral. The prevailing view is that cultural discontinuities or incompatibilities exist within a framework of cultural differences that can be managed and overcome through diligent work on the part of schools. Differences are merely that: differences, not deficiencies. Often, the line between theories of cultural difference, on one hand, and cultural deficit, on the other, is indistinct. The principal difference is whether the program intends to change the cultural orientation of the student or whether it seeks to create a climate of mutual accommodation through which both students and schools adjust to social and cultural changes that affect them both. Advocates of mutual cultural adaptation attribute value to the backgrounds of immigrant children. They do not regard their cultures as being deprived or impoverished, but hold that schools can and should adapt to the culture of their students, building on strengths rather than weaknesses.

The effects of poverty, however, especially profound multigenerational poverty, are not forgotten and continue to be explored. There is little doubt that socioeconomic variables often interfere with or slow down educational progress. The deepest levels of poverty create the biggest problems. This is because such poverty is a marker of lack of experience with formal schooling. Not enough is known about the factors that

mediate the success of minority children from high-poverty backgrounds. Regrettably, there has been a tendency among researchers to focus almost exclusively on predictors of academic failure, not success. There is little empirical research on minority students who are academically successful and able to surmount the detrimental conditions and events that place them at risk of failure. Notwithstanding the research gaps, academics and social activists who believe in more-benign forms of cultural differences have put forward interesting proposals on how to bridge such differences. These suggestions are founded on the idea of culturally competent teaching and the recognition, by curriculum planners, of the value of children's home cultures and their value as part of the school's curriculum.

An important implication for bilingual education is how the schools deal with the home language of students learning English, since those differences can be some of the most marked contrasts between home and school. At the level of professional discourse, the notion of a "lack" or "limited" English ability has been changed. Where it has been commonplace to speak of students with "limited English proficiency" (LEP), it is now customary to refer to these same students as "English language learners" (ELLs). Perhaps a more important point is acknowledging that transitional bilingual education may send the wrong message to children and their families: the idea that the home language will be used in school only for a limited time. This may convey the idea that their language is not important enough to study throughout the grades. For that reason, the concept of "transitional bilingual education" has yielded to the more democratic form known as "dual-language immersion" and "two-way bilingual programs," in which English-speaking students learn the language of their minority classmates as the latter learn the lingua franca.

Instructional tweaks and curricular changes, however, do not suffice to challenge ideologies that are deeply rooted in cultural deficit thinking. A critical approach to professional development, one that raises awareness of the misconceptions behind these ideas, may contribute to a more insightful sense of the teacher's role in these dynamics.

Josué M. González

See also Culturally Competent Teaching; Deficit-Based Education Theory; Enculturation; Language Socialization; Multicultural Education; Nationalization of Languages; Social Class and Language Status; Social Class and School Success

Further Readings

- Coleman, J. S. (1966). *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education.
- Jencks, C. (1972). *Inequality: A reassessment of the effect of family and schooling in America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lewis, O. (1959). *Anthropological essays*. New York: Random House.
- Ogbu, J. (1978). *Minority education and caste: The American system in cross-cultural perspective*. New York: Academic Press.
- Saunders, L. (1954). *Cultural differences and medical care: The case of the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

CULTURALLY COMPETENT TEACHING

How much does an individual need to know about a given cultural group to be considered culturally competent in working with students of that group? Ideas about cultural competence continue to be informed through different perspectives upon a shared definition of *culture* that includes, but is not limited to, perceptions about race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, language, and dialect. Cultural competence implies sensitivity toward issues of culture in conjunction with a social service, such as the medical profession, which has begun to reassess negative assumptions related to folk healing or *curanderismo*, or with the legal profession, which has reassessed negative characterizations of minorities through critical race theory. At its most basic, cultural competence means respecting cultural differences in one's professional practice much more than it does knowing a great deal about the particulars of a given cultural group.

Cultural competence has been a fairly recent innovation with roots in health and mental health services, as reported by Terry L. Cross, Barbara J. Bazron, Karl W. Dennis, and Mareasa R. Isaacs. In education, culturally competent teaching has been discussed through the similar concepts of *culturally relevant pedagogy* and *culturally appropriate instruction*. For English language learners, culturally competent teaching would require a teacher's basic acknowledgment and respect for his or her student's home language and the cultural differences they bring to the

classroom. Teachers tapping into an authentic understanding of culture would more likely benefit from successful learning experiences for their students, who would then be meaningfully integrated within their own learning community. Teachers who engage in culturally competent teaching are able to show how their instructional approaches correspond to their levels of awareness about cultural differences. Students similarly have to be understood from the perspective of cultural competence in their engagement at school. Gloria Ladson-Billings has observed how African American students are responsible for negotiating both their ties to their peer groups and the academic demands that reflect the attitudes and attributes of the dominant White culture. She argues that curricula should relate closely to the background experiences of minority students and not create a dilemma for students who may have to choose between their peer groups and academic success. Signithia Fordham and John Ogbu have similarly explained the dilemma of cultural inversion for African American students, who may view academic success as the “burden of actin’ White.” One way of understanding how culturally competent teaching can unfold in the classroom is to analyze where it could best be implemented.

Constructivist and Transmission Orientations

Classroom instruction can unfold from either a constructivist or transmission orientation. In a *constructivist approach*, the negotiation of meaning between the teacher and student becomes an important aspect of instruction. Culturally competent teaching can be more readily embedded within the classroom when constructivism is practiced. Some constructivist practices, such as the *funds-of-knowledge* approach, place a greater emphasis and value upon the student’s background culture, which, in turn, helps the teacher and student to connect to and shape subsequent intellectual activities in and outside the classroom. Another example could include a *critical literacy* approach, as advocated by Paulo Freire, which reflects a similar constructivist approach that negotiates meaning as a trajectory that can also lend insight into an authentic interpretation of social justice. There exists considerable evidence on how shifting the curriculum focus between either a minority or majority student perspective results in differentiated outcomes. For example, Linda Spears-Bunton found that White students became

uncomfortably challenged in interpreting a shared reading of an African American text, and, conversely, African American students in the same class grew more fluent in their discussions about the reading. Previously, when the readings covered content that the White students were comfortable with, African American students had a more difficult time participating in discussion. It stands to reason that culturally competent instruction would result in a better engagement with the classroom material when background contexts and schemas can be activated from students’ prior experiences, as reported by Margaret S. Steffensen, Chitra Joag-Dev, and Richard Anderson.

Culturally competent instruction can also be specifically centered around a cultural curriculum and can be exemplified through earlier efforts on instruction about African culture for African American students, as suggested by Molefi Kete Asante. Similarly, this can be done when centering instruction around Mexican ancestry for Mexican American students. It is important to recognize, however, that merely including ethnic or heritage materials in the curriculum may not be sufficient to overcome issues arising from a lack of opportunity, historical oppression, or long-term inequities. It is the *meaning* of cultural differences that must be considered, rather than the differences themselves. The latter must be handled lightly and deftly in order to prevent stereotyping. Constructivist practices seem to be a better fit for recognizing the potential that culturally competent teaching has to offer.

In contrast, a *transmission-based approach*, such as that promoted by curriculum designs such as those inherent in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, pushes instruction toward the other side of the continuum through the enforcement of standardized tests that resonate with a similarly standardized curriculum. Transmission instruction tends toward a generalizable quality that suggests a one-size-fits-all approach. Lisa Delpit has articulated how classrooms are a microcosm of the wider society and reflective of a *culture of power* that stigmatizes the participation of minority students, who become subordinated. This occurs when standards are defined largely by the dominant culture. For English language learners, participation in the culture of power requires not only understanding the language of the dominant culture but also understanding the pragmatic behavior implicitly used within the language sanctioned by the dominant culture. Students benefit from being explicitly taught how to navigate through the framework of a culture that may be insensitive to

their conceptualizations of reality. A transmission-based approach more readily embraces an assimilative stance toward education for the culturally diverse student. Both approaches have their pitfalls and merits, and both entail considerations about how students comprehend meaning within the curriculum. Specifically, a constructivist approach moves away from the parameters defined by the culture of power and can risk diminishing a student's engagement with opportunities for social mobility; and a transmission approach infuses inauthentic interpretations of literacy for students who are basically prepared for standardized testing. Thus, culturally competent teaching can be different along different sides of this continuum and can strike a medium whereby students benefit from becoming familiar with both opportunities for upward social mobility and those that recognize the unique individual qualities that allow students a sense of belonging in the classroom.

Insights From Anthropological Research

Some seminal anthropological research has led to some unique insights for understanding how culturally competent teaching unfolds. Frederick Erickson and Gerald Mohatt determined how teachers have differed in their styles and approaches for interacting with students, with specific evidence about how social control was enforced through patterns of time and tempo of lessons with them. It should come as no surprise that teacher efficacy is a strong factor for reaching particular students, but students themselves also differ in how their background cultural knowledge predisposes them for optimal or negative experiences in the classroom. In an ethnography of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, Susan U. Philips found how students and teachers differed in their school performance in terms of the participation structures used. Native American students became more engaged in school when instruction tapped into their sense of quiet independence that had been learned at home from their parents. Similarly, White students became more engaged when instruction mirrored more of a transmission-based approach that they expected to be a normal part of school. Thus, culturally competent teaching would also entail recognizing unique differences in the learning styles of student that emanate from home practices of interacting with members of their families and communities.

Culturally competent instruction can also go beyond whether or not the language of the classroom is English. It also entails teacher understandings of how students differ in their communicative patterns. Kathryn Hu-Pei Au studied Hawaiian school children and found that their speech patterns engaged a narrative *talk story*, which to the unperceptive teacher might be characterized as “noisy interruptions.” When instruction for Hawaiian children facilitated their disposition for talk story, reading achievement increased. In another anthropological study of Puerto Rican children in New York, Ana Celia Zentella found that the use of code switching among English-Spanish speakers contained a greater complexity than had been ascertained before. Code switching could greatly enhance comprehension and could be used for a variety of school purposes. Zentella's findings helped to displace negative perceptions about the use of code switching among English language learners. One of the shared features from these anthropological studies exemplifies how culturally competent teaching seeks to bridge practices learned at home with those of the classroom. However, an important criterion for teachers validating culturally competent instruction requires not limiting these findings to categorize particular ethnic or racial groups of students, but rather understanding the *limits of essentialism*. This term, explained by Cameron McCarthy and Warren Crichlow, refers to the problematic tendency to view social groups as inherently similar entities. Teachers should look beyond the inherently limited environmental scope of previous research. In this sense, culture can be realized as a dynamic force that is in a constant state of change and can be redefined through the trajectory of time and the intersection of gender and class.

Conclusion

Returning to the original question regarding how much a teacher needs to know about a given culture in order to be a good teacher, clearly a deeper knowledge is preferable to shallow knowledge. Most of all, however, the teacher must recognize the importance of the cultural underpinnings of curriculum, any curriculum, and the fact that teaching methodologies influence the degree to which he or she becomes culturally competent. The importance of adequate teacher preparation programs focusing on culture cannot be overemphasized. The work of Ana María Villegas and Tamara

Lucas in this connection is particularly useful in shaping the content of such programs.

Heriberto Godina

See also Credentialing Foreign-Trained Teachers; Language and Identity; Multicultural Education; Ogbu, John; Teacher Qualifications

Further Readings

- Asante, M. K. (1993). *Malcolm X as cultural hero and other Afrocentric essays*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Au, K. (1980). Participation structures in a reading lesson with Hawaiian children: Analysis of a culturally appropriate instructional event. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *11*, 91–115.
- Cross, T. L., Bazron, B. J., Dennis, K. W., & Isaacs, M. R. (1989). *Toward a culturally competent system of care*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Child Development Center, CASSP Technical Assistance Center.
- Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: New Press.
- Erickson, F., & Mohatt, G. (1982). Cultural organization and participation structures in two classrooms of Indian students. In G. Spindler (Ed.), *Doing the ethnography of schooling* (pp. 131–174). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the "burden of 'actin White.'" *Urban Review*, *18*, 176–206.
- Freire, P. (1990). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Godina, H. (2003). Mesocentrism and students of Mexican background: A community intervention for culturally relevant instruction. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *2*, 141–157.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *32*, 465–491.
- McCarthy, C., & Crichlow, W. (1993). Introduction: Theories of identity, theories of representation, theories of race. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow (Eds.), *Race, identity, and representation in education* (pp. xiii–xxix). New York: Routledge.
- Philips, S. U. (1983). *The invisible culture: Communication in classroom on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Spears-Bunton, L. (1992). Literature, literacy, and resistance to cultural domination: *Views from many perspectives*. In *The 41st National Reading Conference Yearbook* (pp. 393–401). Chicago: National Reading Conference.
- Steffenensen, M. S., Joag-Dev, C., & Anderson, R. (1979). A cross cultural perspective on reading comprehension. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *15*, 10–29.
- Vélez-Ibañez, C., & Greenberg, J. (1992). Formation and transformation of funds of knowledge among U.S. Mexican households. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, *23*, 313–335.
- Villegas, A. M., & Lucas, T. (2002). *Educating culturally responsive teachers: A coherent approach*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Villegas, A. M., & Lucas, T. (2007). The culturally responsive teacher. *Educational Leadership*, *64*(6), 28–33.
- Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

CULTURE SHOCK

Culture shock emerged in the mid-1950s as a useful concept to help explain the emotional tension, adjustment problems, and difficulties immigrants, refugees, and foreign students face at school and in their personal lives when they are thrust into new environments. In the new setting, interrelations with friends, family members, and the broader community, as well as salient linguistic, cultural, and religious values, cannot be maintained or publicly practiced by these groups, since they often differ from the values and practices of the host society. In schools, culture shock has gained some attention due to the steady rise in the number of immigrants attending U.S. schools and the considerable differences between ethnic groups and mainstream student school performance.

Kalvero Oberg postulated that culture shock reflects the level of anxiety, apprehension, and distress faced when an individual's native culture or the culture that individual was raised in is replaced by a new cultural surrounding, with its own distinct cultural and linguistic signs and symbols. This new, unaccustomed environment includes communication, cultural, and social barriers that often lead these individuals to experience acute challenges, psychological distress, and internal struggles with maintaining their identities. Although contact with the new culture might not always result in a frightful experience, exposure to unfamiliar surroundings leads them to strive to fit into this new culture, as explained by Colleen Ward and her colleagues. The problem with this adjustment is that core values and salient linguistic and social/cultural features that helped mold one's

ethnocultural and social identity no longer hold the same value.

Initially, scholars such as Celia J. Falicov, Colleen Ward, Stephen Bochner, and Adrian Furnham shifted attention to immigrant children and their families' attitudes toward the host culture and their ability to build interpersonal relations with host culture members and to develop new identities and social skills to help them in the acculturation process. More recently, Alicia Núñez and Juneau M. Gary wrote that to understand the gravity of cultural shock in immigrant children, educators must take into account multiple interrelated factors, including various social, individual, psychological, and physical attributes of each individual and the way they affect the transition or gradual adaptation into a new culture. With bilingual or multilingual children, it is also critical to look closely at their personality traits, their expectations, and previous contacts with the host culture, host culture members, or institutions, as well as their parents' attitudes toward the host culture and the ways they develop coping skills to overcome culture shock.

Sequential Stages of Culture Shock

Several phases have been proposed by Oberg, Peter Adler, and other scholars to acknowledge the interrelation of psychosocial, sociocognitive, and behavioral factors that can bring about culture shock. Adler's five-stage culture shock experience, which is often cited, begins with the contact with the new culture, or what has been termed the *honeymoon stage*. For example, immigrant children and English as a Second Language (ESL) students who move to the United States are often eager to dive into this new experience and may also develop an ideal image of this new culture, expecting to gain positive and adventurous experiences. Immigrant children might express some level of trepidation, but overall they are enthusiastic about experiencing this new and linguistically rich environment. However, psychological and emotional pressure begins to build during the *disintegration stage*, in which differences between their home countries and this new society often lead to uncertainty, confusion, emotional distress, alienation, and frustration. During this stage, cross-cultural differences become more apparent to those immigrant children who have had no preschool or kindergarten experience and no linguistic and social competence to function in a new school context. These young children often feel powerless,

unable to communicate their needs or to fully participate in class, since the classroom is a new cultural and linguistic experience. They often become isolated, introverted, and emotionally distressed. Older students, especially those of high school age, are often more traumatized by these experiences, as Angela Valenzuela has reported.

This psychological and emotional distress continues into the third stage, also known as the *reintegration stage*, during which immigrant children and ESL students believe that individuals from the host culture are responsible for a good proportion of the problems encountered during this new cultural experience. They adopt a rather defensive approach, trying to protect their cultural roots and values. At the same time, they develop a deeper understanding of the sociocultural values of the host culture. Experiences and interactions with the host culture often determine whether they can resolve such conflicts and eliminate emotional distress or return to the previous stages of culture shock. Normally, these stressful experiences are eliminated during the fourth stage, the *autonomy stage*, in which students grasp the sociocultural and linguistic values of the host society and are more accepted by the host culture. These students develop a sense of self-efficacy and self-confidence about the core social and linguistic values of the host culture, but there are still instances in which they find themselves as outsiders or not fully acculturated. They adapt and embrace this new host culture and cross-cultural experience during the *interdependence stage*. This is when they acknowledge and value their multicultural personalities. That is, they value and respect both the similarities and differences between their native and new cultures and develop a deeper understanding of this cross-cultural learning experience.

In the multicultural classrooms of today, scholars postulate that it is critical to identify the causes of cultural shock in immigrant and ESL children. Increasingly, educators believe that in today's multiethnic classrooms, there is a need to acknowledge the sources of the factors that contribute to culture shock.

Psychosocial, Cognitive, and Individual Factors Leading to Culture Shock

Scholars such as Furnham and Bochner, Michael Winkelman, Gladys González-Ramos, and Manny J. González hold that culture shock should be viewed in

the light of multiple interrelated personal, psychosocial, cognitive, and family reasons influencing this transitional and transforming experience. First, they call attention to *stress* not simply as an emotional or psychological response but also as a physiological or somatic reaction that immigrant children and their families face, as explained by Winkelman and Ward, Bochner, and Furnham. As immigrant children and their families leave their home countries, either voluntarily as immigrants or involuntarily as refugees, they go through considerable stress. Immigrant children are more susceptible to such stress since they are under a lot of pressure to adapt both at school and in the social setting. They are not familiar with the institutional or social environment, and they suddenly find themselves without their friends, relatives, or support systems. They are emotionally distressed, confused, and insecure in this new social setting. The level of psychological stress is even higher in immigrant children at the adolescent stage who suddenly struggle to understand the sociocultural values of the new culture but at the same time function in a school environment without the necessary linguistic, social, or cultural competence. Going through such an emotionally stressful experience sometimes creates somatic or physiological responses, since the body's immune system might be compromised, increasing the risk for illness and health problems in general. Immigrant children often feel isolated, depressed, and nervous in various social situations or in a school environment where they are required to participate in group work.

Second, the pressure of trying to understand a new culture, along with its socially accepted behavior and norms, can be overwhelming, which contributes to cognitive fatigue, as discussed by George M. Guthrie and Winkelman. Immigrant children and adolescents need to pay considerable attention to the social and linguistic dynamics arising during verbal interactions and to the nonverbal cues employed in conversation. To a higher degree than native speakers of English, a fuller cognitive involvement is necessary to understand and develop the socially accepted skills to progress in this setting. Such considerable effort to deal with the new communication and social tasks often leads immigrant children to feel "mentally tired" and withdrawn from social or school functions and activities.

Third, the social roles and public persona immigrant children adopted and displayed in their home countries is no longer considered as the norm in this new culture. As a result, immigrant children go through *role shock*, as Francis C. Byrnes and

Winkelman explain. They realize that there is a disparity between their socially embraced character and what the members of this new community believe to be acceptable public roles. In the host community, they can no longer rely on the interpersonal relations built at home with family members, relatives, and friends. They need to establish new relations with children and adults in their current host environment. However, their social skills need to adhere to the socially acceptable etiquette of the target culture. To establish these social relations, immigrant children need to adopt a socially accepted persona that might often contradict, question, or challenge the role that they maintained in their home countries or in the family, thus leading to role shock. Often, immigrant children receive little guidance in this process of adapting to the new culture. Ward and her colleagues further explain that many immigrant parents who arrive in the host country have limited proficiency in the language, while immigrant children tend to acquire language and cultural values more quickly, due to formal study in school. Hence, they often have the responsibility to act as translators for their parents. In many instances, immigrant children find themselves in social situations in which they take a more challenging social and family role, assuming more responsibilities in this new setting. Because they acquire a new and unknown role of language brokering, the relationship between such children and their parents may be altered.

Fourth, Winkelman has suggested that immigrant children also endure a *personal shock*, since they experience so many life-altering events in their efforts to acculturate or form part of the youth culture and community in which they are newly immersed. Immigrant children and adolescents lose important individuals in their lives as they acculturate. At the beginning, this separation is overwhelming, causing stress, insomnia, and reservation in creating new relationships. In addition, some studies, such as those conducted by Rosendo Urrabazo, have indicated that Mexican immigrant children may go through serious emotional hardships or traumatic events while crossing the U.S.-Mexico border, such as rape, robbery, and fear of being detained and deported. Yet such events are rarely discussed with teachers or school administrators, and, even worse, the psychological support is not available to all immigrant children who need it. In cases in which such services are available, immigrant children might not request them. Instead, if they cannot perform to the same levels as mainstream students in the class, their teachers and peers may come to believe that these

students do not possess the knowledge-building skills or the desire to thrive in school. Such deficit-based thinking, however, may leave immigrant children to seek alternative ways to cope with the trauma, such as excessive eating, insomnia, lack of interest in their everyday interactions, depression, apparent disengagement from school activities, tension, and agitation, as reported by González-Ramos and González, and Falicov. Some immigrant children, and especially adolescents and adults, may even feel that the social norms and roles of this new society infringe upon their personal, cultural, religious, and moral values. Such differences may lead to value conflicts between immigrant families and their new communities and dysfunctional adult behaviors later.

Teaching Practices to Overcome Culture Shock

Culture shock, then, is a multifaceted process. The ways in which immigrant children, along with their families, respond to cultural adaptation depend on various idiosyncratic and psychological factors, the effective use of problem-solving skills, and the support received from the school, social, and family environments. School administrators and teachers can help with the process of acculturation by acknowledging the diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds of immigrant children and addressing problems the children face with cultural adjustment as they are immersed in the learning culture.

Acculturation is a slow and psychologically and emotionally demanding process, often requiring effort to embrace children's ethnocultural and linguistic heritage. Through constructive lesson plans and group activities, teachers can help immigrant children become more acquainted with the social values and language of the target culture and teach them to develop problem-solving strategies and approaches to effectively deal with culture shock. Teachers can also help by broadening their knowledge of what constitutes appropriate and socially acceptable norms and values for immigrant children and by respecting their cultural, linguistic, and religious values. They can adopt practices and prepare lesson plans that are rich in cultural and linguistic context. Scholars like González-Ramos and González also recommend involving the family to discuss the levels of literacy their children developed in the native language, the kind of experiences or struggle each has experienced, and the differences in intercultural communication and prior school practices to

which they were exposed. Teachers could also establish an interactive forum to foster the development of interrelations among immigrant students and open the path to understanding cultural differences and eliminating their stress. Because of the language skills of their staff, bilingual schools have an advantage in this regard, since bilingual personnel can mount and sustain such interactions with families.

In addition, the process of acculturation may be aided by teachers cooperating closely with mental health services in their school districts. Mental health support services, clinical psychologists, and school counselors are likely to have a good grasp of psychological, emotional, cultural, and linguistic issues of immigrant families and their children; their current living conditions and personal and social challenges with this community; and how these factors influence child development and performance. Such individuals can also open a dialogue with the parents and encourage helpful involvement in school for the entire family. School counselors can discuss with parents, school administrators, and teachers the psychological, academic, and intellectual needs of immigrant children. If such instrumental factors determining students' mental and psychological health are not addressed early on, even the best-designed instructional approaches might not be sufficient to ensure adequate performance in school.

Specially designed programs can provide the bases to improve interaction, teamwork, and collaboration between school, teachers, parents, and children and can also lend immigrant children a voice in dealing with institutional, social, linguistic, and academic challenges that lie ahead. Culture shock is a demanding process that may be addressed in schools with high numbers of immigrant students by adopting comprehensive programs and keeping teachers and school administrators informed about immigrant students' social, academic, and family roles in their new environments. Removing immigrant children from the safety net of their known environments may lead to puzzling behavioral and emotional problems that, if ignored, could become long-term adjustment issues. Special language-oriented programs such as bilingual education are important, but cannot be expected to resolve all such complex issues.

Stella K. Hadjistassou

See also Acculturation; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Multicultural Education

Further Readings

- Adler, P. S. (1975). The transitional experience: An alternative view of culture shock. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 15*, 13–23.
- Bochner, S. (2003). Culture shock due to contact with unfamiliar cultures. In W. J. Lonner, D. L. Dinnel, S. A. Hayes, & D. N. Sattler (Eds.), *Online readings in psychology and culture* (Unit 8, Chap. 7). Bellingham; Western Washington University, Center for Cross Cultural Research. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~culture/Bochner.htm>
- Byrnes, F. C. (1966). Role shock: An occupational hazard of American technical assistants abroad. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 368*(1), 95–108.
- Falicov, C. J. (1998). *Latino families in therapy: A guide to multicultural practice*. New York: Guilford.
- Furnham, A., & Bochner, S. (1986). *Culture shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments*. London: Methuen.
- González-Ramos, G., & González, M. J. (2005). Mental health care of Hispanic immigrant children: A school-based approach. In M. J. González & G. González-Ramos (Eds.), *Mental health care for new Hispanic immigrants: Innovative approaches in contemporary clinical practices* (pp. 47–58). Binghamton, NY: Haworth Social Work Practice Press.
- Guthrie, G. M. (1975). A behavioral analysis of culture learning. In R. W. Brislin, S. Bochner, & W. J. Lonner (Eds.), *Cross-cultural perspectives on learning* (pp. 95–115). New York: Wiley.
- Núñez, A., & Gary, J. M. (2006). *Facilitating acculturation among school-age Latino immigrant children*. Retrieved from <http://www.njcounseling.org/NJCA-Journal/subpages/NunezGary.html>
- Oberg, K. (1958). *Culture shock and the problem of adjustment to new cultural environments*. Washington, DC: Department of State, Foreign Service Institute.
- Oberg, K. (1960). Culture shock: Adjustment to new cultural environments. *Practical Anthropology, 7*, 177–182.
- Pedersen, P. (1995). *The five stages of culture shock: Critical incidents around the world*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Urrabazo, R. (1999). Therapeutic sensitivity to the Latino spiritual soul. In M. T. Flores & G. Carey (Eds.), *Family therapy with Hispanics: Toward appreciating diversity* (pp. 205–227). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2007). *Hispanic heritage month 2007*. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/010327.html
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S. Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Ward, C., Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The psychology of culture shock* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: Routledge.
- Winkelman, M. (2002). *Cultural shock and adaptation*. Retrieved from <http://www.asu.edu/clas/shesc/projects/bajaethnography/shock.htm>

CUMMINS, JAMES (1949–)

James Cummins is an internationally renowned researcher and advocate in the field of language minority education. His academic work has had a significant influence on the theoretical discourse of bilingual education and bilingualism. His professional interests include research on the acquisition of conversational and academic proficiency in a second language, the efficacy of language minority education programs, as well as social justice issues and how coercive power is wielded in international arenas. Much of Cummins's research has focused on the nature of language proficiency and second-language acquisition, with particular emphasis on the social and educational barriers that limit academic success for language minority students.



Born in Ireland on July 3, 1949, and raised there, Cummins credits his academic interests partially to growing up there in the 1950s and 1960s, when school policy reflected a desire to revitalize Gaelic, the Irish language. His book *Negotiating Identities: Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society* reflects his dual concern with interpersonal negotiation of identity between educators and students and how this process relates to the broader operation of power relations in society.

Cummins received a PhD in educational psychology from the University of Alberta in 1974. Previously, he had been awarded a bachelor of arts degree by the National University of Ireland in 1970. He has been a professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) of the University of Toronto since 1980 and recently was appointed as a Canada Research Chair at the OISE. He is well-known for his theoretical and seminal contributions

during the 1970s, including a theoretical perspective on the relationship between bilingualism and thought; the influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth; linguistic interdependence; and the educational development of bilingual children.

Cummins is perhaps best known for his having introduced the distinction between *basic interpersonal communicative skills* (BICS) and *cognitive academic language proficiency* (CALP) in order to highlight some of the challenges encountered by language minority students as they attempt to catch up to their peers in academic aspects of the school language. BICS refers to conversational fluency in a language, while CALP refers to students' ability to understand and express, in both oral and written modes, concepts and ideas that are relevant to success in school—in other words, more-academic language. His work in this arena is not without controversy. In the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, Cummins describes the origin, rationale, and evolution of the concept together with empirical evidence of the BICS/CALP distinction. He also responds to critiques of the BICS/CALP theory.

Cummins has studied and lectured all over the world. He delivers 12 to 15 keynote/invited plenary presentations a year and more than 40 workshops to educators on topics related to language learning, bilingual education, English as a Second Language, multicultural education, special education, technology and education, and educational reform.

In 2005, Cummins was invited to deliver the Joan Pedersen Memorial Distinguished Lecture on “Diverse Futures: Rethinking the Image of the Child in Canadian Schools.” He was honored in 2000 when his 1986 paper “Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention” was selected by the *Harvard Educational Review* (HER) to appear in the *HER Classics Series*. This series consists of 12 papers published in HER between 1931 and 2000 that are recognized as having made particularly notable contributions to education. In May 1997, Cummins was awarded an honorary doctorate in humane letters from the Bank Street College of Education in New York.

Cummins has written 18 books and edited 10 others. He has published 150 book chapters and written 110 refereed journal articles, which have contributed to the impact of his work on the field of language minority education. One of his most influential publications is a volume, coauthored with

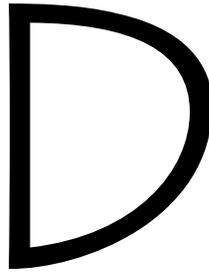
Dennis Sayers, that analyzes the educational implications of the Internet, published in September 1995 as *Brave New Schools: Challenging Cultural Illiteracy Through Global Learning Networks*. His work in *Negotiating Identities: Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society* focuses on strategies for promoting academic development among culturally diverse students. It is widely read in university courses in the field. A second edition of this book appeared in 2001. In the same year, a collection of Cummins's most important academic papers over a 30-year period were published under the title *An Introductory Reader to the Writings of Jim Cummins*, edited by Colin Baker and Nancy Hornberger.

Kate Mahoney

See also BICS/CALP Theory; Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism; Language and Identity; Semilingualism; Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies

Further Readings

- Baker, C., & Hornberger, N. H. (2001). *An introductory reader to the writings of Jim Cummins*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *HER Classic Reprint: Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention*. Retrieved from <http://www.hepg.org/her/abstract/98>
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (in press). BICS and CALP: Empirical and theoretical status of the distinction. In B. Street & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 2). New York: Springer Science and Business Media LLC.
- Cummins, J., Brown, K., & Sayers, D. (2007). *Literacy, technology, and diversity: Teaching for success in changing times*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Cummins, J., & Davison, C. (Eds.). (2007). *International handbook of English language teaching* (Vol. 1). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Cummins, J., & Sayers, D. (1995). *Brave new schools: Challenging cultural illiteracy through global learning networks*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Schechter, S., & Cummins, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Multilingual education in practice: Using diversity as a resource*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.



DEAF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Deaf students are often neglected in the academic and professional discourse in the bilingual education field. In policy and practice, however, bilingual education is not limited to immigrant students whose family members speak a minority language, or to students learning a new language in addition to the majority language. There are many bilingual education programs for the deaf, and the number of such programs has been growing steadily around the world. Bilingual education for the deaf differs from other programs in a major way. The languages in a bilingual education program for the deaf include a sign language and a nonsigning language (the majority spoken language of the hearing community). For example, the two languages taught at a school for the deaf in Stockholm are Swedish Sign Language and Swedish. At another school in Fremont, California, they are American Sign Language and English.

The *modality* of language for the deaf students is different from that of other bilingual students. A sign language is a linguistic system of manual/visual, rather than vocal/aural, communication. Like any vocal language, each sign language has its own phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic rules. If we are able to overlook the modality for a moment, it becomes clear that bilingual programs for the deaf are like other bilingual programs. Deaf students who use a sign language can be regarded to be members of a minority language group; most of them use sign language as the primary mode of communication, yet they do study and develop skills in the majority (nonsigning) language at school. This entry describes

some of the challenges and concerns in the field of deaf bilingual education.

Bilingualism Revisited

To discuss bilingual education for deaf students, it is critical to understand language use and bilingualism, and the modalities through which a language can be expressed. The term *bilingual* can mean different things for someone deaf or hearing. Different types of modal bilingualism might include knowing the following:

- Two different signed languages
- Two different nonsigned languages
- A signed language and a nonsigned language

A person may be a proficient user of Italian Sign Language and Costa Rican Sign Language, two sign languages. Another person may know French and Chinese, two nonsigning languages. And yet another person may be able to communicate in American Sign Language and English, a sign language and a nonsigning language. These are all examples of bilingual uses; only the mode of bilingual language use of the deaf community is different from that of others. A person who knows a sign language and a nonsigned language is said to be *bimodal bilingual*.

Modality is an important and controversial issue. The modality of sign languages is sign, whereas the modes of most majority languages (Spanish, English, Russian, etc.) are speech and writing. Each language has its own range of modalities. Not all vocal languages have a written form (for example, some Amerindian languages), and even some nonsigned languages do not

have a vocal form. For example, many people continue to write in Latin even though no one speaks it anymore. Historically, a language that can be communicated through both spoken and written modes has the most prestige and legitimacy. Several communities have attempted corpus planning (interventions to change the form of a language) to develop a writing system for their language (e.g., Quechua in Peru) to get support for their bilingual education projects. Even some signing communities are exploring the possibilities of developing writing systems for their sign languages. In a sense, for any language to be recognized and legitimized, it is necessary to have it “usable” in both writing and speaking or signing modes, even if the language is already fully functional among the members within a community.

The modality of sign languages is often the cause of controversy in the deaf education field. Educators and policymakers have questioned the effectiveness of signing in educational programs for the deaf. Signing was not recognized as a legitimate modality for years. English professor William Stokoe has been cited as the greatest agent for change in educators’ views on signing. His research work in the early 1960s on signing used by deaf Americans showed specific linguistic patterns in these people’s signing. Many studies that followed provided further evidence that sign languages around the world do have their own linguistic patterns. At the same time, researchers started to explore the link between sign language and language development. The amount of evidence for the importance of sign language use in the education of the deaf has been increasing ever since. In many places, signing is now deemed an acceptable modality, and recognition is given to sign languages as full-fledged languages. Despite the recognition of sign languages as true languages and the developments in sign language and deaf education studies, however, some still challenge the claim that languages in the signing mode can be effective and useful in bilingual programs.

Bilingual Education for the Deaf

In the field of deaf education, views diverge about how two different modal languages should be addressed in language planning and practice. These views can be categorized into three areas (see Table 1). Some schools do not endorse the use of sign languages and require that the classes be conducted orally. They enact policies of “oralism,” which place great emphasis on the development of speech skills and education

through the language of the speaking community. Such schools usually forbid or discourage the use of sign languages at school and, in some instances, even at home. Another group of educators see value in using manual communication in classes and use some manual system of communication. (These communication systems differ from sign languages in the way they use signs, and the syntax; that is, the order of the signs in the sentence, follows the order of the majority spoken or written language.) Among examples of manual systems are Signed French, Signing Exact Italian, and Cued Speech.

A third body of educators views sign languages as separate languages to be learned and developed along with the languages of speaking communities. At bilingual schools, both the sign language and the language of the speaking community are acknowledged and viewed as equally important languages in the education of the deaf. Programs that include education of both languages can also be found at schools for hearing students who learn sign language as an additional language.

Not all programs for the deaf fall neatly in these categories, which should be seen as points on a spectrum. Some programs may have overlapping characteristics. Even within a single program, one teacher might use some manual communication but another teacher might not use any at all.

Among bilingual programs for the deaf, no two programs are alike. How the two different modal languages are used and how the teaching of these languages is planned vary from school to school. At one end, a sign language is used as a medium of instruction across the curriculum but is never taught as a subject. At the other end, some schools include sign language developmental objectives and metalinguistic analysis of both languages in their curricula. The underlying principle in all bilingual models is that a sign language is deaf children’s natural and visual language; signing allows them full and immediate access to information and language itself.

Bilingual education for the deaf is still in its early stages. But since its inception in the 1970s, studies have indicated conclusive results. It helps if students have sign language skills before learning a nonsigning language; leading researchers in deaf education have shown that deaf children who have a strong foundation in a sign language are more likely to have stronger skills (reading and writing) in the nonsigning language than other deaf children do. Using a sign language as the medium of instruction in class has

Table 1 General Perspectives on the Use of Modal Languages at School

	<i>Oralism</i>	<i>Manual Systems</i>	<i>Bilingualism</i>
<i>Policy Stance</i>	Mono-modal monolingualism	Bimodal monolingualism	Bimodal bilingualism
<i>Main Medium of Instruction</i>	Nonsigning language	Nonsigning language with manual support	Sign language
<i>Manual Communication</i>	Not allowed or recognized	Recognized	Recognized and encouraged
<i>Primary Focus</i>	Skills (especially speaking and listening) in the language of the speaking community	Skills in the language of the speaking community	Skills in both the language of the speaking community and sign language

been shown to be conducive to development of literacy skills across the curriculum. Documented case studies also indicate improvement in nonliteracy areas. Deaf students have more self-esteem and a healthier attitude toward education in bilingual programs that acknowledge their deaf identity and support the use of a sign language. Their cognitive functions appear to be stronger if they are educated at a school that supports sign language development in addition to written language development.

Even with these important developments, challenges remain. The greatest one is the growing diversity of the student population; more immigrant students and students whose relatives do not speak the majority language are entering the school system. These students need bilingual support for development in signing and nonsigning languages, and they require assistance to deal with two nonsigned languages (the majority language and the home language). In a sense, these students have “double-bilingualism” concerns that arise from their needs as deaf communicators and as immigrants. Research progress in this area is slow but steady.

Just as it is for many other bilingual communities, language planning and policy in deaf education is affected by many different factors, including perspectives on languages, language politics, budget, number of qualified bilingual teachers, national examinations or requirements for proficiency in the majority language, and pressure from the parents or caregivers for a greater focus on the majority language. Nonetheless, bilingualism continues to be a growing field within the deaf education field.

Debra L. Cole

See also Bilingual Special Education; Brain Research; Deficit-Based Education Theory; First-Language Acquisition; Linguistics, an Overview

Further Readings

- Erting, L., & Pfau, J. (1997). *Becoming bilingual: Facilitating English literacy development using ASL in preschool* [Sharing Ideas paper]. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University, Laurent Clerc National Deaf Education Center. Available from <http://clerccenter.gallaudet.edu/Products/Sharing-Ideas/index.html>
- Maher, J. (1996). *Seeing language in sign: The work of William C. Stokoe*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Mashie, S. (1995). *Educating deaf children bilingually*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University, Pre-College Programs.
- Nover, S., & Andrews, J. F. (1998). *Critical pedagogy in deaf education: Bilingual methodology and staff development. Year 4 (2000–2001)*. Santa Fe: New Mexico School for the Deaf.
- Prinz, P. M., & Strong, M. (1998). ASL proficiency and English literacy within a bilingual deaf education model of instruction. *Topics in Language Disorders, 18*(4), 47–60.
- Stokoe, W. C. (1960). *Sign language structure: An outline of the visual communication systems of the American deaf*. Studies in linguistics: Occasional papers (No. 8). Buffalo, NY: Department of Anthropology and Linguistics, University of Buffalo.
- Stokoe, W. C. (1978). *Sign language structures: The first linguistic analysis of American sign language*. Silver Spring, MD: Linstok Press.

DE AVILA, EDWARD (1937–)

Edward De Avila is a developmental psychologist, researcher, and educator in the field of childhood English language development and language proficiency and educational group methods with children of diverse languages. His most notable contribution, in collaboration with Sharon Duncan, PhD, is in the measurement of English proficiency. The research by De Avila and Duncan established that the single most important variable for predicting the academic success of language minority students is linguistic proficiency. De Avila is also the former president of the Linguametrics Group and past president of De Avila, Duncan and Associates. This entry describes De Avila's contribution to bilingual assessment and education.

De Avila was born in 1937 to a Mexican-born father and a mother of Irish ancestry. When asked where he was born, his reply has always been "in a little town in Northern Mexico called Los Angeles." De Avila grew up speaking Spanish, surrounded and supported by a large extended family on his father's side. He failed to complete high school; instead, he learned to be a draftsman. At work, his supervisors saw his potential and encouraged him to go to the city college. From there, he transferred to the University of California at Berkeley, where he received his BA in 1964. He completed his MA at Colorado State and obtained his PhD from York University in Toronto, Canada, in 1973. From childhood, he confronted and dealt with issues related to language, culture, family dynamics, and educational struggles and strivings. His interest in children and his pursuit of fairness and equal access to a good education for underserved and little-understood English language learners has guided much of his research and applied work. In 1966, he developed a child-friendly Piaget-driven test titled *Cartoon Conservation Scales*. While at Stanford University (1974–1978) as a senior research associate and visiting associate professor, he documented in *Descubrimiento* (1987) a system he developed for learning science and that he tested in bilingual cooperative learning groups in classrooms where English language learners and Spanish language learners were learning a second language from the process of interacting with one another.

De Avila is best known for the development of the English proficiency tests titled *Language Assessment Scales (LAS)*, published in 1975, coauthored with

Duncan. These sets of tests have become the benchmark for assessing English language proficiency in public and private school systems within and outside the United States. English proficiency is distinguished from English achievement in that the former is a measure of the functional level (grade level) at which the individual is speaking English. Although linguistic proficiency and academic skills are correlated, they are distinctly different. A child's English proficiency level would inform the teacher what the child is able to understand in a mainstream classroom with children of similar age. A key element of the LAS tests is the oral portion that requires the child, or adult, to spontaneously verbalize a narrative in response to a picture. Thus, an actual sample of speech is then categorized, scored, and placed in a spectrum of English proficiency.

De Avila has ventured into other venues, such as voice-activated computer software and television programming, to bring the message that bilingualism is intrinsically a cognitive asset, and to expand the knowledge and Spanish vocabulary of children and adults alike. Those who were children or had children between 1974 and 1978 might remember *Villa Alegre*, the bilingual television series for children that broadcast more than 200 shows. De Avila was its director of research and curriculum. Many language minority groups from indigenous communities in Canada, the United States, and many South Pacific islands have benefited from De Avila's direct and applied consultations about English language education and proficiency and about the ways that traditional indigenous languages may be preserved and kept alive.

Just as important have been De Avila's lifelong efforts to influence national, state, and local policies as they relate to the scope and implementation of Title I for English language learners. He has given expert testimony before Congress, state legislatures, and boards of education in numerous states and districts. More recently, he became a consultant in a California state suit that highlights the adverse affect on Spanish-speaking children of the No Child Left Behind mandated testing requirement.

During his long career in the field of education, cognitive development, and bilingualism, De Avila has also authored and coauthored numerous articles, books, and manuals. He has been a consultant to corporate, governmental, and nongovernmental organizations within and outside the United States, specializing in language and cognition, assessment of intellectual

and linguistic development, and school organization and management as it relates to child performance.

De Avila's investigations into language produced some findings addressing the effects of bilingualism. One of them was that when background variables, such as familiarity with test formats, are controlled through pre-training, many ethnolinguistic differences disappear. Another was that linguistic minority children do not constitute a monolithic, homogeneous group any more than monolingual students do. De Avila and Duncan's work established that students who are proficient in two languages tend to be cognitively advanced rather than "behind," as has often been reported in the literature. This finding challenged previous research that aimed to show the deleterious effects of bilingualism.

Marietta Saravia-Shore

See also BICS/CALP Theory; Measuring Language Proficiency

Further Readings

- De Avila, E. A., & Duncan, S. E. (1990). *Language Assessment Scales*. Monterey, CA: CTB/McGraw-Hill.
 De Avila, E. A., Duncan, S. E., & Navarrete, C. (1987). *Finding out/Descubrimiento*. Northvale, NJ: Santillana.

DECODING

See PHONICS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

DEFENSE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE

The products of military research and development activities are often found, years later, in the civilian environment. The Internet is perhaps the most famous of the many devices invented by the military for its own purposes that are now used widely in civilian life. Jonas Salk developed influenza vaccines while serving in the military. Other examples include the biodegradable detergents and fire-retardant fabrics found in many households today. This entry reviews the history of the Defense Language Institute (DLI), another military enterprise with effects on civilian

life, including bilingual education and other types of language teaching. The DLI is well known for its introduction and refinement of the audio-lingual method of language teaching, first for teaching languages to soldiers, and subsequently to children and youth in schools across the nation in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

A forerunner of the DLI was a secret school to teach the Japanese language established by the U.S. Army in 1941, before U.S. involvement in World War II. Classes in the secret school began with 4 teachers and 60 students in an abandoned airplane hangar at Crissy Field in San Francisco. The students were mostly second-generation Japanese Americans from the West Coast. During the war, the Military Intelligence Service Language School (MISLS), as it came to be called, grew dramatically. West Coast Japanese Americans were moved to internment camps in 1942, and the school moved to temporary quarters at Camp Savage, Minnesota. When the school outgrew these quarters, it moved to Fort Snelling, Minnesota.

In 1946, the school moved to the Presidio of Monterey in California. There, it was renamed the Army Language School, which expanded in 1947 and 1948 to meet cold war language training requirements. Russian became the largest language program, followed by Chinese, Korean, and German. After the Korean War (1950–1953), the Army Language School became a pacesetter with the audio-lingual method and the application of educational technology such as the language laboratory.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) paved the way for the Army Language School's audio-lingual method to transition to the civilian sector, by providing funding to support language teacher training. The NDEA aimed at strengthening the national defense through educational improvement efforts in science, communications technology (e.g., audio, video, television), vocational education, and foreign languages. Summer language institutes were organized under contract with institutions of higher education. The institutes included demonstration classes with junior high and senior high school students, where teachers and learners could practice new methods.

The institutes' curricula allowed students to make measurable improvement in essential criteria for effective language teaching in the audio-lingual method's structural linguistic approach—listening, speaking, reading, writing, and conducting linguistic analysis—as well as expanding participants' knowledge of the

culture of the people who speak the language natively. Institutes were also expected to instruct in the use of modern classroom methodologies and in the use of new instructional materials and mechanical and electronic devices intended to assist in developing pupils' language skills. Institute students observed demonstrations of best practices and were provided with frequent opportunities for guided classroom experience with new methods and materials.

During the 1950s, the U.S. Air Force met most of its foreign-language training requirements through contract programs with universities such as Yale, Cornell, Indiana, and Syracuse. The U.S. Navy taught languages at the Naval Intelligence School in Washington, D.C. These programs were consolidated in 1963 to form the DLI. The DLI had two branches: DLI West Coast, where the Army Language School had been, and DLI East Coast where the Naval Intelligence School had been.

During the U.S. involvement in Vietnam (1965–1973), the DLI increased its language training offerings. More than 20,000 service personnel studied Vietnamese. In the 1970s, the institute's headquarters and all resident language training were consolidated and moved to the West Coast branch, which was renamed the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center (DLIFLC). In 1973, the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) took administrative control. In 1976, English language training operations were moved to the U.S. Air Force, which also operated the Defense Language Institute English Language Center (DLIELC).

After the Vietnam War, the DLIFLC became an academically accredited institution (1979); the position of academic dean was reestablished in 1981. In 1981, a joint-service general officer steering committee was established to provide advice on the foreign-language program, which is currently performed by the Defense Foreign Language Program Policy Committee.

Most recently, DLIFLC foreign-language teaching methodology has become more proficiency-oriented, using team teaching and a staffing ratio that reflects fewer students per instructor. In 1994, the DLIFLC signed an agreement with Monterey Peninsula College that permits as many as 27 credit hours earned in any of the DLIFLC's basic programs to be counted toward an associate of arts degree. This agreement is one of a number of innovations in foreign-language education that continue to draw from innovative educational technologies to train and support military linguists

and to support critical national requirements for language training.

The DLIFLC now provides on-campus instruction in 23 languages and several dialects. Instruction is also provided under contractual arrangements in Washington, D.C., in more than 84 languages and dialects.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Audio-Lingual Method; Language Study Today; National Defense Education Act of 1958; Professional Development; Teacher Preparation, Then and Now; Technology in Language Teaching and Learning

Further Readings

- Department of the Army. (1979). *Army patents*. Pamphlet 27–11. Washington, DC: Author.
- Finocchiaro, M., & Weiss, D. (1963). An alternative to the NDEA Institute. *The Modern Language Journal*, 47(4), 147–149.
- Flemming, A. S. (1960). The philosophy and objectives of the National Defense Education Act. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 327, 132–138.
- Irving, E. U. (1963). An NDEA Institute's influence in changing foreign language teaching methods. *Hispania*, 46(1), 121–124.
- Ulin, R. O. (1967). What makes an NDEA Institute different? *Peabody Journal of Education*, 44(6), 357–360.

Web Sites

Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center:
<http://www.dliflc.edu>

DEFICIT-BASED EDUCATION THEORY

As explained by Richard Valencia, deficit-based thinking (or deficit-based pedagogy) offers a theoretical basis to account for the individual, cultural, ethnic, language, and social conditions perceived to be responsible for low academic performance in African American, Native American, Latino, Appalachian, and other underprivileged children. According to this deficit-based view, when individual students from cultural, racial, and ethnic-minority backgrounds enter school, they *lack* the self-determination, genuine interest, and knowledge-building skills to achieve academic

success. The major assumption, in this view, is that children of minority ethnic or racial or of White low socioeconomic backgrounds bring into the classroom what are believed to be limited oral, social, interactional, and cognitive skills. The lack of these instrumental skills for academic success places students in an asymmetrical or unequal relationship to what Basil Bernstein considers as the more intellectually and linguistically equipped children of the middle and upper classes.

Norbert Dittmar, Jeff MacSwan, and Kellie Rolstad indicate that theories of low personal and academic achievement in impoverished children are often developed based on a stark contrast with the successful striving for academic achievement of affluent children. Based on this assertion, children who are brought up in financially insecure environments lack the necessary critical social skills, linguistic competency, and cognitive abilities. In their immediate social or family environments, they do not engage in intellectual conversations with highly educated and career-oriented adults who can pass on the necessary zeal for learning. The parents or community, through everyday socialization and labor-intensive practices, immerse students into a culture that lacks the linguistic and financial resources as well as the solid knowledge to stimulate these children intellectually and to instill in them the motivation for their academic success. Hence, so the theory holds, students are raised and socialized in deficit-based communities that allegedly hinder learning experiences, and later form a strong barrier in the school setting by not equipping students with the necessary linguistic, sociocognitive, and knowledge-building skills to succeed in school (see Valencia's work for a review of these theoretical frameworks).

Other scholars, such as William Ryan, Daniel G. Solórzano, Octavio Villalpando, Leticia Oseguera, and Valencia disagree with these views. These scholars contend that the failure of these children to succeed in school has to do with the design of school programs aimed at English-speaking middle-class students, whose parents are also educated and pass on these financial advantages, secure lifestyle, and knowledge to their children. Impoverished parents have less to pass on to their children; in school, however, their children encounter a curriculum and a school culture that has not been designed to meet their academic needs. As Ryan postulates, the deficit-based theory is sometimes regarded as an attempt to "blame

the victim" of inequality, rather than to assign responsibility more broadly, especially to the designers and implementers of education policies. In this entry, the pros and cons of these arguments are reviewed in greater detail.

Underpinnings of Deficit-Based Theory

The theoretical blueprint for deficit-based thinking is what has been referred to as the cultural, racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, and linguistic inferiority of lower-class children when compared and contrasted with the cognitive skills, linguistic abilities, and academic superiority of the middle and upper classes. Thus, scholars such as William McDougall, Carl Bereiter, and Siegfried Engelmann hypothesized that multiple causal factors affect children's low achievement and test performance, including genetics, eugenics, and a learner's inherent genetic code. McDougall focuses on the notion of *eugenics*, a philosophical argument encouraging a considerable increase in selective birth-rates in the intellectually "superior half" of the U.S. population because, as he believes, it is threatened by the "inferior half" or children of Black and immigrant backgrounds. Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, on the other hand, assert that intelligence is an inherent or genetically derived characteristic more prominent in White than in Latino or Black children. Further, exposure to an impoverished and counterproductive environment, ineffective parenting, and limited access to resources have been identified as some of the primary causes for students' low personal and academic success. Based on these cultural, ethnic, and class-based ideas, several prominent theoretical frameworks have been introduced within the category of deficit-based thinking.

Several scholars, including Solórzano, Villalpando, and Oseguera, maintain that the often racially segregated practices of schools should be held liable for the low school performance and standardized tests of minority students. Oscar Lewis, in contrast, turned attention to what has been termed the "culture of poverty." According to the latter, children living in impoverished conditions perceive themselves as part of a socially inferior subculture. As a result, they and their parents do not view education as a way to escape poverty and oppression. They regard themselves as being locked into conditions of despair that often go back several generations. Too often, the theory holds,

the poor repeat this counterproductive behavior and pass on such beliefs and practices to future generations. Such arguments have received extensive criticism for identifying as the source of all academic failure the individual child and the cultural, social, and economic conditions that exist in that child's immediate family or community. In essence, Ryan states, "blaming the victim" for the socioeconomic circumstances of the allegedly deficit-based culture or discourse community in which that child is brought up does not eliminate oppressive or discriminatory school practices. To the contrary, it helps perpetuate a socially and racially structured system.

Portraying a child's learning experiences within the immediate or extended community as deficient or inferior has further and more instrumental implications. Consider, for example, that children's language is often treated as incorrect, restricted, more limited, and socially stigmatized. An "atypical" verbal repertoire or accent has led observers to assume that children possess limited developmental, cognitive, and linguistic skills required to engage in stimulating and knowledge-building conversations and to succeed later on in college and in adult life. The immediate family of the children, especially the parents, is also held responsible for not creating environments that scaffold children's intellectual growth or stimulate their cognitive development early on. The assertion that the parents' financial constraints and their inability to cultivate the value of reading, technology, moral values, and an enriched linguistic system are also considered as deterring factors to students' achievement.

A substantial body of work, including that of Walter Miller and Daniel Moynihan, on this potentially intellectually deprived environment focused on African Americans, their perceived deficient linguistic and socialization system, their inability to move out of the ghetto, and their tendency to settle for a marginalized lifestyle. In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, for example, some scholars, such as Miller, claimed that African American children exposed to poverty were immersed in a culture that promoted gang-related activities and formed a threat to the mainstream middle-class culture (see work by Arthur Pearl). Interestingly, in many cases, African American vernacular—what society or educators often perceive as aggressive, violent, and restricted discourse (the development of limited verbal knowledge)—was used as evidence to support African American children's tendency for violence, immoral, unethical, and often criminal behavior, which clashed

with the autonomous and verbally intelligent middle or upper class.

This notion of restricted discourse was particularly important because it was often perceived as a precursor for underprivileged students' low scores on verbal IQ and standardized tests, and for the development of curricula and lesson plans to enhance linguistic competence among the so-called *linguistically deprived* children. Such approaches, however, often encouraged the use of teacher-guided but unchallenging and not carefully scaffolded language activities because Black children were perceived as intellectually and academically deprived. The same line of thought also asserted that, before school, low-socioeconomic-background children had experienced limited verbal stimulation in their environments (see work by Bereiter and Engelmann). Studies conducted in this area by Bereiter, Engelmann, Jean Osborn, and Philip Reidford also claimed that 4-year-old children from an African American background did not develop the required linguistic competence to construct syntactically correct phrases or questions. In some cases, such deficit-based approaches were reinforced by considering teachers in school districts with underprivileged and low-performing students as relying on ineffective teaching approaches. Hence, the path to the enculturation of disadvantaged children into a verbally stimulating and rich discourse, often perceived as the key to academic success, was to propose new curricula or educational programs. For example, as Pearl notes, the federally supported Head Start program of 1965 and its school-based counterpart, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, aimed, among other things, to increase funding allocated for enhancing the linguistic competency of lower-socioeconomic-status students. In short, these programs assumed that, to prepare disadvantaged youngsters for school success, they must be changed radically to compensate for the lack of a linguistically and culturally enhanced learning environment.

The limited nature and range of opportunities these children would otherwise enjoy was not the only framework guiding deficit-based ideologies; the inherent interlink between the biological-environmental factors influencing IQ tests also formed the theoretical tenets of many scholarly discussions and studies. In 1969, for example, a prominent educational psychologist, Arthur Jensen, proposed genetic factors as an underlying reason for the lower IQ scores of children of Black or lower-socioeconomic origin compared with their White peers' IQ scores. Along with this

reliance on hereditary predispositions, various pedagogical approaches were introduced. Consider, for example, the “Level I and Level II theory” in which Jensen proposed immersing lower-class White and Black children into instructional material to expose them to simple and rather rote recall strategies and techniques, or what is termed as Level I. On the other hand, Level II required more complex and abstract cognitive skills that, according to this approach, Black children showed little evidence of possessing. After this genetically related approach, several scholarly interpretations followed, including the 1987 published review of IQ intelligence in children of Mexican American or Puerto Rican descent (see work by Lloyd M. Dunn). Interestingly, the report concluded that both the environment and Mexican American or Puerto Rican students’ cognitive genetic predisposition needed to be examined because they both played instrumental roles in students’ lower performance.

Within this genetically oriented deficit hypothesis, Herrnstein and Murray’s highly publicized and politicized *Bell Curve* drew attention to the “cognitive elite” or that part of the population with high intellectual competency, who were also believed to display exemplary IQ performance and socioeconomic success. Within this hierarchy, then, for the remaining population, low IQ performance and limited cognitive skills pointed to students’ inept academic endeavors and unsuccessful strivings for future success. Immigrants, African Americans, and generally individuals occupying the lowest tiers of this income-determined and socially determined hierarchy were also deemed to have lower intellectual abilities, IQ scores, and, consequently, limited potential for socioeconomic or professional achievement.

Beyond Deficit-Based Thinking

Crafting a genetically oriented stance diverted attention to *deficiencies* in genetic predispositions, but Henry Garrett indicated that the focus should hinge on further exploring the *differences* between genetic, intellectual, sociocultural, and linguistic values in minority, African American, and immigrant students. The unquestionably high rate of minority and African American students encouraged to attend remedial educational or special-needs programs led scholars to propose a comparative pedagogical approach that acknowledges such differences or what is termed as “cultural-relevant pedagogy” (see work by

Tyrone C. Howard). Traditionally, educators relied on instructional practices based on mainstream ideologies or on a rather restricted approach to what constitutes performance and academic achievement. However, educators needed to expand such practices to take into consideration a much broader and polydimensional approach to what constitutes culture, ethnicity, and race, and how these influence language, identity, and school performance. Solórzano, Illalpando, and Oseguera hold that it is unorthodox to expect a considerable improvement in the academic success or the number of ethnic minority and Black students attending 4-year colleges and graduate schools, unless educators develop broader notions of cultural, ethnicity, linguistic, and racial factors and their critical role in shaping a student’s identity. Further, these scholars note that adapting “race-conscious” practices might also require a close reconsideration of admission policies and measures in 4-year colleges, such as the culturally and racially biased standardized exams that discourage ethnic minority and Black students from attending 4-year colleges. Such views, however, were highly criticized as conservative-driven ideologies, which capitalize on ethnic and racial differences but do not provide a solid practical approach or policy regarding how to overcome the low attendance rate of ethnic minority/race students in 4-year colleges.

The prospect of such deficit-oriented dynamics continuing to play a prominent role in instructional practices, especially with the large increases in immigrant students in the United States, is unfortunate. Howard indicates that a fruitful alternative is to immerse students into “culturally relevant pedagogy”—in essence, formulating instructional material and reflective activities where the object of study is not based on abstract theoretical contexts but on relevant, culturally valuable, and effective linguistic practices. Teachers must acknowledge the heterogeneity in cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic, and social values of the students in each classroom. Further, through constant critical evaluations, constant interactions with children’s culture, and modifications of their practices, teachers should treat culture, race, and ethnicity as an inherent part of their students’ competencies; such competencies can form powerful constructs for future academic success.

Some scholars go even further to suggest practices, such as using the students’ cultural repertoire and transformative teaching that promotes high levels of teacher-family-community relationships through frequent interactions with students’ home, immediate

social, and community environments. Norma González, Luis Moll, and Cathy Amanti of the University of Arizona have proposed a culturally centered ethnographic program, also known as *funds of knowledge*. Instead of relying on students' performance in the classroom, teachers experienced how the child-parent and other community interactions formed a powerful source for how students cooperatively built their practical, cultural, and interactional funds of knowledge.

Observations of these sociocultural dynamics, such as the interactions, negotiation of values, reinforcement of interrelations, and children's cultural and individual experiences, help teachers gain a deeper and more conceptual understanding of students' cultural values and everyday struggles. More important, experiencing the individual and socioeconomic conditions of each family, as well as their interactional dynamics, helped teachers establish the connection between instructional material and culture. Through culturally sensitive approaches, teachers valued students' culture, and no longer treated it as an inherent liability to students' success. Teachers' outreach ventures transformed their personal perceptions of culture and students' learning experiences through more culture-driven material. Such approaches are difficult to incorporate into traditional patterns of school organization and curriculum models in wide use, but the promise they hold for bringing about genuine change in the way schools think of their students is great.

Stella K. Hadjistassou

See also Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Multicultural Education; Transformative Teaching Model

Further Readings

- Bereiter, C., & Engelmann, S. (1966). *Teaching disadvantaged children in the preschool*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bereiter, C., Engelmann, S., Osborn, J., & Reidford, P. A. (1966). An academically oriented preschool for culturally disadvantaged children. In F. M. Hechinger (Ed.), *Pre-school education today* (pp. 105–135). New York: Doubleday.
- Bernstein, B. (1970). A sociolinguistic approach to socialization with some reference to educability. In F. Williams (Ed.), *Language and poverty* (pp. 25–61). Chicago: Markham Press.
- Dittmar, N. (1976). *A critical survey of sociolinguistics: Theory and application*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Dunn, L. M. (1987). *Bilingual Hispanic children on the U.S. mainland: A review of research on their cognitive, linguistic and scholastic development*. Circle Pines, MN: American Guidance Service.
- Garrett, H. (1973). IQ and racial differences [pamphlet]. Cape Canaveral, FL: Howard Allen.
- González, N., Moll, L., & Amanti, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practice in households, communities, and classrooms*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Herrnstein, R., & Murray, C. (1994). *The bell curve: Intelligence and class structure in American life*. New York: Free Press.
- Howard, T. C. (2003). Culturally-relevant pedagogy: Ingredients for critical teacher reflection. *Theory into Practice*, 42(3), 195–202.
- Jensen, A. (1969). How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement? *Harvard Educational Review*, 39, 1–23.
- Lewis, O. (1959). *Five families: Mexican case studies in the culture of poverty*. New York: Basic Books.
- MacSwan, J., & Rolstad, K. (2006). How language proficiency tests mislead us about ability: Implications for English language learner placement in special education. *Teachers College Record*, 108(11), 2304–2328.
- McDougall, W. (1921). *Is America safe for democracy?* New York: Scribner's.
- Miller, W. (1958). Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency. *Journal of Social Issues*, 14, 5–19.
- Moynihan, D. (1965). *The Negro family: The case for national action*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Pearl, A. (1991). Systemic and institutional factors in Chicano school failure. In R. Valencia (Ed.), *Chicano school failure and success: Research and policy agendas for the 1990s* (pp. 273–320). London: Falmer.
- Pearl, A. (1997). Cultural and accumulated environmental deficit models. In R. Valencia (Ed.), *The evolution of deficit thinking* (pp. 132–159). Washington, DC: Falmer.
- Ryan, W. (1976). *Blaming the victim*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Solórzano, D., Villalpando, O., & Oseguera, L. (2005). Educational inequities and Latina/o undergraduate students in the United States: A critical race analysis of their educational progress. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4(3), 272–294.
- Valencia, R. (Ed.). (1997). *The evolution of deficit thinking*. Washington, DC: Falmer.
- Valencia, R., & Solórzano, D. (1997). Contemporary deficit thinking. In R. Valencia (Ed.), *The evolution of deficit thinking* (pp. 160–210). Washington, DC: Falmer.

DESIGNATION AND REDESIGNATION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

For the past 40 years, educators have used a categorical scheme to label linguistically and culturally diverse students through their years of schooling. Typically, though not uniformly, a three-part system has been institutionalized by states and school districts; namely, those students who (1) are non-English proficient, thus considered English language learners (ELLs), who qualify for language support services; (2) have changed their status to redesignated English language learners, once having attained English language proficiency; or (3) have been deemed English

proficient, upon initial entry into a school district, and are able to participate in general education classes without language support.

Table 1 shows the relationships between these categories.

This designation system, intended to assist educators in the allocation and provision of appropriate educational services for linguistically and culturally diverse students, has been fraught with controversy. Issues include its fairness and equity, the fear that students are being denied opportunities to learn, erratic funding formulae for language support services, and the design and implementation of best practices. This entry describes the criteria associated with each of the categories, and data used in the decision-making process. The reader is cautioned that from district to

Table 1 Identifying and Redesignating English Language Learners in Illinois, Pre- and Post-No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

	<i>Identifying English language learners</i>	<i>Redesignating English language learners: Monitoring annual progress</i>	<i>Redesignating English language learners as language minority students</i>
<i>Required Measures Pre-NCLB</i>	Home Language Survey	Nationally norm-referenced language proficiency tool in English, grade levels K–12 (L, S, R, W)	50th percentile on a nationally norm-referenced English language proficiency test
	Nationally norm-referenced language proficiency tool in English, grade levels K–12 (L, S, R, W)	<i>Illinois Measure of Annual Growth in English</i> (IMAGE-grades 3–11; R, W), the state’s English language proficiency test	
<i>Required Measures Post-NCLB</i>	Home Language Survey	<i>Assessing Comprehension and Communication in English State to State for English Language Learners</i> (ACCESS for ELLs®, grade levels K–12), the state’s English language proficiency test	Composite score of English language proficiency level 4, Expanding, on ACCESS for ELLs
	WIDA-ACCESS Placement Test (W-APT), grade levels K–12 (L, S, R, W)	<i>Illinois Measure of Annual Growth in English</i> (IMAGE-grades 3–11), the state’s test of academic achievement for English language learners	

district and state to state, these descriptions may vary slightly.

Eligibility Requirements for Special Services: Identifying ELLs

Historically, a national consensus has never been reached regarding the definition of *English language learners* or the counterpart legal term, *limited-English-proficient* students. The 2001 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, commonly known as the No Child Left Behind Act, provides broad guidelines toward reaching a common understanding: ELLs are elementary or secondary school students, aged 3 through 21, not born in the United States or whose native language is other than English. According to Part A, Section 9101 of the act, these students' non-English home environment has significantly affected their level of English language proficiency so that their speaking, reading, writing, or understanding of English may affect "their ability to meet the State's proficient level of achievement on State assessments, or ability to successfully achieve in classrooms where the language of instruction is English."

These general descriptive criteria, provided at a federal level, produce many different interpretations across states and the outer territories of the United States. These variations in defining ELLs can be attributed to many factors. Such differences emanate from the following factors: (a) use of various language proficiency instruments, (b) the varied cut-scores of these measures, (c) state expectations of student progress and attainment of English language proficiency, (d) the amount of time (in years) allowed for language support, and (e) the financial backing states are willing to bear.

The identification of ELLs has always been within the purview of individual states. States, in turn, have frequently given latitude to school districts in the selection of instruments and criteria for determining the subset of linguistically and culturally diverse students to be classified as English language learners. In general, neither states nor districts have tended to use multiple measures to make these critical decisions.

Many districts have had flexibility in the design of Home Language Surveys. These quick screening devices, generally attached to registration forms upon students' entry into a school district, consist of a series of questions. Their purpose is to distinguish between

students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds and students who have never been exposed to another language or culture outside of English. Typically, family members are asked (in their native language) questions such as "Is there language other than English spoken at home?" and "Does your child speak this language?" An answer in the affirmative to either question labels a student as linguistically and culturally diverse, and hence, triggers a round of language proficiency assessments.

Before 2003, most states allowed school districts the freedom to select one of several measures of English language proficiency to ascertain which linguistically and culturally diverse students qualified as ELLs. Illinois, for example, offered a choice of four different instruments; Wisconsin, its neighbor to the north, offered a different set of four measures. However, identification and placement of ELLs has often rested on a scale created by a single instrument. A two-tiered framework that included diagnostic information useful for instruction, such as a student's literacy level, and academic achievement data, such as performance in the student's native language, were rarely implemented.

This discretionary policy resulted in huge variability in the designation/redesignation assignment of students across states and between school districts. Lack of uniform criteria for identification created discontinuity of services for this often-mobile population of students. Hypothetically, a linguistically and culturally diverse student may be considered English proficient in one district, but then move to a neighboring town and be classified as an English language learner. Additionally, the types of language support services afforded this student may also vary greatly.

The provisions of No Child Left Behind have alleviated this dilemma, to some extent; states must now administer a single English language proficiency instrument for federal accountability purposes. Even so, there remains a huge disparity from state to state in the identification of linguistically and culturally diverse students and its subgroup of ELLs. Within a specific state or school district, teacher inconsistency in scoring screening measures, particularly the productive language domains of speaking and writing, may contribute to unreliable placement decisions. Once identified and placed in a language education program, redesignation of English language learners may then rely on a different set of criteria.

Moving Along the Continuum: Redesignating ELLs

Redesignation or reclassification applies to two different situations. The first refers to ELLs' movement along the second-language acquisition continuum to a specified milestone or benchmark. This internal index corresponds to students' annual progress on their state English language proficiency test(s). Programmatically, this redesignation, attributed to students' increased English language proficiency, may result in a shift in instructional emphasis or type of language support. For example, students may no longer qualify as newcomers, or students in transitional bilingual education programs may witness the lessening of native-language support, whereas other ELLs may be introduced to specific sheltered content classes.

The second use of the term *redesignation* refers to ELLs' full attainment of English language proficiency, indicating that they have reached the threshold that ensures their meaningful participation in general education classes. Again, this criterion is often set by the state's English language proficiency test (among other factors or measures). By being "exited" from language support services, the students officially drop their designation of English language learners and assume (or resume) their language minority status. Interestingly, these two widely practiced uses of the term *redesignation* correspond to two of the three federal accountability criteria for ELLs outlined in Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act.

The issue of redesignation is as thorny as initial identification, partly because it is an expedient way to classify and sort students. Often only one data source—the state English language proficiency measure—is responsible for this determination. Few states demand the review of academic achievement data as part of their redesignation formula. California, with by far the largest population of ELLs, is one of the exceptions.

ELLs are a temporary and fluid disaggregated subgroup of students, so expectations for accountability that are not feasible for them have been set. This dilemma is compounded by states taking differing perspectives on the collection, reporting, and use of information on the students' English language proficiency and academic achievement. Educators of ELLs generally agree that today, redesignation should be based on both English language proficiency data and

solid academic performance, using large-scale and classroom-based measures for both. This triangulation of data lends predictive validity and justification for shifting ELLs to the redesignation category (from *A* to *B* in Table 1). Relying on an assessment system composed of multiple data sources, multiple levels of implementation, and collected at multiple points in time lends more credibility, comprehensiveness, and confidence in data-driven decisions.

Ensuring Academic Success of ELLs

Some linguistically and culturally diverse students enter school having competently developed two or more languages. Others may have been raised with English as their primary language, such as heritage language learners. Still, other students may have been redesignated ELLs from prior years. Whatever the case, substantial numbers of students who are exposed to and may interact in a multitude of languages and cultures on a regular basis do not qualify for language support services.

Although these language minority students may exhibit English language proficiency comparable with that of native English speakers at some point, this does not preclude them from eligibility for programs of language support or home language development during the rest of their school careers. This often-itinerant student population, coupled with the ambiguity of requirements for language education programs, leads to inconsistency in the designation and redesignation process. For example, linguistically and culturally diverse students who are deemed proficient by one measure or set of criteria may be classified as ELLs when they move to another state that uses other instruments and criteria for designation purposes. In addition, it is difficult to predict the destiny of young language minority students whose literacy is not fully developed; although orally proficient in English, without strong academic language, they may struggle with increased content demands at higher grade levels.

Given the possible reauthorization of the No Child Left Behind Act at some point, Michael Kieffer, Nonie Lesaux, and Catherine Snow from the Harvard Graduate School of Education have proposed that accountability for the current subgroup of ELLs be expanded to encompass all linguistically and culturally diverse students (that is, to extend membership in

the subgroup from A to C in Table 1). If so, the education community will no longer have to rely on the arbitrary demarcations that come with the designation and redesignation procedures in use today. Additionally, it will be possible to obtain a richer, more comprehensive picture of the students' range of performance. If that occurs, educators can concentrate their efforts on maximizing the language development and academic achievement of linguistically and culturally diverse students, and feel more confident that these students have been properly identified.

Margo Gottlieb

See also English Immersion; Measuring Language Proficiency; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing Requirements; Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery

Further Readings

- August, D., & Hakuta, K. (Eds.). (1997). *Improving schooling for language minority children: A research agenda*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Gottlieb, M., & Nguyen, D. (2007). *Assessment and accountability in language education programs: A guide for teachers and administrators*. Philadelphia: Caslon.
- Kieffer, M., Lesaux, N., & Snow, C. (2006, November). *Promises and pitfalls: Implications of No Child Left Behind for defining, assessing, and serving English language learners*. Paper presented at Measurement and Accountability Roundtable, Washington, DC.
- Ragan, A., & Lesaux, N. (2006). Federal, state, and district level English language learner program entry and exit requirements: Effects on the education of language minority students. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 14(20). Retrieved from <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v14n20>

DIGLOSSIA

See SOCIAL BILINGUALISM

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis is concerned with the study of language use beyond the boundaries of the sentence. The term refers to analysis of larger linguistic units such as conversations or written texts, and most discourse analysts ultimately aim to understand the relationship

between language and society. The scope of discourse analysis is vast, drawing on a variety of disciplines and encompassing an array of perspectives. Within bilingual education, researchers generally have taken a sociocultural approach to analysis, building largely on the work of Dell Hymes, who pioneered the field known as the ethnography of communication. In the 1970s, several foundational volumes were published elaborating this approach, which argues that language must be studied as communication in its sociocultural context. In 1972, Hymes collaborated with John Gumperz to edit *Directions in Sociolinguistics*; in the same year, with Courtney Cazden and Vera John, Hymes proposed how this approach could be applied to classroom research in *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. In 1974, he addressed the importance of using the approach as a basis to study bilingual education in *Foundations in Sociolinguistics*. The contributions of Gumperz provide another sociocultural dimension by focusing on people's interpretation processes within discourse. His *Discourse Strategies* and *Language and Social Identity*, both published in 1982, are important to those interested in bilingual education because of the focus on interethnic discourse in various contexts. Gumperz and colleagues show that people's miscommunication can occur because of differences in communicative styles.

Researchers in bilingual education who take an ethnographic approach to discourse analysis argue that it contributes to a more fully satisfactory portrait of communicative practices in communities and classrooms where two or more languages are at play. With the increasing numbers of immigrant children entering the nation's schools, analysis of classroom discourse offers detailed descriptions of these students and their teachers engaging in learning moments sometimes effectively, sometimes inadequately, and always in a complex world of social interaction. This research approach has begun to make classroom communication, in all its complexity, better understood. Topics examined include the kinds of specialized "discourses" students must learn in school to attain academic achievement, the different communicative styles children bring from home to school, language choice in bilingual classroom situations, and the nature of communication in "mainstream" and English as a Second Language (ESL) classrooms. Beyond these descriptive analyses, researchers are also interested in the role of power in discourse. This entry focuses on studies of discourse in classrooms that include language minority students.

“Discourses” Circulating in and Through Classrooms

James Gee provides an overarching perspective on the variety of discourses that affect classrooms and argues that these discourses are associated with specific sets of values and beliefs. He makes distinctions among various discourses: Primary discourses are learned in the home (and, in the case of language minority children, in a different code), whereas secondary discourses are learned outside the home in school and elsewhere. Students must learn to work within specific secondary discourses at school for their academic performance to be considered successful. For example, as Cazden, Hugh Mehan, and others have shown, one classroom discourse structure is different from ordinary conversational structure: The teacher initiates, the student responds, and the teacher evaluates the response. This tripartite structure gives teachers control of the right to speak and to decide which students may participate, how they participate, and when. This significantly affects students who are learning through the medium of a second language; they are doubly constrained because of their limited opportunities to engage with the subject matter and their few occasions to practice speaking the target language. Research demonstrates that opening up classroom discourse structures gives students more opportunities to engage the subject matter and with one another. A shift in participation structure to student-centered, peer collaboration on learning tasks can give rise to productive discourse leading to academic achievement.

Home Versus School Discourses

When students from diverse sociocultural backgrounds engage in primary discourse practices and other forms of knowledge that do not resonate with school discourse patterns, teachers may not recognize or accept these practices as equally valuable. Effective educators design their teaching by considering what Luis Moll, Cathy Amanti, and Norma González call “funds of knowledge” that students possess. Several studies illustrate the diverse discursive resources brought into the classroom. Susan Philips’s classic volume, *The Invisible Culture*, about discourse practices on the Warm Springs Indian reservation in Oregon, showed that Indian children learn discourse participation structures at home that are different from the participation structures in the school, resulting in

Anglo teachers’ misinterpretation of the children’s turn-taking behaviors and other ways of speaking. Shirley Brice Heath demonstrated how primary discourses sometimes clash with school discourses in her ethnography of communication, *Ways With Words*, which described the home-school relationship of three speech communities in the Piedmont Carolinas.

Studies such as these prompted educational researchers to describe students’ home discourse patterns to recommend improved learning opportunities (sometimes called *positive transfer*) in the classroom. For example, researchers at the Chèche Konnen Center in Massachusetts found that native speakers of Haitian Creole use certain discursive practices that are culturally congruent with the discourse of argumentation in science, thus demonstrating how the home language can be a resource for learning rather than an impediment, as is often assumed. In a similar vein, the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), a research center established to meet the needs of native Hawaiian children, has paid particular attention to children’s reading development. The researchers demonstrated that these students’ reading improves when the participation structure of reading lessons maintains a close fit with the discourse of talk-story, part of the Hawaiian storytelling practice. These and similar studies show that teachers can effectively draw on funds of knowledge to guide students in developing a discourse to talk about subject matter areas and about literacy.

Two Languages, One Classroom

Bilingual classrooms have been productive sites for analyzing how two languages are used to help students learn. The earliest research focused on how the two languages of instruction were allocated within the various bilingual education program models. However, discourse analysts argued that it was not enough simply to document the amount of time spent on each language; rather, the purposes for which each language was used significantly affected students’ academic achievement. Thus, a major focus has been on understanding language choices in the classroom, particularly the functions of language alternation or code switching. Code switching has been one of the most prolific areas of research in bilingualism and has laid the foundation for bilingual classroom discourse studies, providing insights that are particularly important for bilingual educators. Code switching can be defined as the use of two languages within the same interaction

to convey social meaning. Researchers have found that fluent bilinguals who use their two languages in this way can do so seamlessly and thereby expand their overall communicative competence. Contrary to popular belief, it is a skill that fluent bilinguals have, not a “crutch” used to make up for lack of language proficiency. Code-switching choices depend on who is participating, the topic addressed, and the social situation. Children raised bilingually develop the ability to code-switch appropriately, showing more sophisticated uses of this skill as they grow older. Ana Celia Zentella’s *Growing up Bilingual* is a synthesis of two decades of the study of Puerto Rican code-switching practices in community and classroom. She found that young people code-switch for a wide variety of stylistic purposes such as choosing an expression in the language that conveys an idea more accurately.

Zentella’s and others’ research supports code switching in classrooms as a viable way of facilitating learning. If learning is “change of knowledge”—moving from what is already known to something new—then the learner’s already-known first language is a good starting point. Teachers who are bilingual switch to the students’ mother tongue as a scaffolding strategy to guide students into learning subject matter and into English language and literacy. Teachers provide procedural information, especially in content learning, to clarify or elaborate on a concept. Research has also shown the benefit of code switching in peer interaction in classrooms. As children advance their bilingual communicative competence, they become able to switch languages appropriately, deploying both languages for effective classroom communication. Peers involved in school tasks switch codes to clarify ideas, ask questions, change topics, or underscore directives. Research further shows that, in cooperative learning situations, language minority students use code switching (in addition to the discourse strategies that native-speakers of English use) while they work together to learn something new.

When the Language Game Is English

Discourse analysts have followed language minority students into ESL and “mainstream” classrooms to observe their learning experiences and have found that students use several strategies to make sense of what is happening while their English competence is still developing. Students with little or no English make use of “school scripts” for predictable, routinized classroom activities to make sense of the communication. From

infancy, all children develop, as part of their set of primary discourses, frames for interpretation that are continually (re)constructed through interaction. They gain a sense of what is happening around them in recurrent events like getting dressed, taking a bath, and preparing for bed; they acquire their first language in the context of these routinized activities and then add to their repertoire of scripts when they go to school. Students draw on interpretive frames learned in the native language to interpret “what is happening” in recurrent events in the English-medium classroom. For example, language minority students in the early grades are able to figure out the structure of lessons, the rules for turn-taking in instructional interaction, and expectations for behavior, even if they don’t completely understand the verbal exchange.

Another strategy students apply is the use of their native language to support learning in English-medium environments. Students who speak the same mother tongue confer among one another to check for understanding of what is being said in English. Individually, they use self-directed speech to practice the concepts presented to them in English. When called upon, preschool children have been observed to “answer” in the native language, with the teacher providing feedback in English even without discerning their words. Skilled ESL and mainstream teachers develop strategies of their own to communicate with language minority students. While the students are developing their school discourses in English, teachers accommodate their language to students’ different levels of understanding, and teachers adjust their talk as students’ English competence increases.

These findings illustrate ways in which participants make meaning in mainstream and ESL classrooms. However, recent English-only policies for classrooms have resulted in diminished use of the native language for scaffolding learning. Guadalupe Valdés demonstrates in *Learning and Not Learning English* that, under these English-only policies, academic discourse in ESL instruction for immigrant secondary school students does not prepare them adequately for further academic work. Other research confirms the negative consequences of such a policy: Students in these classrooms avoid English to avoid failure and embarrassment. Thus, little English is produced even though the same students speak to one another in English outside the classroom. Valdés and others have shown that, when the curriculum is prescriptive and restrictive, it is difficult for teachers to incorporate spaces for language minority students’ learning.

Language, Power, and Critical Discourse Analysis

Recently, a few bilingual discourse studies have progressed beyond description toward highlighting power-wielding in classroom discourse—detecting what counts as legitimate language, who maintains control, whose language becomes marginalized, and how power relations are tested and contested. This critical focus reflects the move to analyze discourse within a broader framework of social theory. In studies of discourse and power in schools, scholars have shown how, through interaction between teachers/counselors and students/parents, decisions are made based on locating problems within individual students, thus further marginalizing language minorities. Fredrick Erickson and Jeffrey Shultz's 1982 *The Counselor as Gatekeeper* was a precursor of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Their fine-grained analysis of social interaction showed students and counselors accomplishing placement decisions through discourse, which favored some students over those less powerful.

Power relations can be reflected in the fact that languages do not have the same symbolic value within schools. School personnel, by their position of authority, possess what Pierre Bourdieu calls the “legitimate language,” which puts constraints on what others may say, to whom, how, and under which circumstances. In classrooms, the home language is used to accomplish social functions such as disciplining students, whereas English is the language of academic content, assessment, and authority. Similarly, different dialects (varieties) of the home language are positioned as relatively lower in prestige and value: In Canada, Monica Heller demonstrates that judgments are not just about French versus English but which varieties of French (and their speakers) are considered valuable. Other studies show how students resist policies through discourse, refusing to speak the target language or contesting placement decisions. Still others show uses of discourse to open possibilities for change from positions of subordination to power, such as students' use of translation to reveal their competency as learners. More attention to CDA studies that demonstrate possibilities for change can expand the field productively and contribute to an equitable education for language minority students.

Jo Anne Kleifgen

See also Classroom Discourse; Code Switching; Languages and Power

Further Readings

- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16, 645–668.
- Cazden, C., John, V. & Hymes, D. (Eds.). (1972). *Functions of language in the classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Erickson, F., & Shultz, J. (1982). *The counselor as gatekeeper*. New York: Academic Press.
- Gee, J. P. (1996). *Social linguistics and literacies*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. (Ed.). (1982). *Language and social identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J., & Hymes, D. (Eds.). (1972). *Directions in sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Heller, M. (1996). Legitimate language in a multilingual school. *Linguistics and Education*, 8, 139–157.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mehan, H. (1979). *Learning lessons: Social organization in the classroom*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Moll, L., Amanti, C., & González, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory Into Practice*, 31(2), 132–141.
- Philips, S. (1983). *The invisible culture*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.
- Valdés, G. (2001). *Learning and not learning English*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

DUAL-LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

Dual-language programs, also known as two-way immersion programs, were developed on the basis of research by Wallace Lambert and Richard Tucker on French-English dual-language schools in Canada in the 1970s. Much success in achievement and positive attitudes toward out-group language speakers were reported from the Canadian programs for both the Anglophones (English speakers) and Francophones (French speakers) in the schools.

The first dual-language programs were developed and implemented in the United States in 1963. By 1981, fewer than 10 dual-language programs had been documented, but they grew to about 30 in the mid-1980s.

Since then, the number of programs grew to 248 by 2000, and 338 programs were operating in 29 states and Washington, D.C., by 2006. This entry describes dual-language programs and some of the issues relating to these programs.

Key Features and Goals

According to Elizabeth Howard and Julie Sugarman's 2001 report, three features distinguish dual-language programs: (1) Language majority and language minority students are taught together for at least half of the school day; (2) both groups of students are provided both literacy and content instruction in both languages; and (3) language majority and language minority students are roughly balanced, with each group composing at least one third of the student population.

The major goals of dual-language programs are bilingualism, biliteracy, and cross-cultural awareness. Indicators of successfully attaining these goals include high proficiency in the first and second languages for both groups of students, academic achievement as indicated by grade level or higher performance for both groups of students, and positive attitudes and behaviors about other cultures.

Geographic, Language, and Student Representation

Most dual-language programs are located in California (108 programs), Texas (57 programs), and New York (28), as reported by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) in 2006. Most of these programs are operated by public schools, with about a quarter of them in place at magnet and charter schools. A little over 12% of the programs are schoolwide, but the majority of the programs (nearly three quarters of the elementary programs) and all of the secondary programs are programs within schools.

Most dual-language programs are Spanish/English, with a few each in French/English, Korean/English, Japanese/English, Navajo/English, and Chinese/English. In the past, Portuguese/English and Japanese/English programs have also been in operation. A small percentage of students (as much as 5%) in about 40 programs are native speakers of a language other than the two used in the program in which they are enrolled.

On average, about half of all dual-language programs have language majority speakers comprising a mixture of ethnic backgrounds including larger groups

of White and Latino students (between 10% and 20%). African American, Asian, and Native American students are generally 1–2% of the program population, reflecting proportions of the general demography in the country and in the schools for Asian and Native American students, but proportions far lower than the at-large figures for African American students. Program participants in California and New York show a distribution of various ethnic groups rather than the presence of one or two major ethnic groups, whereas Texas has a higher number of programs with a clear ethnic majority. At 35%, Texas also has the highest number of students from Latino backgrounds who are language majority speakers, compared with 10% for New York and 7% for California.

Many dual-language programs include students of low socioeconomic backgrounds. In about one third of the programs, at least half of both language majority and language minority students receive free or reduced-fee school lunches, a commonly used indicator of socioeconomic background. Generally, more language minority students participate in such subsidized lunch programs than language majority students do, and this is the case in California, Texas, and New York.

Program Types, Regional Patterns, and Grade Levels

Three different program models of dual-language programs exist. The 90–10 model introduces the minority language for about 90% of the instructional day and uses English about 10% of the day in the primary grade levels. The 80–20 model uses the minority language 80% of the day and English about 20% of the day in the primary grade levels. The 50–50 model uses the minority language and English each about 50% of the instructional day. All three models include about 50% minority language instruction and 50% English instruction by the fourth grade. A small percentage of programs separate students by language for part of the school day in the primary grades, providing different proportions of instruction in the two languages.

California has more than half of its programs using the 90–10 or the 80–20 model, whereas Texas has a rough balance between the 50–50 and the other two models (as reported by Howard, Sugarman, and Christian in 2003). New York has more than half of its programs using the 50–50 model. California has the

highest percentage of programs at the middle and high school levels, with about one-fifth of the state's dual-language programs at these levels.

The language of initial literacy instruction reflects some geographical patterns as well. California has more than half of its programs introducing literacy in the minority language to both language majority and language minority students. Less than half of the Texas programs and few of the New York (only one as of 2000) programs use initial literacy instruction in the minority language.

Most programs are at the pre-kindergarten through fifth-grade level (302), and 129 sites operate programs for just pre-kindergarten through second-grade levels. There are currently 53 programs at the middle school level and 14 at the secondary level.

Research Findings

CAL has reviewed and archived the bulk of the research conducted on dual-language programs. Of primary interest to researchers and various stakeholders is the issue of student outcomes. This section highlights some outcomes on oral, reading, and writing proficiency among upper-elementary school students, reviews attitudes among secondary and middle school students who had participated in dual-language programs, and concludes with the findings of a report that reviewed the research on dual-language programs.

A longitudinal study was conducted among 484 third graders in 11 Spanish/English dual-language programs who were followed through the fifth grade, as reported by Donna Christian, Fred Genesee, Kathryn Lindholm-Leary, and Elizabeth Howard in 2004. Both native Spanish speakers and native English speakers demonstrated high oral English proficiency levels at the end of third grade, with native Spanish speakers showing a slightly lower average score. By the end of fifth grade, both groups demonstrated a high level of oral English proficiency. A similar trajectory was found for English reading, with both groups demonstrating successful reading and comprehension of grade-level passages in English. In English narrative writing, both groups demonstrated "reasonably high levels" of performance on the non-standardized assessment, with both groups not attaining maximum scores (as had been the case with oral English and English reading).

A follow-up study examined student attitudes in a sample of 142 high school students who had attended

dual-language programs in elementary school (reported by Christian and her colleagues in 2004). Sixty-six percent of the students were previous English language learners (ELLs) of Hispanic backgrounds, 20% were native English speakers of Hispanic backgrounds, and 13% were native English speakers of European American backgrounds. The first group included students who had lower levels of education and economic means in the home. All students indicated the following: very positive attitudes toward school, a high value on a good education and good grades, a desire to attend college, and the benefits of being bilingual. Half of the Hispanic students who were former ELLs stated that the dual-language program kept them in school and deterred them from dropping out. The same group tended to rate the program much more favorably than did the European American students, and slightly higher than Hispanic students as a whole. Most students reported using Spanish weekly or more and rated their Spanish level to be medium.

Another follow-up study examined achievement and attitudes among 199 middle school students who had participated in a dual-language middle school program (reported by Christian and her colleagues in 2004). Fifty-two percent of the students were previous ELLs of Hispanic backgrounds, 28% were native English speakers of Hispanic backgrounds, and 16% were native English speakers of European American backgrounds. The first group of students had lower levels of education and economic means in the home than did the other two groups. All students indicated very positive attitudes toward school, a high value placed on a good education and good grades, a desire to attend college, and benefits of being bilingual. Among the three groups of students, Hispanic students who had formerly been ELLs rated themselves lower on English reading and writing than did the other groups but also rated the program much more favorably than the other groups did. Most students reported using Spanish weekly or more and rated their Spanish proficiency to be at the medium level.

Howard, Sugarman, and Christian compiled in 2003 a comprehensive review of research on dual-language programs. The review found that, on the whole, dual-language programs have maintained general consistency in program goals and aspects; have teachers who are well-prepared and have ongoing professional development opportunities; have students and parents with positive attitudes toward dual-language

programs, bilingualism, and multiculturalism; and have positive student academic outcomes, with both groups of students performing as well as or better than peers on standardized achievement exams when compared with peers in alternative programs.

Issues and Challenges in the Field

A major issue in the field is the number of available bilingual teachers and staff who can teach in the dual-language programs. More than half of all dual-language schools indicated bilingual proficiency among 100% of their teaching staff, with higher proportions (more than 50%) in California, and slightly lower proportions (less than 50%) in Texas and New York. Fewer than 10% of programs reported that less than half of the teachers and staff were proficient in two languages (as reported by Howard and Sugarman in 2001).

These authors also report that concerning support staff, about a third of all dual-language programs indicated that 100% of the support staff were fully proficient in two languages. California and Texas had slightly higher proportions at 33% and 44%, respectively, and New York had a lower proportion (20%). Materials for dual-language programs, especially for the upper grades and for non-Spanish minority languages, is another ongoing issue and area of need.

Articulation to middle schools and secondary schools is another issue in the field. Most dual-language programs are at the grammar school or elementary school level, and relatively few such programs exist at the higher levels. Full biliteracy development in academic content areas at the middle and secondary levels are hampered by such circumstances.

Other challenges include ensuring equal status of both languages being taught. Given the reality of the United States, a monolingual society that engenders differential power statuses for English and non-English languages, it is often difficult to realize the ideal goals of dual-language programs. Many studies have reported on the “hidden curriculum” that operates and

provides for more opportunities to use English while marginalizing the use of the minority language in dual-language programs for both academic and social purposes.

Among other aspects that need to be negotiated in the implementation of dual-language programs are the required standardized testing in English, and the English-only and antibilingual legislation or efforts in many states in the country.

Grace P. McField

See also English Immersion; Pull-Out ESL Instruction; St. Lambert Immersion Study

Further Readings

- Center for Applied Linguistics. (2006). *Directory of Two-Way Bilingual Immersion Programs*. Available from <http://www.cal.org>
- Christian, D., Genesee, F., Lindholm-Leary, K., & Howard, E. R. (2004). *Final progress report of CREDE Project 1.2 Two-way immersion*. Santa Cruz, CA: Center for Research on the Education, Diversity & Excellence and Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Howard, E. R. & Sugarman, J. (2001). *Two-way immersion programs: Features and statistics*. ERIC Digest EDO-FL-01-01). Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.cal.org/resources/digest/0101twi.html>
- Howard, E. R., Sugarman, J., & Christian, D. (2003). *Trends in two-way immersion education: A review of research*. Baltimore: Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk (CRESPAR)/Johns Hopkins University and Center for Applied Linguistics. Available from <http://www.csos.jhu.edu>
- Lambert, W. E., & Tucker, G. R. (1982). Graduates of early French immersion. In G. Caldwell & E. Waddell (Eds.), *The English of Quebec: From majority to minority status* (pp. 259–277). Lennoxville, Québec: Institut Québécois de recherche sur la culture.

E

EARLY BILINGUAL PROGRAMS, 1960s

Prior to enactment of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act), school districts from New York to California experimented with bilingual education programs. Significant for being the first, and the catalyst for others, was the bilingual-bicultural education program at Coral Way Elementary School, in Miami, Florida, serving primarily Cuban refugee children. Two other notable programs included one in Texas for Mexican American students at Nye Elementary School of the Laredo United Consolidated Independent School District and another for Navajo children at Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona. Although many bilingual programs were started prior to 1968, this entry focuses primarily on Coral Way Elementary, Nye Elementary, and Rough Rock because of their national distinction as the first new programs launched with little or no policy guidance.

Bilingual programs gained acceptance in the early 1960s as a result of wide-ranging efforts by language minority communities in lobbying legislators and educational policymakers for culturally relevant education programs. Parents and community activists argued that low academic performance and persistently high drop-out rates were the result of recalcitrant “sink or swim” linguistic policies, referring to the lack of support for language learners in English instruction. They recommended bilingual education as an alternative. Their proposals, however, were largely ignored until pressure from Cuban refugees convinced the Miami schools to launch a bilingual program there.

News of the first bilingual program at Coral Way Elementary School in Florida sparked enormous interest across the nation, and programs soon followed for Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. Bilingual programs in Texas mushroomed in the San Antonio Independent School District, Edinburg Independent School District, and Harlandale Independent School District and in Del Rio, Zapata, Del Valle, and Corpus Christi. Elsewhere, bilingual programs emerged in Pecos, New Mexico, in 1965, and in Calexico and Marysville, California. Bilingual programs were opened in Las Cruces, New Mexico; Hoboken, New Jersey, and St. Croix, Virgin Islands. Swift implementation of bilingual programs across the country underscored the urgency for legislation at the federal level when the Bilingual Education Act became a reality in 1968.

Background

Three historically significant events converged to lay the foundation for the creation of bilingual education programs: passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958; the Cuban Revolution in 1959; and the escalation of civil unrest among U.S. minority groups, leading to President Lyndon B. Johnson’s “War on Poverty” programs and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

National Defense Education Act (1958)

On October 4, 1957, Americans learned that the Soviet Union had launched *Sputnik*, the first space satellite to successfully orbit the earth. Government analysts needed to provide an explanation as to why the

Soviet Union had surpassed the United States in this arena—and concluded that the Soviet system of public education was superior to that of the United States. On that assumption, Congress took immediate action to regain a competitive edge in mathematics, science, and technology development. In 1958, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). This act provided funds to school districts to improve instruction in math, science, and technology and to support and promote foreign-language instruction.

The NDEA funded Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools (FLES) instructional programs throughout the country, reversing a historical neglect of foreign languages at that level. FLES programs were intended to develop a large pool of American foreign-language experts to help the United States compete globally, protect its interests abroad, and communicate effectively with international leaders. Programs to improve the language proficiency of high schoolteachers were also funded. These early language education programs paved the way for English as a Second Language (ESL) classes and experimental bilingual programs for limited-English-proficient students.

The Cuban Revolution

On January 1, 1959, Fidel Castro's guerilla army succeeded in ousting dictator Fulgencio Batista from Cuba, resulting in Castro's eventual assumption of power as leader of that country. The aftermath of Castro's victory indirectly advanced the cause for bilingual education in the United States.

Initially, the United States supported Fidel Castro, but relations soured soon after the revolutionary declared himself dictator, expropriated property owned by U.S. corporations, nationalized industry and agriculture, and embraced communism as Cuba's form of government. Those actions led to a break in diplomatic relations with the United States and an imposed embargo on Cuba that continues today. Thousands of upper- and middle-class Cubans fled to the United States, where they were given refuge.

The Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty

Civil unrest mounted in inner cities of the United States as African Americans grew weary of poverty and blatant discrimination in voting, schooling, jobs, housing, public facilities, and transportation. Widespread

dissatisfaction with living conditions in many inner cities and voter repression in the South led to the civil rights movement. Influenced by Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Black Americans and their supporters held massive demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, and protests throughout the country. As civil disorder heightened, African Americans demanded justice and equality, as well as economic and educational opportunities. Violent clashes between police and demonstrators received wide media coverage in newspapers, radio, and television. As a result, the civil rights movement widened, encompassing Chicanos and American Indians who led their own demonstrations and marches, asserting that, like Black Americans, they too were victims of years of discriminatory practices. English-only instruction and the infamous "no-Spanish-speaking rules" came under attack by Chicanos, as they made their own demands for changes in schools.

Intense pressure from civil rights activists led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of this act specifically banned discrimination on the basis of race, class, creed, or national origin in all government agencies receiving federal funds, including public schools. This particular provision would prove to be a key argument in the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Lau v. Nichols*, decided in 1974. In that decision, the Court ruled that English-only instruction in schools discriminated against students who did not understand the language of instruction. Further, it identified bilingual education as one of a few possible remedies to counter school discrimination against non-English-speaking students.

In addition to civil rights legislation, President Lyndon B. Johnson revealed his plan for creating a "Great Society" for all Americans. He began by declaring a "War on Poverty." The centerpiece of the War on Poverty was the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which created the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to oversee a variety of community-based antipoverty programs, including education programs. The Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 was amended to provide federal aid to public education. Also launched was Project Head Start, a program that specifically encouraged input from minority communities regarding the appropriateness of educational programs for younger children not yet in school. A series of legislative bills under the War-on-Poverty umbrella served to protect civil rights and expand social programs aimed at eliminating poverty and

racial discrimination in the areas of education, health, inner cities, transportation, consumer protection, and the environment.

Bolstered by civil rights legislation, War-on-Poverty initiatives, and the success of the bilingual education program at Coral Way Elementary, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians—all victims of native-language repression—pressed for bilingual programs of their own.

Coral Way Elementary School

Anti-Communist sentiment and the cold war of the 1950s and 1960s provided strong grounds for U.S. support of refugees fleeing Fidel Castro's Communist government. Under the auspices of Operation *Pedro Pan* and in joint collaboration between the Catholic Church and the U.S. government, anti-Castro parents sent about 14,000 children to the United States before the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. Cuban children were dispersed around the country wherever church groups could provide refuge and sponsorship. Many parents hoped they would soon join their children or return to Cuba after what, they believed, would be a quick defeat of Castro. This was not to be.

A majority of Cuban refugees settled in Miami-Dade County, Florida. The large influx of Spanish-speaking children in Miami's schools posed a major instructional challenge. Cuban parents feared their children might soon forget Spanish and fall behind academically during their time in the United States and hence requested bilingual programs. With support from the Ford Foundation, Dade County Public Schools initiated ESL programs for them, and, in 1961, they began "Spanish for Spanish speakers" classes to supplement bilingual programs. For its part, the federal government was willing to accommodate the refugee community as a way of welcoming their flight from communism.

In the fall of 1963, Miami-Dade County Public Schools established a full-fledged bilingual education program at Coral Way Elementary School. Credentialed teachers in the district who were bilingual were asked to teach there and to do so in Spanish as well as English. Among the early refugees, there were a number of well-educated professionals, a good number of whom had been teachers in Cuba. They were hired as paraprofessionals to support the Spanish instructional strand of the bilingual program. Teachers who had

been certified in Cuba were offered the opportunity to become certified in Florida. Although the bilingual program was primarily designed for Cuban students, it also accepted native English speakers. The program at Coral Way Elementary was initiated as an enrichment program, with the goal of developing Spanish-English bilingualism for all students. Spanish speakers were taught their morning curriculum in Spanish, while English speakers received theirs in English. Languages were switched in the afternoon; that is, Cuban students were taught in English, and English speakers were taught in Spanish. For extracurricular classes and periods like art, music, physical education, and lunch, students were mixed. From the beginning, the program showed potential for success because it employed trained personnel who could deliver instruction in both languages. After only 3 years, the school reported that students were equally proficient in both languages and cultures. The Coral Way Elementary Bilingual Program continues to be successful and is often cited as a model dual-language program.

Nye Elementary School

Soon after news of the bilingual program's success at the Coral Way Elementary School, the Laredo United Consolidated Independent School District, a school district on the Texas-Mexico border, established its own bilingual program. Mexican Americans were more than ready; they had spent decades fighting for some form of bilingual education. They understood that the exclusive use of English as language of instruction posed significant problems for their children, many of whom spoke Spanish exclusively. As early as the 1930s, George I. Sánchez, psychology professor at the University of Texas at Austin, had argued that Mexican American students scored low on IQ tests because they did not understand English, the language in which the test was administered, not because they were mentally retarded. He suggested that a way to ameliorate the problem was to provide such students some form of bilingual program that would permit use of Spanish to access academic content while learning English.

Mexican American leaders and educators welcomed developments in Florida. Many school districts, particularly in South Texas, were eager for the opportunity to launch their own bilingual programs for Mexican American students. Laredo United

Consolidated Independent School District (LUCISD) was the first to launch a bilingual education program in Texas. Members of the LUCISD board of trustees, in collaboration with officials from the Texas Education Agency and professors of the Foreign Language Department at the University of Texas, designed and implemented the pioneer bilingual program at Nye Elementary School in 1964. The two-way bilingual program, in which native Spanish speakers could learn English and native English speakers could learn Spanish, began in first grade. As the first class moved up the grades, the bilingual program expanded until it reached fifth grade. The program at Nye Elementary School in Laredo blazed the trail for the proliferation of bilingual programs in the state and holds the distinction of being the first to permit Texas students the use of their native language in the classrooms and on the school grounds. It was the first instructional challenge to the rule that prohibited the use of Spanish in classrooms.

Rough Rock Demonstration School

ESL was introduced to Navajo children at Rock Point Community School in 1963–1964. In 1967, the school began a limited bilingual program for beginners that combined ESL with initial literacy in Navajo. A full-fledged bilingual instruction program, however, was established in 1966 at nearby Rough Rock Demonstration School with funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Through a unique contract between OEO, the BIA, a locally elected Navajo school board, and a trustee board of the Navajo Tribe called DINÉ Inc. (referencing the Navajo term *Diné* (“The People”) and “Demonstration in Navajo Education”), federal funds flowed directly from OEO and the BIA to the school, enabling the development of an unprecedented 3-year demonstration project. The project started in Lukachukai, Arizona. However, the grafting of a bilingual demonstration project onto an existing BIA school proved untenable, and the following year, the project moved to the new and as yet unstaffed BIA school at Rough Rock, Arizona.

The Native American community unanimously endorsed the demonstration project, making it possible for the Rough Rock Demonstration School to officially open on July 1, 1966. The BIA contributed \$307,000, money it would have allocated if it had operated the school, and OEO offered an additional

\$329,000 for intensive experimentation and demonstration. Program innovations included (a) school-community relations and parental involvement, (b) cultural identification, (c) home and school visitation, (d) language development and ESL instruction, (e) Navajo language learning, (f) in-service training and staff orientation, (g) adult education, (h) dormitory living, (i) guidance and counseling, and (j) auxiliary services, such as evaluation, recreation, art, finances, social work, and a school library.

The Rough Rock Demonstration School achieved new levels of support for Native American children in school. The school board found creative ways to ensure support for every aspect of the project. Navajos were directly and actively involved in all aspects of school operations: running the dormitory and serving as teachers, foster parents, adult counselors, custodians, cooks, bus drivers, and laundry workers. Elders shared Navajo traditions, legends, and history with students. To allay parents’ fear that the demonstration school might revive the federal government’s practice of rounding up their children and sending them to boarding school for assimilation and eradication of their language, the school board established a policy stating explicitly that the children belonged to the parents and not to the school. In a departure from previous boarding school policies, students were permitted to go home on weekends or whenever their parents requested their return, fully securing parental rights over their children. This simple but clear policy yielded a positive outcome. As Navajo parents became familiar with school instructional programs, they pushed their children to stay in school. Attendance increased, and truancy declined.

Both English and Navajo were used for instruction at Rough Rock, and learning Navajo and promoting cultural identification were central to the curriculum. This policy facilitated learning Navajo culture, traditions, and history in both formal and informal settings. Teachers, parents, and elders acquainted students with Navajo etiquette, beliefs, and oral traditions. The school enjoyed enormous success and widespread support from the Native American community. In its first 3 years, thousands of people visited Rough Rock School. As a symbol of its success and importance to the community, Rough Rock is called *Diné Bi’ólta’*, “The People’s School” or the “Navajos’ School,” a designation now shared by many Navajo schools that have followed Rough Rock’s lead in exerting local education control.

Rough Rock demonstrated that given the opportunity to design an ideal school for their children and the authority to run it, Native American education by Native Americans could succeed. A remarkable fact about Rough Rock's success is that among the original seven members of the school board responsible for the unique experiment, they had completed a combined total of five years of schooling. Perhaps their own contrastive experiences with traditional Navajo education and failed federal schooling freed them to explore innovative ways to create a comprehensive education program, placing Navajo language, culture, and values at the center of the curriculum.

Navajo leaders understood that their children's success or failure in school depended largely on the social, cultural, economic, and political conditions and attitudes of the community surrounding it. In creating a comprehensive educational experiment, they tried to involve as many community members as possible in the project as a way of providing employment opportunities and boosting cultural pride among parents and the community.

In the 1980s, the school's name was changed to Rough Rock Community School, signaling that the "demonstration" had succeeded in securing local education control. Over the past 40 years, however, it has experienced declining support as the push for standardization and English-only instruction has gained momentum. Despite the current politicization of bilingual education programs, Rough Rock Community School is widely recognized for its historic demonstration and remains a crown jewel of American Indian education.

A Lost Promise

Bilingual education programs of the 1960s, such as those at Coral Way Elementary, Nye Elementary, and Rough Rock Demonstration School, offered a promise of academic success for language minority students and, in some cases, an opportunity for English-speaking youngsters to learn another language. Each program supported an additive model of bilingualism, grounded in the pedagogical principle that students' languages and cultures form the basic foundation for further learning. Just as English is considered the best medium of instruction for native English speakers, bilingual advocates believe that native-language instruction provides linguistic minority students optimal opportunities for learning academic content.

Those early bilingual programs still stand as exemplars to emulate.

It should be noted, however, that federal financial support played a key role in creating those programs. Subsequent policies for those funds tended to promote the teaching of English at the expense of the home language. In effect, the same sources of funding that created those programs may have also led to undermining their full potential in later years. Even now, federal funding continues to undergird most current bilingual programs. With diminishing financial resources and strong opposition from English-only proponents, however, it is increasingly difficult to maintain them. Changes in the level of opposition to the use of non-English languages for instruction have led to waning support for bilingual education. Those programs, though promising, suffered under a slumping economy, budgetary constraints at the national and state levels, and xenophobic fears of a largely monolingual citizenry. Given their early success, one can only wonder how those positive results might have altered the academic achievement of linguistic minority students had they continued over the past 40 years.

María de la Luz Reyes and John J. Halcón

See also Dual-Language Programs; Indigenous Language Revitalization; Language Socialization of Indigenous Children; National Defense Education Act of 1958; Oyster Bilingual School; Appendix A

Further Readings

- Andersson, T., & Boyer, M. (1971). *Bilingual schooling in the United States*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Bangura, A. K., & Muo, M. (2001). *United States Congress and bilingual education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Beebe, V. N., & Mackey, W. F. (1990). *Bilingual schooling and the Miami experience*. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, Institute of Interamerican Studies, Graduate School of International Studies.
- Rossel, R. A. (1968). An overview of the Rough Rock Demonstration School. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 7(3), 2–14.
- Spolsky, B. (1973). *The development of Navajo bilingual education*. Paper presented at the Symposium on Sociolinguistics and Language Planning of the AAAS/CONACYT meeting on "Science and Man in the Americas," Mexico City. (ERIC Reproduction Service Document No. ED094 559)

EARLY IMMIGRANTS AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING

Among the arguments made by opponents of bilingual education is this: previous generations of immigrants did not have bilingual education to help them learn English and they had little trouble doing so. If bilingual education was not needed before, the argument suggests, it is likely that modern-day immigrants can get along without it as well. A second part of this argument is the idea that bilingual instruction can become a crutch that may actually delay the acquisition of English instead of aiding it. It makes sense to these critics that concentrating on English alone will bring better and quicker results than using the home language for part of the school day. These views concerning bilingual education appear to have surface validity, but the notions on which they rest are not supported by science.

The Immigrant Experience Then and Now

There is good evidence that immigrants of the past, for example, from the early 20th or late 19th century, did not learn English quickly. In fact, many never learned it at all. Most immigrants survived and even prospered because their livelihoods often did not require literacy in English or even a strong command of the spoken language. Most immigrants lived and worked in rural areas or in urban enclaves where English was not an absolute necessity. Generally, they engaged in occupations in which acquiring a thorough knowledge of the language could occur at a more leisurely pace than what is needed today. On average, the learning of English must be done much more rapidly today. Education requirements for better employment outside the ethnic neighborhood, together with a powerful youth culture played out in English, and greater attention being focused more-effective teaching methods make the rapid learning of English a more credible scenario than its rejection or deferral.

In ethnic neighborhoods across the country, older immigrants have always used their native languages at the hearth and among friends and neighbors who belonged to the same ethnic groups. Some adults never learned English, although their children and grandchildren learned the language as a school subject. Ethnic neighborhoods are not very different today.

A stroll through Chinatown in San Francisco, 18th Street in Chicago, or the Magnolia community in Houston makes this quite clear. If it is possible for certain groups in 21st-century America to live without much contact with English-speaking Americans, we can only imagine what the situation may have been at the turn of the 20th century, when the proportion of immigrants to natives was even higher than it is today.

A study conducted by University of California professor Lily Wong Fillmore reviewed family cases in which a language gap had developed between young children and older members of the family. Among the former, only English was used, while among the older members, the home language was the only language spoken. This linguistic divide within families interferes with normal processes of intergenerational communication. It deprives children of the wit and wisdom that is often gifted by the oldest members of the family to the youngest. In addition, it makes it more difficult for the whole family to be involved in the school experiences of the young. Through bilingual education, these problems can be greatly reduced or eliminated.

The assertion that earlier immigrants learned English more quickly and perhaps more enthusiastically than do newcomers today is difficult to prove or disprove beyond a shadow of a doubt. In the highly globalized transportation and communications environment of today, it is not surprising that many immigrants are reluctant to abandon their home languages, especially within ethnic communities. In a rapidly shrinking world, languages, all languages, are simply more valuable today than they were to previous generations of immigrants. The widespread availability of television, radio, and print media in languages other than English are a testimony to this. It does not follow, however, that there is any hesitation to learn English, the lingua franca of U.S. society. Valuing a home language and holding it in high regard says little about the attitudes that may prevail about the dominant language of the society. This is undoubtedly the case in the United States, one of the homes of the most popular and widely used language on the planet.

Most immigrants that arrived here in the heyday of Ellis Island from Europe never expected to return to their countries of origin. They also never expected to use their languages for very long after their arrival. It is probably true that they were more predisposed to abandon their immigrant languages and embrace English with a high degree of resolve, born of having no other choice. Voluntarily or otherwise, many immigrants had their names changed at Ellis Island to

signal their commitment to a new country they never expected to leave. Many of today's immigrants come with a different mind-set. They do not often come to the United States with little hope of ever seeing their homelands again. Indeed, many return regularly to visit relatives and to enjoy holidays with friends and family. Airline companies are well aware of this. During every holiday period, it is almost impossible to obtain bargain fares to destinations in Mexico, Asia, or Africa. Many flights are packed with families from those countries returning home to spend the holidays with their families, fully expecting to return to the United States afterward. The Mexican government has instituted a special program, *Programa Paisano*, to welcome these visitors, facilitate their entry to the country, and help them enjoy their visits.

Can Bilingual Education Become a Crutch?

Many advocates for bilingual education believe that immigrant families should have the option, at public expense, of having their children educated solely in English or in a bilingual mode in which their language of origin is maintained and further developed. Opponents claim that reducing the time spent on learning English makes it more difficult for schoolchildren who are not native speakers to learn it—in short, that bilingual education retards the learning of English instead of assisting in its acquisition.

There is no research evidence to support this position. The assumption that one language interferes with another is based on mistaken assumptions about the human brain and the nature of language. Elsewhere in this encyclopedia, the *container theory of language* is examined: the assumption that language occupies space in the brain and that languages compete with each other for the space available. The assumption that two or more languages will “crowd” each other and interfere with the development that would take place if the entire brain space were devoted to a single language is not supported by linguistic science or brain research.

There are three points to keep in mind in this connection. First, research has demonstrated clearly that languages do not compete with each other in the human brain. In childhood, while children are acquiring the basics of language, it is often the case that they are uncertain about which word belongs to what language. While this period of word identification is under way, children may in fact use a word from one language as

they are speaking another. That is because in infancy, children growing up in bilingual environments may not be aware that they are learning two languages at once. Once this process is complete, however, there is no further confusion. Children achieve clarity about the two (or more) languages in their environments, and they learn when it is most appropriate to use one or the other. The period of “interference” is nothing more than the identification and sorting out of the shared language elements. There is no research evidence that this form of interference is permanent or damaging in any way. Given the family and community acceptance of two languages as being equally worthy, the child simply learns both languages in the same amount of time it takes monolingual children to learn one. It is important to note, however, that this occurs only when the two languages in question are afforded equal value and respect in the child's social circles. Children are quick to recognize disparities in the valuing of languages in their social world. In using language, they are very much influenced by the relative value that attaches to one language or another. This is often the case in the United States, where English is more highly valued in the wider society than are immigrant languages.

The second point to remember in this regard is that the human brain has vast unused capacity for learning in general. Whether we focus on mathematics, physics, chemistry, rocket science, or French, it is unlikely that the limits of the brain's capacity for learning would be reached in most humans. Scientists who study the brain estimate that in most cases, we use only a fraction of the total capacity of the brain during our lifetimes.

Linguistic science has made great progress in understanding the nature and use of languages. Consider the case of “accents,” which may be present even when an individual knows a language well. In the past, accents were often interpreted as indicators of an inferior education. Today, we know that accents are markers that point to regional differences, such as a “southern accent” or a “New York accent” in American English. The presence of an accent does not mean that a user's command of a given language is incomplete or flawed. Similarly, when immigrants learn English after puberty, an accent may mark their oral use of the language for many years, even when they achieve a thorough and well-internalized knowledge of the new language. When it comes to reading and writing a language, however, accents are not easy to detect. In addition, the phenomenon of *code switching*, discussed

elsewhere in this book, is now better understood as an advanced form of language manipulation, not as inadequate mastery of two languages.

Finally, an amazing aspect of language learning is that one language can be helpful in learning another. Multilingual individuals who speak a number of languages assert that each succeeding language they have learned has been easier to learn than the last. This is because the human brain can draw analogies between what is known and what we wish to learn. We look for patterns that will make the job easier. We progress from the known to the unknown, and we find it easier to learn what lies just outside the boundaries of what we have mastered already. In short, learning one language prepares us for learning the second, and the first two make it easier to learn a third. Knowledge is transferred from one language to another with amazing ease. Once we understand the idea of modifying nouns or adjectives, for example, we test aspects of the new language to see how similar it is to the previous one. If it is similar, we apply the same rules until we find the boundaries of that transference of knowledge. We then make course corrections to the rule when we apply it in the target language. Most of this growth by testing occurs automatically, without our knowledge of being immersed in it.

How valid is the argument that early immigrants did not need bilingual education and that they were able to learn English without it? This is folk knowledge; the facts do not support this assertion from any point of view of science. It is likely that early immigrants did not have an easier time learning English, simply because they were not engulfed in it as today's immigrants are—they often lived and worked in ethnic neighborhoods in which the home language was all that was needed to carry out the functions of everyday life. Our knowledge of linguistic science and recent brain research demonstrate quite clearly that bilingual education is not likely to become a crutch that deters or defers the learning of English. It is more likely to be the case that strict punitive rules against the use of home languages in teaching will do more harm.

Immigrants at a different point in our national history may have found it easier to progress and acquire a nest egg to pass on to their children simply by working hard, building their homes with their own hands, and living in relative isolation from their countries of origin as well as their English-speaking neighbors. Today, neither of these two conditions holds true. Finding the best and most efficient ways of teaching

and learning English is much more important today given the education requirements that U.S. society demands. Evaluations of bilingual education programs suggest that bilingual instruction is helpful in this regard.

Josué M. González

See also Assimilation; Bilingualism Stages; Code Switching; Container Theory of Language; Language Shift and Language Loss; Views of Bilingual Education; Views of Language Difference; Wong Fillmore, Lily

Further Readings

- Rumbaut, R., Massey, D., & Bean, F. (2006). Linguistic life expectancies: Immigrant language retention in Southern California. *Population and Development Review*, 32, 447–460.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6, 323–346.

EASY AND DIFFICULT LANGUAGES

The idea that some languages are difficult to learn while others are easy is common and widespread. Many people around the world believe it to be true. Upon reflection, however, we find that while this idea seems reasonable—all languages are not equally accessible to all learners—it has not been proven that ease of learning or difficulty is based on the language itself. As we will point out, the difficulty or ease of learning may be attributable to the learner and/or to the kind of instruction received. Although the fundamentals are not complicated, it is important to review the evidence supporting these assumptions, because they have implications both for students and teachers of all languages.

How Contrasting Language Features Influence Us

Generally, languages cannot be readily categorized as being inherently difficult or easy to learn. What constitutes a difficult language for one person or group may not be the same for another set of individuals. Languages are easy or difficult in comparison to a person's first-acquired or dominant language. The

first, or home, language is the template employed by young learners—consciously or otherwise—to generalize about the way all languages should “behave.” Languages that are acquired early on in a person’s life are easily and deeply ingrained. For young learners, they serve as the expected pattern for languages that come later. A person who asserts that a given language is easier than another is likely to be comparing particular aspects of the target language and finding them to be similar to those in his or her “base” or first-acquired language. Similarly, when the student of a new language is bedeviled by some aspect of the new language (e.g., spelling, verb or gender usage, placement of adjectives) he or she may reach the conclusion that it is more difficult because it has a distinctly different way of implementing that particular function. For example, a person who speaks a language that uses the Roman alphabet will find that, relatively speaking, another language that uses the same alphabet is easier to learn than a language (any language) written in the Cyrillic alphabet, such as Russian. Similarly, a language that is read from left to right will be easier for Westerners than one that is written and read from right to left, as in Arabic.

However, not all languages written in the Roman alphabet are equally easy or difficult. This is because one language may be more or less similar to one’s native language on other features; for example, English speakers might find the use of the subjunctive verb tense in the target language mystifying, since modern English has now abandoned the use of this tense almost completely. Many speakers of English believe that the subjunctive verb form is difficult to master, while a native speaker of a language in which the subjunctive is common (such as Spanish) will recognize that familiar verb form when learning a language such as French. Other dimensions of language may also come into play. These comparisons can be made in a number of different arenas or usage areas of language. To the untrained ear, Japanese has pronunciations of vowels and consonants similar to those in Spanish. That feature, taken alone, might lead us to believe that Japanese can be learned easily by a native speaker of Spanish. In fact, this is usually not the case. The reason is that these two languages use different writing systems, and the corpus of transportable words and phrases is very small in either direction. Theoretically, Spanish speakers listening to Japanese might be able to hear every vowel and consonant being spoken, but they might not understand a single word. Anticipating

ease of learning based solely on a single linguistic feature may lead a person to underestimate the difficulty of learning a particular language.

Factors Other Than Linguistic Differences

Isolated structures and features of a language might cause learners to believe that a given language is more difficult than another. But linguistic features and grammatical conventions are not the only factors that contribute to making a language difficult or easy to learn. There are several other factors involved. Most of these have to do with learners’ dedication to the task or their ability to absorb the essential ways in which the target language works: (a) recognition of the number of words and phrases the learner can “port” from the first language to the second; (b) recognition of similarities in morphological or syntactic patterns, such as forming plurals from singular nouns; (c) willingness to attempt, boldly, to automate responses to verbal cues in a lively conversation without undue hesitation; (d) ability to assemble combinations of words and express oneself creatively in the new language; (e) progress in mastering the cognitive, emotive, and volitional function of language; and (f) ability to grasp meanings embedded in idiomatic expressions such as those encountered in jokes, songs, or word play.

These factors may be more influential than the purely linguistic features in the easy/difficult formulation. Some of the features of a language that initially appear to be difficult are not profound and can be easily overcome in the early stages of learning the new language. For instance, the placement of adjectives before or after the noun is often a problem for students who are beginning study of another language. The use of capital letters in German may seem complicated to native speakers of Spanish, a language in which relatively few words are capitalized. Assignment of the proper gender to common nouns is difficult for native speakers of English, because in English, word gender is of little relevance for sentence construction. In Latinate languages, those that derive their respective grammars from Latin, gender is important. Few native speakers mistake a masculine noun for a feminine one. Word gender may seem arbitrary to new learners, and it may take some time before they can “sort out” the rules that help explain this concept. Unless the key to such mysteries is found early on in the study of a language, the level of complexity and difficulty involved can be overestimated.

An additional point must be kept in mind to round out this discussion of the relative difficulty of learning languages. Learning a language is not a process that proceeds at a uniform level of difficulty along the road to mastery. If we frame this process as a series of stages ranging from rank beginner to the fluency associated with educated native speakers, we can assume that different languages, depending on the language used as referent, could be easy or difficult in the earlier, middle, or advanced stages. Full mastery is based on building a solid foundation of basic skills and rules and progressing to the more subtle and complex aspects of the target language. For some learners, the most difficult stages will be the most advanced, replete with subtleties and nuances. For others, it might be the initial encounter with the language that overwhelms them. We might be taken aback by hearing a native speaker communicate in what appears to be excessive speed—and the realization that we understand next to nothing. Still other learners will judge the middle levels as the most difficult, for it is here, and not effortlessly, that a language begins to be useful in communicating with others, while reminding us that we have a good distance yet to travel to achieve full mastery.

Languages in the Environment

It is important to remind ourselves that languages do not live exclusively in classrooms. They are interactive and shared phenomena that exist in a societal matrix and in many domains: business, education, entertainment, religion, and so forth. Languages exist on the street, in music, in cinema, on TV, and in work environments. The relative difficulty of learning a language is often made easier or more difficult by the student's participation, or lack of it, in the sociocultural matrix in which the language is being studied. When language students can leave the classroom and immediately use what they have learned that day, the sense of difficulty is reduced. Similarly, if students make it a habit to listen to radio and TV in the target language, they may conclude that the language in question is not as difficult as it might be if they were not embedded in the social environment of the language. Close friendships and home stays with families who are native speakers of the target language greatly diminish the sense that a language is exceptionally difficult. Languages that are studied solely in the classroom may feel difficult because there is little opportunity

outside the classroom to experience them in real life. This is not to diminish the importance of good teaching and a fruitful classroom environment. The skills of teachers and sound methods of instruction no doubt influence the student's impression of a language being difficult or easy.

Linguistic Distance

Much of what we know concerning the relative ease or difficulty of learning a language can be summarized under the concept of *linguistic distance*, drawn from the field of linguistics. This concept relates to the similarity or difference that exists between one's referent language, presumably the first-acquired language, and the target language, the object of one's learning efforts. Until very recently, linguistic distance was a sketchy concept that linguists could not quantify. Recently, research has begun to show interesting results in efforts to make linguistic distance measurable, hence more useful. It remains to be seen just how useful the concept may become in the future. For now, it can be reduced to a simple statement: A new language is easy or difficult to learn depending on how different it is from a language an individual already knows.

Finally, it should be stressed that much of the discussion above applies more readily to studies of "foreign" languages than it does to bilingual classrooms. In bilingual education, because the task is not merely to learn English but also to master subject content, both tasks are at play throughout the experience. One such complication is that as English language learners develop language skills, it is not easy to determine the degree to which newly acquired language skills are in the social realm ("playground" English) or whether the new skills signal a deeper knowledge, such as asking questions, explaining abstract concepts, or seeking clarification from teachers or peers ("classroom" English). Often, children who appear to be proficient in the levels of social or playground language may be quite limited in the more complex uses of classroom language.

Josué M. González

See also Academic English; Accents and Their Meaning; BICS/CALP Theory; Cognates, True and False; Contrastive Analysis; Indo-European Languages; Linguistics, an Overview; Measuring Language Proficiency; Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies

Further Readings

- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2004). *Linguistic distance: A quantitative measure of the distance between English and other languages* (IZA Discussion Paper No. 1246). Available from <http://ftp.iza.org/dp1246.pdf>
- National Virtual Translation Center. (2006). *Language learning difficulty for English speakers*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.nvtc.gov/lotw/months/november/learningExpectations.html>

EBONICS

The term *Ebonics* is derived from the combination of *ebony* (black in color) and *phonics* (the association of letters to sounds in reading/writing). The concept is also referred to as Black English, Black Vernacular English, African American English, and African American Vernacular English (AAVE). The term is believed to have been coined by social psychologist Robert Williams and introduced by him at a conference in 1973. Ebonics has its roots in English and African languages. There is considerable debate over whether Ebonics constitutes a language or a dialect, or something altogether different outside the strict definitions of those two terms. While Ebonics does not figure prominently in the dialogue and policy debate on bilingual education, a summary discussion of its nature is helpful in understanding why it often appears in parallel to discussions of bilingual education but is not generally considered an integral part of it.

Although the various terms mentioned above are often used interchangeably, many scholars hold that the term was originated in order to distinguish it from past terms focusing more on English roots and influences of the language/dialect and on the low status normally ascribed to Black varieties of English. Ebonics, then, was meant to be used as a label by those interested in emphasizing the African roots of the language/dialect. It also became a useful term, early on, in discussing the possible mismatch between the language of teachers and that of their Black students. A court case in Ann Arbor, Michigan (*Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board*, decided in 1979), gained attention when the court ordered that Ann Arbor teachers be instructed in the basics of Ebonics in order to better understand the language spoken by many of their students.

Ebonics is not concerned simply with word usage but also with pronunciation, word order, sentence structure, vocabulary, etymology, and notions of epistemology surrounding certain speech patterns. Interestingly, Ebonics is not spoken only by African Americans, but is spoken to various degrees by persons of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Further, not all African Americans are speakers of Ebonics.

The origin of Ebonics is directly linked to the American slave trade, in which millions of Africans were brought to the Americas and forced to learn English without formal instruction. In this situation, the speech and speech patterns of West Africa intermingled with the speech and speech patterns of English, forming a hybrid, which until recently had received scant attention at the scholarly or policy levels. As alluded to earlier, some scholars see the speech patterns of Ebonics as reminiscent of West African languages, particularly those in the Niger-Congo region, thus making English a more distant influence while placing the African languages and speech patterns at the center of Ebonics, as discussed in work by Ernest Dunn and Charles DeBose. Others, perhaps the majority of linguists, argue that English is the mother language of Ebonics, considering the centrality of English vocabulary in Ebonics. In either case, it cannot be denied that Ebonics was formed by the complex hybridization of English and West African languages and speech patterns.

Ebonics and Linguistics

Many outside the field of linguistics see Ebonics as a perverted form of standard English, as explained by Peter Trudgill and William Cosby, incorporating “bad” or “sloppy” writing, speech, and sentence structure. What one must consider is that all languages are socially constructed and are born out of particular social systems. Even standard English, which is held up as the normative language of the United States, has gone through numerous changes and mutations throughout its history. At one point in its history, English itself was seen as a low-class language of questionable parentage and fit for use only by poor and uneducated peasants. Ebonics is a similar case, as it is a complex language/dialect with varying features whose future is not yet fully defined. Whether looking at syntax, semantics, sentence structure, or lexicon, Ebonics is a collection of speech patterns in the same way any language or dialect is. At this point in its

history, however, Ebonics has not reached the point of being widely sought out as a prestigious language to study and learn. Some even argue against the uniqueness of Ebonics on the basis that its speech structures fall in line with the patterns of standard English and other English dialects and are more similar to English than to any West African tongue, as explained by Stefan Martin and Walt Wolfram. In essence, Ebonics is acting no differently than all other languages, in that it has an origin, has linguistic forbearers and influences, and continues to evolve and change.

An important similarity between standard English and Ebonics is that both follow the basic word order of subject-verb-object. This similarity also serves to emphasize the historical links between English and Ebonics. Also, Martin and Wolfram explain that similar to forms of English, the central element in a phrase, which they call “the head,” is found at the left. Some qualities that make Ebonics different from standard English (though they can be found in other languages and some English dialects) are pleonastic (redundant) negation, use of multiple negation (e.g., “Don’t nobody go to the store”), negative inversion, and the dropping of the copula (e.g., “Where you going?”), as in Russian and some other languages. There is continued debate on which features are unique to Ebonics and which are also readily found in standard English and dialects of English.

Ebonics and Politics

Ebonics is not only a field of study for linguists; it is part of the social and political fabric of the United States. The most famous illustration of this occurred in 1996, when the Oakland, California, public schools pushed to use Ebonics in the classroom in an effort to improve the English language skills of African American students. Proponents of the plan did not want to teach Ebonics per se, but to use Ebonics as a transition to standard English, much in the same way Spanish speakers in programs are characterized as having “home language support.”

Some, like (then) California School Superintendent Delaine Eastin and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Jr. (as indicated in a PBS report), took this resolution as meaning the Oakland School District would be teaching Ebonics instead of standard English to its students, and there was some uproar over the proposal. Many found that the passed resolution was validating what they saw as “bad” English and fought against the measure.

In a response to resolutions such as the one passed by the Oakland School District, the U.S. House of Representatives submitted its own resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Education and the Workforce. The resolution stated, as cited in David J. Ramírez and colleagues’ *Ebonics: The Urban Education Debate*,

Whereas “Ebonics” is not a legitimate language: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that no Federal funds should be used to pay for or support any program that is based upon the premise that “Ebonics” is a legitimate language. (p. 135)

Many protested responses such as these, finding them close-minded and even racist. The use of Ebonics in schools remains a complex social and political issue and continues to be discussed and debated at both local and national levels.

Roberto Tinajero II

See also Accents and Their Meaning; Social Class and Language Status; Status Differences Among Languages; World Englishes

Further Readings

- Baugh, J. (1999). *Out of the mouths of slaves: African American language and educational malpractice*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Cosby, W. (1997, January 10). Elements of Igno-Ebonics style. *Wall Street Journal*, p. A11.
- DeBose, C., & Nicholas F. (1993). An Africanist approach to the linguistic study of Black English: Getting to the roots of tense-aspect-modality and copula systems in Afro-American. In S. S. Mufwene (Ed.), *Africanisms in Afro-American language varieties* (pp. 364–387). Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Dunn, E. F. (1976). Black-southern White dialect controversy. In D. Sears Harrison & T. Trabasso (Eds.), *Black English: A seminar* (pp. 102–122). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Green, L. J. (2002). *African American English*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city: Studies in Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board, 463 F. Supp. 1027 (1979).

- Martin, S., & Wolfram, W. (1998). The sentence in African-American Vernacular English. In S. S. Mufwene & J. Baugh (Eds.), *African-American English: Structure, history, and use* (pp. 11–36). New York: Routledge.
- McWhorter, J. H. (1998). *Word on the street: Debunking the myth of a "pure" standard English*. New York: Basic Books.
- PBS. (1997). *Reading matters*. Retrieved from http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/education/ebonb_1-9.html
- Ramírez, J., Wiley, T., De Klerk, G., Lee, E., & Wright, W. (Eds.). (2005). *Ebonics: The urban education debate*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Trudgill, P. (2002). *Sociolinguistic varieties and change*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Williams, R. (Ed.). (1975). *Ebonics: The true language of Black folks*. St. Louis, MO: Institute of Black Studies/Robert Williams and Associates.

ELL IDENTIFICATION PROCESSES

See DESIGNATION AND REDESIGNATION
OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

ENCULTURATION

Despite conceptual disagreement over a specific definition of culture, anthropologists tend to agree on three basic characteristics: (1) Culture is not innate or inherited genetically; it is learned; (2) culture is shared, and it has an important role in defining the social boundaries of different groups; and (3) the various facets of culture are interrelated. Enculturation is the process by which family and community members pass on the core values and behaviors of their cultures to the next generation. These new cultural recipients, in turn, become active observers of, and participants in, the way of life of their families and communities. Through a lifelong process, they pick up and internalize those core cultural and linguistic values and play an important role in passing them along to the following generation. In that sense, they become culture bearers. In addition, they also pass along any changes that those traditions have undergone during their lifetimes. In this sense, they also play an important role as culture makers.

Culture is not carried in our genes. It is through the process of enculturation that we learn to become

members of our speech communities—to understand, speak, read, and write our languages—as well as to function effectively within our shared culture. Through family and community traditions, we come to know who we are and what our culture expects of us—whether we see ourselves as Chinese, Mexican, Korean, Inupiat, British, Navajo, Nicaraguan, German, French, Argentinean, South African, and so on. When a child accidentally touches a hot object and immediately withdraws his or her hand, this demonstrates a physical reflex that does not have to be taught. But whether the child’s response to that unpleasant surprise is a scream of “Ay!” or “Ow!” is an artifact of culture, something transmitted through social interaction. An essential characteristic of being human is the manner in which we, both consciously and unconsciously, transmit cultural patterns to succeeding generations. A newborn infant is a clean cultural slate. Long before children enter a school classroom, however, culturally coded behavioral patterns have been learned through the process of enculturation.

Because cultural patterns are learned, they are highly variable. For example, interaction between parents and children does not follow a single pattern that is innate to all humans. In some native Hawaiian families, when children are involved in a conflict with siblings or friends, parents will discipline everyone involved rather than attempting to identify the guilty parties. Consequently, these children may learn more readily to resolve interpersonal problems within their peer groups rather than sharing them with the adults. In the classroom, however, which generally operates on the basis of a cultural system different from that in the home, teachers will probably want to know who is specifically responsible for any unacceptable behavior. Children may thereby learn different ways of interacting with each other and with adults.

Enculturation exists only in relation to a specific social grouping. Humans acquire and create culture only as members of particular identity-defining groups. Because groups tend to maintain some aspects of their identities while periodically modifying other aspects, individuals function as both cultural consumers and culture change agents. What we do with what we receive as cultural consumers and how we design and construct new connections may create some ambiguity or a lack of stability with respect to cultural processes. In other words, humans are always becoming both “a part of” and “apart from” a given cultural and linguistic context. For example, a child in her home cultural environment will learn ways to give

or get information and attention that are appropriate to her ethnic group. In school, however, she may have to leave those patterns behind to some extent as she learns alternative forms of communication that are more appropriate to the classroom setting. Through such social contact with members of her own and other cultural groups, her cultural identity develops.

Although culture plays a role in defining ethnic boundaries, those boundaries are usually quite porous. To use a saying that folk singer Pete Seeger attributed to his father, “Plagiarism is basic to all culture.” Throughout history, societies have always borrowed from each other without giving credit to the source. In turn, this unacknowledged appropriation has been a principal source of the constant development of cultural patterns “apart from” the original ones. This perpetual state of becoming—of new beginnings crafted on old ones—gives culture its dynamic and fascinating character.

The cultural traits of a particular group of people are largely integrated with each other to form an interrelated whole. Cultural traits are not a random hodgepodge of discrete customs with no relation to each other. To some extent, this integrated consistency derives from adaptation to the environment. For example, preindustrial hunting-and-gathering societies were characterized by low population density, a nomadic lifestyle, and limited material possessions. The subsequent development of agriculture-based societies brought higher population density, larger settled communities, and increased acquisition of material possessions. Cultural patterns tend toward a psychological integration of values and beliefs as well. Thus, child-rearing practices and family living arrangements within a particular cultural group tend to reflect the same values and beliefs that the group’s folktales portray. Of course, no two individuals within any cultural group are completely alike, and change is constantly occurring. Therefore, the components of a culture are not always in complete harmony with each other, but there is an adaptive tendency toward reasonable consensual agreement.

Because cultural patterns are integrated, a change in one aspect of a culture can, and probably will, affect many other aspects of that culture. Athapaskan Indians of the Yukon traditionally followed a seminomadic way of life, moving from fishing camps to hunting camps as the seasons changed. When compulsory formal schooling was introduced into remote Alaskan villages in the 1930s, however, residents were forced to end their traditional seasonal travels.

Thus, with changes in the form of education came changes in residential patterns, along with concomitant changes in subsistence patterns, the local economy, patterns of social interaction, and the loss or weakening of indigenous languages. The Micronesian islands underwent a comparable process when the introduction of Western schooling practices brought about many other changes in cultural patterns.

The above generalizations—that culture is learned, shared, and integrated—provide some grasp on the concept of enculturation, but they do not give one a comprehensive hold. Culture is learned, but most of the teaching of culture takes place without reflection, and the content is modified to some extent as it is transmitted. Culture is shared and has defined boundaries, but the members of a social group do not all share the exact same culture, and the boundaries of that culture are permeable. Components of a culture seem to be interrelated as in a system, but this system does not always seem to behave according to clear, systematic rules.

To make the understanding of enculturation even more elusive, there is the inevitable problem of bias. Because we are all culture bearers, when we study or simply observe the behavior of members of another cultural group, we are inevitably influenced by our own cultural backgrounds. We all view the world through the lenses of our own cultures and make many decisions about our observations based on our cultures, whether we are conscious of it or not. This includes instructional decisions. Those decisions may match those expected by the various expectations of diverse cultural backgrounds of our students. Teachers often try to be culturally competent in their teaching, which means finding a suitable accommodation between our actions and the cultural values.

It is important for teachers of English language learners to understand the dynamic and complex process associated with cultural and linguistic shift across generations. It is important, for example, to know that children have the capacity to both accept and modify the core values that they have received from parents and the community. But newly arrived immigrants from a particular ethnic group may not be cultural mirror images of members of the same group who have been here for generations. While it is difficult to know all the enculturation processes that affect their students, teachers can and do, in an incremental way, discover core values in their students and families and use those in designing and implementing culturally and linguistically responsive teaching. *Acculturation*,

a related concept applicable to learning other cultures beyond one's own, places pressures on students to decide whether to remain close to the values imparted to them at home or to venture out into the larger society as acculturated or assimilated individuals. Knowing that culture is learned, shared, and constantly changing can be a cause for optimism. It means that teachers, students, and parents working together have the ability to modify values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns.

Carlos J. Ovando

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Language Socialization; Melting-Pot Theory; Nationalization of Languages

Further Readings

- Gonzales, N. A., Knight, G. P., Birman, D., & Sirolli, A. (2004). Acculturation and enculturation among Latino youths. In K. Maton, B. Ledbetter, C. Schellenbach, & A. Solarz (Eds.), *Investing in children, youth, families, and communities: Strengths-based public policies* (pp. 285–302). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Masahiko, M., & Ovando, C. J. (2004). Language issues in multicultural contexts. In J. Banks & C. McGee Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (2nd ed., pp. 567–588). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ovando, C. J., Combs, M. C., & Collier, V. P. (2006). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (4th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Robins, K., Lindsey, R., Lindsey, D., & Terrell, R. (2002). *Culturally proficient instruction: A guide for people who teach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

ENGLISH, FIRST WORLD LANGUAGE

The English language was originally propelled by the spread of the British Empire in the 19th century and, subsequently, by the expansion of the U.S. economic and political influence in the 20th century. English now extends across the globe. By the 21st century, English had become the main world language of literature, periodical publications, science, advertising, pop music, cinema, and technology. In approximately 75 countries, English is either the first language (L1) of the majority of the population or it is used extensively in important social institutions. Conservatively,

it is safe to say that there are close to 330 million L1 speakers of English in the world. If Creole varieties of English are included, the number swells to around 400 million speakers. Furthermore, it has been estimated that there are currently 430 million second-language (L2) speakers of English and an additional 750 million speakers of English as a foreign language (EFL).

While these numbers might seem staggering, an exact assessment of the actual number of people who speak and/or use English on a daily basis is impossible to attain, owing to multiple factors (e.g., skewed census data, accuracy in identifying a person's proficiency, and limited access to political records). Roughly speaking, though, there are close to 2 billion people across the globe who use English in some form or capacity, according to David Crystal in his work *English as a Global Language*.

How and why has English attained such a commanding role in the everyday lives of so many people? On a global level, English has taken many forms and is used for many different purposes. To understand the functions that English has in societies around the world, it is necessary to consider the historical influence of colonialism and the modern course of economic globalization. Categorizing societies according to the prevalence and type of English spoken allows us to understand how these processes have affected social interaction on both local and global scales. Braj Kachru has developed a framework of three concentric circles that concisely categorizes all societies that use English:

1. The *inner circle* (320–380 million speakers) includes societies in which English is the medium of public and private life and English is overwhelmingly the first language (e.g., the United Kingdom and the United States).
2. The *outer circle* (300–500 million speakers) is made up of societies in which English is either used by the state as an official language and has become part of the country's most important social institutions (although it may not be the first language of all citizens) and/or has a significant role as an additional language (e.g., India and Singapore).
3. The *expanding circle* (500 million–1 billion speakers) encompasses those states whose members recognize the importance of English for international communication, though they do not have a history of colonization by countries from the inner circle (e.g., China and Russia).

It can be suggested that although useful, Kachru's model situates the inner-circle countries as retaining the power to measure the linguistic correctness of English, despite the growing global *majority* of "non-native" (i.e., L2 or English as a foreign language) speakers of English.

The modern intertwining of economic systems between different countries around the world has produced an increased need for cross-cultural communication. The prominence of each language and the amount of linguistic overlap between different cultural groups naturally establishes a hierarchy of languages. Periphery languages are those least used in the network, and core languages are seen as vital for connecting to the greatest number of other groups. Most experts agree that English has risen to the top as the most important language for spanning the global economic communities, and, for that reason, it is often recognized as a high-status language, perhaps the highest in the world.

Inherent in any type of linguistic hierarchy is the view of superiority and subordination. Robert Phillipson has addressed the domination and influence of English as *linguistic imperialism*. The teaching of English in countries that are politically marginalized or economically impoverished is a reflection of colonial periods when elites ruled and educated indigenous populations through the colonial language. Those in positions of power create a dependency on English and establish it as a powerful language that shapes relationships between countries and defines access to economic resources.

While the economic weight of the United States is an obvious factor in the shaping of cultural relationships, the political impact of American policies and agencies is just as far-reaching. The influence of the United States on intergovernmental organizations, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), extends into the linguistic realm in profound ways. Since the United States is often the biggest contributor to these types of organizations, peripheral stipulations are often included in the workings of these entities, arguably the most powerful in the world. As a result of this influence, the IMF and the World Bank can insist that client states include English in their education systems as part of their development.

Although English clearly plays an influential role on an international level, its status in the United States is often misunderstood. As of 2006, the United States has approximately 70% of all English-native-language

speakers in the world (excluding Creole varieties, such as the variety of English spoken in Jamaica). Despite such a strong base of native speakers, many people fear that the status of English in the United States is eroding. Since the 18th century, English has always been the dominant language in the United States; no other language has even come close to surpassing it. Most concerns about the status of English have to do with the prominence of foreign immigrants. Some arguments against these concerns include the following: First, competence in English continues to be highly correlated with social status, prestige, and income in the United States. Second, when language minority individuals are able to speak English fluently, the use of a minority language is not correlated with low economic standing. Third, immigrants should not be viewed as a force that "dilutes" or diminishes the prominence of English. The life opportunities these groups provide are shaped by their intergroup differences. In addition, emphasis should not be placed on multiple ethnic inequalities whereby culture, language, class, and race are inextricably linked.

A quick glance at the 2000 U.S. Census data will help situate the prominence of English in the United States. Of the 262,375,000 people over the age of 5 identified by the 2000 decennial census, only 8.1% (21,320,407) of the total population is reported to speak English "less than very well." Hence, approximately 92% of the nation speaks English "very well." These figures, along with the role and spread of English globally, seem to contradict the claim that English is in danger of being overtaken by other languages.

Finally, it is important to note that English has become the language of choice of young people around the world. Driven largely by the dominant role that English plays on the Internet and in popular music, teenagers around the world have settled on English as the favored language in which to communicate with their peers. Music, movies, and video games help to promote English even more among the young. Even in cultures that may differ markedly from the United States in political ideology and action, a substantial proportion of young people are studying and using English more than ever.

Eric Johnson

See also Languages and Power; Native English Speakers, Redefined; Official Language Designation; Spanish, the Second National Language; U.S. Census Language Data; World Englishes

Further Readings

- Crystal, D. (2004). *English as a global language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification, and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11–30). Paper presented at conference, “Progress in English Studies,” 1984, September 17–21, London. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. (2000). *Ability to speak English* (Summary file 3, QT P17). Available from <http://www.census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html>

ENGLISH, HOW LONG TO LEARN

Although on its surface the issue may appear simple, the question of how long it takes schoolchildren to learn English well enough to use it effectively in school is not easy to answer definitively. This entry reviews some of the research findings on the subject, with appropriate cautions as to how authoritative any type of answer may be. Consider the case of a middle-class, English-speaking child whose parents also speak English and are high school graduates. How long, typically, would it take such a child, if unburdened by unusual extraneous factors, to become academically proficient in his or her native language? The answer, of course, depends on how we define *proficiency*. The proficiency of a kindergartner is quite different from that of a second, fourth, or sixth grader. Learning and polishing language skills, even for native speakers of English, is a process fostered by parents and schools beginning at birth and continuing for 17 or 18 years if the college or university attended keeps with the normal conventions of English course taking. If the student then goes on to a college or university that keeps with the normal conventions of English course taking, he or she will be required to continue the study of his or her native language for at least 2 more years en route to a bachelor's degree.

For simplicity's sake, let us assume that a typical native speaker of English has gained a better-than-average command of English (or proficiency) by the

time he or she enters middle school; that is, around the age of 10 or 11. How different is the challenge of learning English for an immigrant child; for example, a young boy who begins attending an American school in the third grade? Assuming that this child has only recently arrived in the country, he has missed 7 or 8 years of experience using English. Comparatively, native English speakers can be expected to use the language more expertly. When it comes to language learning, such a head start is difficult to make up, although it is done every day by students who participate in good programs designed to help them do so.

Some of the research in this field, such as the work of Stephen Krashen, has found that the process of learning one's first language is substantially different from learning a second or third language later on. This research argues that we acquire our first language around the hearth, where we are surrounded by and immersed in that language, often without any other. In short, the first language is not learned by studying it in school as a subject; granted, its mechanics are improved and its formal conventions examined and refined through high school and college, but the basic and essential command of the spoken language is acquired before adolescence. The immigrant child in our example did the same with his home language—Chinese, perhaps. Having come to the United States and entered a school where English is the predominant language, he must now learn English, not in the same way as his English-speaking classmates, but as a school subject. In this vastly different process, the burden of learning English is shared with teachers. Good teachers who are well versed in the art and science of language teaching will help this child reduce the time necessary to gain proficiency in English. Average and poor teachers untrained in this type of work may struggle in this process, which might have implications for the amount of time needed for this student to learn English.

After decades of research in the field, most linguists admit that there is no definite answer to the question of length of time required to learn English in the U.S. context. Language learning, beyond acquiring one's first language, is a complex process that does not occur in isolation from other skill development. Further, the variables that impinge on a child's ability to learn it are too numerous to control in a classic experimental way; current research methods may be insufficiently developed to handle the burden of numerous variables.

Acquiring the English Language

First-Language Acquisition

Although no one knows the exact length of time required by a visitor or immigrant child to acquire English, researchers agree that first- and second-language acquisition are lifelong processes that follow a similar pattern of development. The development of a complex oral language system from birth to age 5 is universal, notwithstanding physical disabilities or lack of human interaction. However, how long it takes to complete this development is dependent upon the cognitive capacity of the child. Language development at this stage is rudimentary, and speakers cannot use language in a manner as sophisticated as that of older children. Nonetheless, the base of language acquired during these years is highly important in subsequent stages of language learning and use.

Under ordinary circumstances, children aged 6 to 12 develop subtle phonological distinctions, vocabulary, semantics, syntax, formal discourse patterns, and complex aspects of pragmatics in the oral system of their first language, as Virginia Collier explains. Ordinarily, children at this age begin formal schooling and begin to add the more complex literacy skills of reading and writing to the previously acquired speaking and listening skills. Both sets of skills continue to increase across academic content areas, grade levels, and domains. First-language development should occur at the same level and rate as the cognitive capacity of the student, given no physical disabilities. Thus, it is difficult for an 8-year-old to master the science of physiology because he or she has not developed the cognitive abilities to understand the complex and abstract terminology associated with that field.

An adolescent entering college must continue to acquire enormous amounts of vocabulary across disciplines of study and develop more complex writing skills, processes that continue into adulthood. Collier describes how adults continue to acquire new subtleties in pragmatics and changes in discourse through everyday written and oral communications. It seems clear that first-language acquisition is a long process that continues throughout the life span.

Brain research has added to our understanding of how individuals acquire language. Fred Genesee explains that in early stages of learning, neural circuits are randomly activated and connections are weak or incomplete, similar to a blurry photograph. However, with more practice, exposure, and experience, the

picture gains clarity and detail. The repeated exposure allows for less input to activate this network. Over time, activation and recognition become automatic, and the learner can focus on more complex tasks and skills. Genesee emphasizes the time-consuming nature of this task, which this type of research explains in detail: Time is necessary for new neural networks and connections between networks to be made, such as those between a first and second language.

Second-Language Acquisition

Second-language acquisition is an equally complex process that develops in stages, requires time and oral exposure, and is influenced by a number of external variables. Patton Tabors has proposed the *multiple container theory*, which describes how individuals acquire a second or subsequent language. He uses the metaphor of a glass filled with water to explain children's first-language acquisition. The first language is represented by one glass filled with one liquid. The second language is represented by an added second glass; it already contains liquid that, according to Tabors, represents what the child knows about the way language works. However, this second glass needs to be filled with second-language "liquid." Exposure, in Tabors's metaphor, is represented by the amount of liquid that fills each glass; hence, the glasses can be filled simultaneously, or they may contain unequal amounts of liquid.

Thus, language "liquid" amounts may differ based on language learning happening at a given time. However, the amount of language retention in either language depends on language use and exposure: If there is not enough exposure or practice with a specific language, the language liquid can "dry up" and the language will be lost. This theory also recognizes the maintenance and development of the first language.

The process of second-language acquisition is further complicated when applied to the proficiency and language mastery required to be successful in formal school settings. In school, second-language learners are expected to reach a level of both academic and language proficiency equal to that of native English speakers. And with more than 5 million English language learners (ELLs) in Grades K–12 in U.S. public schools (according to data provided by the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition for the 2004/2005 school year), administrators, policy-makers, parents, and educators are concerned with

how long the process of second-language acquisition can take for ELLs to perform on par with native English speakers.

Research Findings: Academic Second-Language Proficiency

In the United States, public schools provide instruction in all-English classrooms. Therefore, the focus for second-language proficiency will highlight findings from typical all-English learning environments. In contrast, second-language acquisition will also highlight findings from bilingual education. All findings are based on U.S. programs.

All-English Instruction

Researchers have conducted numerous studies on second-language acquisition in academic settings. Canadian researcher James Cummins, as cited by Virginia Collier and Wayne Thomas, established the concept of different levels of language proficiency and theorized that second-language learners can reach conversational proficiency in 2 to 3 years, whereas academic language proficiency can take an additional 5 to 7 years. Collier has built on the work of Cummins to identify a pattern of second-language acquisition in U.S. schools that is consistent across student groups, home language, country of origin, socioeconomic status, and other factors. The patterns are consistent for U.S. schools where all instruction was provided in the second language, English.

The first pattern concerned level of formal schooling. Students with no formal schooling in their first language require 7 to 10 years or more to acquire academic English proficiency, according to Collier. Also, ELLs with little or no formal schooling in their first language will make fewer achievement gains from fourth grade through high school, as the academic and cognitive demands of the curriculum increase with each year. Research shows that these ELLs might achieve 6-to-8 months' gain each school year relative to their native-English-speaking-peers' achievement gain of 10 months.

The second pattern concerned age and formal school experience in the first language. ELL students aged 8 to 11 years with 2 to 5 years of formal schooling in their first language performed on par with native English speakers in 5 to 7 years. However, students who arrived before the age of 8 required 7 to

10 years or more, due to lack of formal schooling in the first language. These findings appear to support the underlying theory of transitional bilingual education, which is that the use of the home language for instruction helps children learn both English and school subjects.

Bilingual Education

In contrast to all-English instruction, students who receive instruction in both the first and second language typically score at or above grade levels in their first languages in all subject areas while they build academic proficiency in the second language. Research shows that after 4 to 7 years of quality bilingual instruction, students typically reach and surpass native English speakers' academic performance in all subject areas. This phenomenon is confusing because one would think that with two languages being learned, the student would require more time to reach academic proficiency in both languages. However, it appears that because students have attained and maintained grade-level proficiency in the first language during the 4 to 7 years it takes to acquire a second language, they are more likely to sustain their achievement over time and often outperform their monolingual peers during the secondary years of school.

Additional Considerations: External Variables

Second-language acquisition is also dependent on many external variables that can affect the amount of time required to learn English. Gilbert García lists some of them:

- *Variability among the population of ELL children and youth:* ELL children and youth come from diverse backgrounds that include country of origin, culture, and socioeconomic status.
- *Foreign-born status:* Recent statistics show that approximately 45% of ELLs are foreign-born. They enter U.S. schools at different ages, with diverse exposure to English.
- *Formal schooling in native country:* ELLs have varied formal schooling experiences and first-language development.
- *Native-born status:* Statistics show that approximately 55% of ELLs are born in the United States.

- *Range of first- and second-language development:* ELLs, whether foreign- or native-born, can enter U.S. schools with varied levels of first- and second-language proficiency.
- *Socioeconomic status:* Students who come from backgrounds of poverty often have limited language proficiency and readiness skills to be successful in school.
- *Teacher preparation:* The most significant variable for second-language acquisition is teacher preparation. Unfortunately, research shows that many U.S. educators lack formal preparation to work with second-language learners. There is a shortage of bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) educators in the United States.

Conclusion

Second-language acquisition has consistently been a subject for debate among policymakers. U.S. schools are now being held accountable for annual academic achievement targets that include disaggregated data on achievement by ELLs. As a result, policymakers and administrators have made the argument that second-language acquisition should (a) be on par with native English speakers within 3 years and (b) decrease the achievement gap.

Many researchers and scholars argue that these goals are not realistic or possible in all English schools, nor are they consistent with research. Research shows that ELLs in the early grades can perform on grade level with their peers within 2 to 3 years. However, this research is misleading for policymakers who anticipate that ELLs will continue to make the same gains over time. Therefore, the achievement gap is a result of three factors, cited by Thomas and Collier:

1. *Second-language acquisition does not occur in isolation from other skill development.* Native English speakers are, of course, not standing still waiting for ELLs to catch up. They continue to develop cognitively, linguistically, and academically with each school year in an “English-friendly” learning environment.
2. *The cognitive, linguistic, and academic demand across curricula and subjects continues to increase with each school year.* Subsequently, ELLs who showed impressive gains in the early grades typically make 6-to-8 months’ achievement gains each year in English-only schools. Hence, it is statistically logical

that the achievement gap will continue to widen over time.

3. *There is a lack of quality bilingual programs and well-prepared teachers to meet the needs of U.S. schools.* Research indicates that students in bilingual programs reach, maintain, and surpass grade-level achievement of monolingual peers into and throughout the high school years. Further, the amount of time to acquire a second language is less (4 to 7 years) compared with English-only programs (7 to 10 years).

Research clearly supports the notion that language acquisition is a lifelong process. Perhaps the question for policymakers should not be how long it takes to learn English, but rather under what conditions, with what resources, and from which teachers does optimum English language learning occur? Answers to that question remain elusive. The legal requirement flowing from the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) decision of the U.S. Supreme court is that children be taught English effectively and that their study of academic subjects not be allowed to lag due to inadequate English. However, several states now require that ELLs be in special English instructional programs no longer than 1 year, a time span that is grossly inadequate according to most of the relevant research.

Michelle Kuamoo

See also Academic English; BICS/CALP Theory; English in the World; Language Learning in Children and Adults; Program Effectiveness Research

Further Readings

- Collier, V. (1995). Acquiring a second language for school. *Directions in Language & Education*, 1(4), 1–7.
- García, G. (2000). Lessons from research: What is the length of time it takes limited English proficient students to acquire English and succeed in an all-English classroom? *Brief National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education*, 5, 1–15.
- Genesee, F. (2000). *Brain research: Implications for second language learning*. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics. (ERIC Reproduction Service Document No. ED447727)
- Krashen, S. (1985). *The input hypothesis*. Beverly Hills, CA: Laredo.
- Krashen, S., & Terrell, T. (1983). *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Morrison, R. (2002, September 29). The Englishing of earth: Extending English as a foreign language. *The Times* (London), p. 2.

- National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs. (2006). *NCELA FAQ: How many school-aged English language learners (ELLs) are there in the U.S?* Retrieved from <http://www.ncele.gwu.edu/expert/faq/01leps.html>
- Tabors, P. (1997). *One child, two languages: A guide for preschool educators of children learning English as a second language*. Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.
- Thomas, W., & Collier, V. (1997). School effectiveness for language minority students. *Resource Collection Series, National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 9*, 1–96.

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (ESL) APPROACHES

In language classrooms, to meet language learners' needs and to understand why learners can benefit from certain methods, it is essential for language teachers to understand theory-based approaches. Approaches are the roots of teaching methods. As defined by Edward Anthony, language approaches are theoretically well-informed positions and beliefs about the nature of language and language learning. In other words, approaches serve as the principles of language teaching.

With English acquisition as the primary goal, English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction is also an essential element of any bilingual program. Likewise, ESL approaches can also shed light on bilingual classroom practice. This entry focuses on introducing and discussing some major approaches that have guided ESL teaching, including the grammar-based approach, communicative language teaching, the content-based approach, sheltered English instruction, the whole-language approach, the natural approach, cooperative language learning, and task-based language teaching. The work of Jack C. Richards and Theodore S. Rodgers provides a comprehensive overview of the historical development of ESL methods and approaches. Much of the discussion below draws on their frameworks and descriptions of the theories and practices associated with each of these approaches.

Grammar-Based Approach

The *grammar-based approach* addresses the structure or grammatical elements of language in order to improve language skills. In an ESL class taught through the grammar-based approach, typically, the

teacher spends most of the available class time explaining grammar elements; the students are mere listeners.

The *grammar-translation method* is a practice of the grammar-based approach. Grammar is taught with extensive explanations in students' native language, and later practice is through translating sentences from the target language to the native language, or vice versa. Little attention is paid to the content of texts; rather, emphasis is on language form itself. Similarly, little attention is paid to pronunciation and active use of English.

Although to some extent, focus on form is essential for English learners, especially English beginners, the grammar-based approach has many obvious drawbacks. No class time is allocated to allow students to produce their own English sentences, and even less time is spent on English output production (spontaneous or reproductive). Students may have difficulties "relating" to the language because the classroom experience is disconnected from real life. There is often little contextualization of the grammar; thus, students memorize abstract rules in isolation. Therefore, grammar-based approaches have largely been rejected by the field, though grammar instruction is still considered by many as an essential component of ESL instruction and can be included within other approaches.

Communicative Language Teaching

Communicative language teaching (CLT) is a current recognized approach and is influenced by theories of language as communication and the functions of language (e.g., how to make a request). The emphasis of CLT is on functional communication, social interaction, and real-life language use. Addressing fluency and accuracy, this approach considers integrated components of communicative competence, including the grammatical, functional, and sociolinguistic. The major tenet of CLT is that language acquisition is achieved through using language communicatively, rather than from repetitious drills that are common in the grammar-based approach.

In an ESL class with the CLT approach, the teacher's role is that of facilitator. The teacher sets up exercises and then gives direction to the class, but the students have much more speaking opportunities than they have in a traditional ESL classroom. The classroom is stress free and student centered. In addition, teachers utilize a variety of techniques (e.g., dialogues, role plays) to get students involved and use peer

tutoring, pairs, or small groups to increase class interaction and communication-in-context practices. Class activities focus on information negotiation and information sharing as well as language functions (e.g., giving instructions) in order to help engage students in meaningful and real lifelike language use. Students can be motivated to learn by their desire to communicate in meaningful ways about meaningful topics.

Content-Based Approach

The *content-based approach* combines language learning with subject matter (e.g., math, science) learning in an ESL class. This approach sharply contrasts with the traditional ESL instruction in which language skills are taught in an isolated way. The foundation of the content-based approach is the principle that language learning is more successful when students use language as a means of acquiring information. Although all students in class are second-language learners, ESL teachers make use of grade-level appropriate curricula in a content area to teach ESL students. Thus, the content-based approach can help ESL students develop both language and academic knowledge. At the same time, however, ESL teachers face challenges and may need more training in various content areas.

In adopting a content-based approach, teachers are in charge of choosing a subject of interest to students. Language-focused follow-up exercises (e.g., plural versus singular in math) are included to help students draw attention to the target language skills or linguistic features needed to learn and talk about that subject. Teachers monitor students' English output and provide immediate feedback. Teachers should differentiate between achievement in language skills and achievement in the subject matter when evaluating students. ESL teachers may ask this critical question: How much content best supports language learning?

Sheltered English Instruction

Sheltered instruction is a commonly used approach today. It uses English as the medium of content area instruction. The instructor can be an ESL teacher or a content-area-trained teacher to use a variety of strategies and techniques to make the instruction comprehensible for ELLs. Structured immersion classrooms may include both ESL and English-proficient students. Sheltered English instruction serves as a bridge and

connects the ESL instruction with the academic mainstream instruction (e.g., regular math instruction designed for English-fluent student). It provides subject instructions to ESL students while emphasizing development of English language skills. In addition, all students and teachers in class socialize with culturally appropriate classroom behaviors. However, this approach requires students to have already acquired some English language skills. Teachers are also required to have some appropriate training in sheltered English instruction before teaching the class.

In sheltered English instruction, teachers create a stress-free learning environment and use multiple sources, such as physical activities, visual aids, and body language, to teach key vocabulary for concept development in subject areas. Teachers not only adopt multiple techniques to make content area materials comprehensible for ESL students but also understand ESL students' second-language-acquisition process and cultural differences. The sheltered English instruction approach may include a primary language instruction component. Teachers make effective use of students' native languages in the classroom in order to make lessons taught in English more comprehensible. Interactions with English-proficient students may also be incorporated in lesson to increase ESL students' opportunities of practicing English in a natural way. Sheltered English instruction is a key component in most bilingual education models, as it is used to gradually increase English content area instruction as students make the transition from native language to English language instruction.

Whole-Language Approach

Different from the phonetic approach that focuses only on fragmented language, such as phonemic awareness and phonics drills, the main characteristic of the *whole-language approach* is that language teaching should not be separated into component skills, but rather experienced as an integrated system of communication (listening, speaking, reading, and writing). Rather than focusing on language as a mechanical skill, it is taught as a connection to students' existing language and life experience. Language used in class must be meaningful and carry out authentic functions. Teachers who use the whole-language approach teach students to use phonics (sound-based), semantic (meaning-based), and syntactic (structural and context) cues when reading to help the students make meanings from the texts they

read. In short, the whole-language approach addresses the importance of meaning and meaning making in English teaching and learning. In addition, the whole-language approach to some extent draws on an interactional perspective of language learning and advocates cooperative learning and participatory learning by using authentic language.

The four language skills are integrated in class and are improved simultaneously. Students read and write with others in class. Student-centered classroom empower students to learn according to their interests. ESL teachers adopting the whole-language approach usually use authentic literature for ESL students to develop and practice their reading skills. Writing is also for real audiences.

Natural Approach

The *natural approach* was developed by Tracy Terrell in the 1970s. This approach advocates that comprehensible language input is essential for triggering language acquisition. Terrell focuses on improving basic personal communication skills in her teaching and views communicative competence progressing through five stages: (1) the preproduction stage of aural comprehension, (2) early speech production, (3) speech emergence, (4) intermediate fluency, and (5) advanced fluency. In other words, comprehension typically precedes production, and students' progress occurs naturally.

An ESL classroom using the natural approach includes the following:

1. Students are not forced to speak English until they feel ready to do so.
2. The teacher is the source of English input and uses variety of materials and classroom activities.
3. The teacher creates a stress-free learning environment and does not correct student errors in front of the class.
4. Facilitating the interaction of students in pair or small groups to practice newly acquired structures is a major focus in class. The grammar structure should be learned in a natural order.
5. Activities incorporate a wide variety of visual aids (e.g., picture), hands-on manipulative, and realia.
6. Classes are student centered.
7. Formal grammar instruction should be kept to minimum.

The natural approach provides ample guidance and resources for ESL students at the beginner levels but has limitations in teaching advanced English learners. Moreover, since this approach allows the delay of oral production until speech emerges, it is hard to manage class activities to meet students' different speech-emerging timetables.

Cooperative Language Learning

Cooperative language learning (CLL), as its name indicates, aims at getting students involved in language learning by using cooperative activities while developing communicative competence. This approach is influenced by an interactive perspective of language learning and a theory of cooperative learning. CLL also embraces some principles of communicative language teaching. A major characteristic of CLL approach is that it can raise students' awareness of language structure, lexical items, and language functions through interactive tasks.

By using such an approach, teachers can increase students' frequency of English language use and variety of English learning practices, because the CLL approach helps develop students' critical thinking skills as they need to collaborate with their peers to design plans for their group, to challenge others' views, and to provide constructive criticism as well as alternative solutions. It fosters opportunities for students to be resources for each other. Advantages of the CLL approach include enhancing students' self-esteem and promoting students' motivation; however, some students may be unaccustomed to working collaboratively with others on academic tasks. Thus, teachers may need to give extra attention to collaborative skills, such as disagreeing politely and asking for help and explanation. Teachers may also need to be aware of factors such as different cultural expectations, individual learning styles, and personality differences that can affect the successful application of the CLL approach.

In an ESL classroom with the CLL approach, pair and small-group work are emphasized to carry out class activities and learning. Teachers use peer tutoring and peer monitoring to build up cooperation in learning. By facilitating collaboration, teachers devalue competition among students and thus decrease students' stress or fear in language learning. The classroom is student centered; teachers need to ensure that every student in groups participate in activities. Cooperative

interaction usually follows a teacher-directed presentation of new material.

Task-Based Language Teaching

The *task-based language teaching* (TBLT) approach uses tasks as a core unit of instruction in language teaching. The basic premise of TBLT is that language should be learned through a set of meaningful communicative tasks that involve students in comprehending, producing, or interacting in the target language. In other words, tasks should go beyond pure practices of language skills. This approach emphasizes the meaningfulness and authenticity of language use, which also links to the communicative language teaching approach. Engaging students in task-based activities can help students contextualize and activate language learning. In short, tasks provide opportunities for language input and output.

ESL teachers working with TBLT link the curricular goals with communicative goals. Furthermore, teachers identify types of tasks (e.g., academic related, social related) that enhance learning and variables that may affect the success of task completion (e.g., English proficiency level, the complexity of the task). As Susan Fezz describes, tasks adopted in a TBLT classroom can be either those that students might need to achieve in real life or that have a pedagogical purpose specific to the classroom. When evaluating students, teachers should focus on the process of completing the task instead of the product.

Conclusion

Although each of the approaches described here has its own characteristics, considerable overlaps of these approaches are commonly observed in different ESL instruction. The choice of approach naturally depends on student factors such as age and proficiency level and the availability of resources within the learning environment. Appropriate approaches to English language teaching are the keystone of teachers' choices of teaching methodology.

Chang Pu

See also Audio-Lingual Method; Communicative Approach; Grammar-Translation Method; Natural Approach; SIOP; Whole Language

Further Readings

- Anthony, E. M. (1963). Approach, method, and technique. *English Language Teaching*, 17, 63–67.
- Brown, D. H. (2001). *Teaching by principles: An interactive approach to language pedagogy*. New York: Addison-Wesley Longman.
- Fezz, S. (1998). *Text-based syllabus design*. Sydney, Australia: National Center for English Teaching and Research.
- Richards, J., & Rodgers, T. (1986). *Approaches and methods in language teaching*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Terrell, T. D. (1977). A natural approach to second language acquisition and learning. *Modern Language Journal*, 61, 325–336.

ENGLISH FOR THE CHILDREN CAMPAIGN

State education agencies reported that the number of limited-English-proficient students in the nation's schools rose from 2.1 million in the 1990–1991 academic year to more than 3.7 million in 1999–2000. A congressionally mandated study found that these students received lower grades, were judged by their teachers to have lower academic abilities, and scored below their classmates on standardized tests of reading and math. Subsequent responses to these problems have run the gamut. Some policymakers have advocated bilingual education as a remedy, while others have taken the opposite view and blamed bilingual education for the inequities. The latter argue that bilingual education programs are responsible for retarding the acquisition of English by children who need desperately to have an age-appropriate command of that language. Beginning in the 1980s, sentiments against bilingual education became increasingly critical as more and more communities adopted bilingual education programs. Shortly after taking office, President Ronald Reagan announced that it was erroneous and unaligned with American concepts to have bilingual programs in order to preserve students' native languages and that such programs would not allow students to achieve enough English proficiency to participate in the job market. Many people listened. By feeding on the frustration of policymakers and the increasingly harsh rhetoric surrounding debates over these programs, proponents of

English-only instruction were able to gain support for more restrictionist language policies in the schools. By the late 1990s, many states had contributed substantial amounts of money to resolve these problems, but the number of English language learners (ELLs) did not diminish. Opposition to bilingual education became more organized and determined to curtail or eliminate these programs.

Nowhere were these issues more evident than in California. During the 1990s, California had approximately one third of the bilingual education programs in the country. With antibilingual education sentiments at an all-time high, Ron Unz started the “English for the Children” campaign, designed to dismantle bilingual education in the state.

Educated as a theoretical physicist, Unz had run unsuccessfully as a Republican candidate for governor of California in 1994. With the support of antibilingual activists, Unz collected more than 510,000 signed petitions from registered voters to launch a voter initiative that would end bilingual education in the public school system. The initiative went on the ballot in California in 1998. Unz, a multimillionaire software developer, vowed to dig deep into his own pockets and spend whatever it took to get the measure passed.

Benefiting from the swell of xenophobia that dominated the state’s politics during that time, Unz and the English for the Children campaign constructed a platform from which to promote California’s Proposition 227. According to this proposition, the bilingual education services offered in California inhibited students’ English acquisition and overall educational progress. Proposition 227 was promoted as an elixir for language minority students’ ailments and an alternative to bilingual education, promoting a 1-year English immersion course to prepare non-English-speaking students for mainstream classes. According to the Unz initiative, language minority students were to be placed in *sheltered English immersion* (a term coined by the English for the Children movement) for a period usually not to exceed 1 year, before being mainstreamed into the regular education classroom. As originally stated in Article 2, Section 305, of the proposition,

All children in California public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English. In particular, this shall require that all children be placed in English language classrooms. Children who are

English learners shall be educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year. Local schools shall be permitted to place in the same classroom English learners of different ages but whose degree of English proficiency is similar. Local schools shall be encouraged to mix together in the same classroom English learners from different native-language groups but with the same degree of English fluency. Once English learners have acquired a good working knowledge of English, they shall be transferred to English language mainstream classrooms.

While the initiative was harsh and heavy-handed, a waiver option allowed parents to exclude their children from the sheltered English programs and place them in bilingual programs if the child (a) already possessed good English skills, (b) was over 10 years old and the school staff thought it would benefit him or her to be in a bilingual education program, and (c) was in a special needs program. Students could be mixed by age and grade. Teachers and/or other school personnel could be sued to ensure that instruction was delivered in English. Within 1 school year, students were expected to attain a “good working knowledge of English” so that they could be transferred to a mainstream classroom with native-English-speaking children. In this context, the minority language students were expected to comprehend the subject matter in English, without any further language instruction.

Unz targeted this campaign at California’s Latino communities. He capitalized on discontent with the public schools and sought to make bilingual education the scapegoat. Expensive ads promoting the initiative appeared in Spanish language media. Some advocates for immigrant rights, along with a few Asian and Latino politicians, signed on as well. Although Unz adamantly denied having any anti-immigrant motivations for promoting Proposition 227, he could not deny his ties to more overtly biased organizations. Unz’s cochairperson of the initiative was Gloria Matta Tuchman, a first-grade teacher from Santa Ana who finished fifth in the 1994 race for California State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Although she was not hesitant to announce her Mexican American roots, Tuchman was reserved about her ties to the English-only movement. She joined U.S. English, an organization working to make English the official

language of the country, and served as a member of its board of directors between 1989 and 1992. Another outspoken supporter of Unz and English for the Children was Linda Chávez. Chávez served as the executive director of U.S. English until a memorandum by one of its founders was made public in which he made stereotypical remarks concerning Latinos. She resigned her position on the board and later founded the Center for Equal Opportunity, which opposes bilingual education and affirmative action programs. Unz served on the board of directors of the center and worked closely with Chávez for years.

In 1998, California voters passed Proposition 227, the original English for the Children referendum. Although initially this law prohibited language minority students from receiving bilingual education services, the waiver option allowed many parents to place their children back into bilingual programs. Touting ostensibly higher testing scores after the first year of the implementation of Proposition 227 (even though children in waiver bilingual programs performed just as well, as shown in research conducted by Stephen Krashen), the English for the Children campaign moved on to Arizona.

As they had done in California, the organization leaders were able to get Proposition 203 on the November 2000 ballot in Arizona. Despite many educators, researchers, and community organizations around Arizona denouncing Proposition 203, the pro-203 community was able to reinforce its position through a well-funded and well-organized media campaign. Unz and his followers were able to accumulate enough political and social support to once again overshadow the opposition and convince the public of the initiative's ostensible integrity. Due to the large number of students who were able to opt out of the sheltered English immersion programs in California, Unz rewrote the Arizona referendum to make it more restrictive for students and parents and more punitive for educators who might stray from the guidelines.

Basing their claims on the alleged success of students in California, the Arizona brand of English for the Children was able to avoid some of the accusations of cultural insensitivity. Caught in a landslide of confusing test scores, patriotic tropes, and ethnocentric statements, the majority of the public, including many Latinos, understood the initiative as a step toward a better education for non-English-speaking students. On November 7, 2000, Arizona's voting public voted with a 64% majority to limit the

educational services that language minority students receive. The same 1-year program that was called for in California was to be offered in Arizona.

The Unz organization did a good job convincing the public that all language minority children were failing in school and that their failure was due to bilingual education. Interestingly, only 30% of students eligible for language services in Arizona were involved in true bilingual education programs. Thus, advocates of Proposition 203 successfully persuaded the voting public to support the point of view that blamed Arizona students' low achievement on a program in which the majority of students were not even involved.

After Proposition 203 became law in Arizona in 2000, Unz mounted a campaign in Massachusetts. On November 5, 2002, 70% of voters in that state approved Massachusetts's "Question 2." Aligned with Arizona's version of the law, this version of the English for the Children program dismantled Massachusetts's bilingual education programs and placed strict regulations on educators. Shifting from the original name of the instructional program as sheltered English immersion, Unz's group modified the name to *structured* English immersion, to appear more rigorous in their approach.

During the same year as the Massachusetts campaign, Unz also attempted to plant his views in Colorado. Although English for the Children had succeeded in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, Colorado voters rejected Unz's ballot initiative in 2002. The campaign in Colorado proved unsuccessful for several reasons. During the initial attempt to get the law on the ballot in 2000, the Colorado Supreme Court declared the measure unconstitutional due to deceptive and misleading wording (mostly about the waiver process). Undeterred, its proponents regrouped and promised to return, and, in 2002, Unz was successful in getting his initiative placed on the ballot as "Amendment 31" (formally titled "English Language Education for Children in Public Schools"). During those 2 years, however, probilingual education groups (e.g., English Plus and Colorado Common Sense) were able to rally support across the state and promote their "No-on-31" campaign, as reported by Kathy Escamilla, Sheila Shannon, Silvana Carlos, and Jorge García. Instead of focusing on the benefits of bilingual education programs and promoting scientific research, opponents of English for the Children attacked the actual initiative. Ultimately, the focus of No-on-31 was narrowed down to three basic tenets, summarized

as “PPC”: (1) Parental involvement (P) and choice would be eliminated, (2) Punitive measures (P) in the amendment (e.g., suing educators) were considered too extreme, and (3) Cost (C) to the taxpayers would skyrocket if the amendment passed.

Opposition to the initiative came in many forms. In September 2002, the board of education of the Denver Public Schools voted unanimously to oppose Amendment 31. Pat Stryker, an education activist, donated \$3.3 million to the No-on-31 cause. Parents and educators organized to raise money and distribute literature. In all, it was a successful grassroots effort that enabled the voters of Colorado to understand the implications of Amendment 31. Among the most effective arguments made against the initiative was that (a) it would create segregated classrooms, (b) it would diminish parental choice, (c) educators could be fired or banned for 5 years as a form of punishment, and (d) the amendment would require even more funding than what schools were receiving at the time. Although Unz was able to fund attorneys to write and defend the initiative, pay workers to gather the needed signatures to get the measure on the ballot, and financially support the Colorado staff of English for the Children, the measure was rejected by a margin of 56% to 44%.

Unz and his supporters managed to construct an image of their movement as defenders of children who want to learn English but are being cheated by bilingual education. Their campaign did nothing to ameliorate bilingual education’s woes, such as lack of resources, disparate methodologies, and national standardization efforts. As some critics have pointed out, the movement glosses over intentions of removing languages other than English from public schools. However, the English for the Children campaign garnered the support of many well-meaning voters who did not fully understand the implications of the measure. While successful in three of the four states in which they campaigned, none of its key players were able to win enough support to return to elected politics. Tuchman, Chávez, and Unz had all run for office unsuccessfully before the initiative campaign. None of them have run for office since.

Eric Johnson

See also Amendment 31 (Colorado); Chávez, Linda; English Immersion; English-Only Organizations; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 227 (California); Question 2 (Massachusetts); Unz, Ron

Further Readings

- Escamilla, K., Shannon, S., Carlos, S., & García, J. (2003). Breaking the code: Colorado’s defeat of the anti-bilingual education initiative (Amendment 31). *Bilingual Research Journal*, 27, 357–382.
- Johnson, E. (2005). Proposition 203: A critical metaphor analysis. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29, 69–84.
- Krashen, S. (2000, September 13). Bilingual ed foe used distorted facts. *East Valley Tribune*, p. A19.
- Unz, R., & Tuchman, G. M. (1997). *English language education for children in public schools*. Retrieved from <http://www.onenation.org/fulltext.html>

ENGLISH IMMERSION

English immersion, an approach to teaching English by providing instruction solely through English, holds considerable appeal in the American imagination. Surely, the best way to learn a language is to immerse oneself in it, many believe, and the more deeply and thoroughly the immersion, the more quickly the language will be learned. Several states, such as California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, have adopted laws mandating English immersion for all children who do not know English. Many proponents of English immersion cite studies of French immersion programs in Canada to support laws mandating English immersion. But what is language immersion, and how does it work?

Immersion Programs for English-Speaking Children

Language immersion programs for English-speaking children, in which students learn a new language as they study academic subject matter through the new language and through English, have been established as highly effective. After 6 years in such a program, English-speaking children can be expected to perform at or above grade level in their academic work and can typically read, write, and speak a foreign language. In the French programs in Québec that are often cited, children receive 90% to 100% of immersion language instruction the first year, which then decreases yearly while instruction through English increases, until the proportion reaches 50/50 by fifth or sixth grade. Parents are cautioned that they must expect their children to remain in these programs for a minimum

of 6 years, because learning a new language takes many years. Despite the lengthy time commitment, immersion programs appeal strongly to English-speaking parents who are eager for their children to attain fluency and literacy in another language as an educational enrichment.

English Immersion in the United States

English immersion, as it is implemented in the United States, follows a different approach. Supporters of English immersion argue that young children can learn English quickly and easily and can then turn their attention to academic learning. In California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, where English immersion has been legally mandated, children are expected to learn English within 1 year and then exit the program. When pressed for evidence to support the use of this 1-year, monolingual program model, English immersion advocates typically cite the success of the 6-year, bilingual immersion programs. Conflating these two very different programs leads to considerable confusion over the education of English language learners (ELLs).

The controversy surrounding the best ways to educate ELLs is not likely to be resolved merely by clarifying the pedagogical differences between foreign-language immersion programs and the English immersion programs as currently implemented. Nevertheless, a clear understanding of what immersion is and how it is meant to work constitutes an essential first step.

“Sink or Swim” Versus Structured Immersion

When schools provide no services to students struggling to learn English, placing them in classrooms alongside English-speaking students, some ELLs can eventually learn English and recover academically, while others cannot. Such a lack of support is termed a “sink or swim” approach and was common before the Supreme Court’s *Lau v. Nichols* decision of 1974, which required schools to provide support for ELLs. Early advocates of English immersion in the United States had noticed the success of French immersion programs for English-speaking children and recognized that French immersion was not “sink or swim,” but rather had a very clear structure.

To distinguish English immersion from the sink-or-swim approach, English immersion advocates Keith Baker and Adriana de Kanter insisted their approach be “structured” as well, terming it “structured immersion,” and outlined three essential characteristics to which they attributed the success of immersion programs. First, they noted that teachers must understand the language spoken by their students. Second, they recognized that the curriculum and materials must be specially designed and structured for immersion students. Third, they noted that teachers must be trained to use immersion methods.

However, in laws enacted in the late 1990s mandating structured English immersion (SEI) in several states, these minimal requirements for structure were dropped. Teachers are not required to be (and typically are not) bilingual, and no special curriculum is used. When teachers are assigned to teach English learners, they are asked to undertake some minimal SEI training; but often the training consists primarily of techniques to teach English as a Second Language (ESL), rather than information on the theory or practice of immersion. Indeed, a study conducted by Wayne Wright and Daniel Choi showed that SEI teachers in Arizona who had taken an SEI training course did not know what SEI was or how it was meant to work.

The Basic Premise of English Immersion

Proponents of English immersion subscribe to the basic premise that unlike adults, children learn new languages quickly, easily, and perfectly. Unfortunately, research in language acquisition does not support this claim, with the single exception of pronunciation. If children are exposed to the new language before the onset of puberty, their chances of attaining a native-like accent are considerably greater than if they begin learning a new language at a later age. Ironically, this aptitude for accent, combined with a natural desire to fit in with their peers, can often fool adults into thinking that young English learners are proficient in English long before they truly are. It takes the typical student considerably more than a year or two to learn a new language well enough to pass academic tests given in that language, and this is true whether the students are children or adults. Still, it is widely believed that young children are better language learners than older students or adults, regardless of the research evidence.

The evidence that is often cited in support of short-term, monolingual English immersion programs is drawn largely from research on multiyear, bilingual English immersion programs, which differ dramatically from English immersion in their student populations, goals, curricula, teacher qualifications, and years of duration, among other factors.

Learning a Foreign Language Versus Learning a Second Language

SEI, popularly referred to as both *structured* and *sheltered English immersion*, differs from *foreign-language (FL) immersion* in important respects. One difference lies in the student population and the students' social and linguistic status vis-à-vis the immersion language in particular. Language acquisition researchers worldwide maintain the crucial distinction between (a) students who know the language of wider communication (for example, English in the United States) and are undertaking to learn another language (foreign to the wider society) and (b) students whose home language is regarded as foreign by the mainstream society and are undertaking to learn a second language, the language in use for wider communication. English-speaking children in the United States trying to learn Spanish as a foreign language, for example, have very different experiences and outcomes than Spanish-speaking children trying to learn English as their second language.

Differences in Status

FL immersion was designed as educational enrichment for children who know English, not for children whose educational futures hang on their ability to learn English. Wallace Lambert and Richard Tucker, early researchers of the French language immersion programs in Canada, explained in 1972 that while FL immersion is "additive" and beneficial for English-speaking children, this is because they learn through both languages for many years and never risk losing proficiency in their first language.

Lambert, Tucker, and other leading immersion researchers attempted to dispel many of the myths that had already sprung up regarding immersion education, warning that evidence from FL immersion could not be used in support of arguments for using English immersion in English-speaking countries. Among the reasons cited were that in FL immersion, great care is

taken to ensure the new language is learned at no expense to either academic achievement or to proficiency in the student's first language; FL immersion involves specific instructional services for language learners; and FL immersion is not imposed on children by the school or government, but is actively sought by parents. However, even the most casual observation of English immersion classrooms in the United States reveals that many children are studying English at great cost to their academic achievement, many children are losing their proficiency in their first language, many children receive no specific instructional services, and English immersion is often imposed over the strong protests of parents and community.

Despite explicit and repeated warnings by immersion researchers against using English immersion (often it is *submersion*) with language minority children, several states now mandate its use. It is unlikely, however, that stakeholders, educators, policymakers, or parents understand that English immersion, in the way it has been often interpreted, is a risky intervention. Simply put, it has not been established as effective, and it has been explicitly warned against by the researchers who understand it best.

While social and linguistic status plays a role in the problems caused by English immersion, more critical still are differences in the duration, goals, and teacher qualifications between the two types of programs.

FL Immersion: A Long-Term, Bilingual Approach

Program Duration

The FL immersion model adopted in many elementary schools in Québec was created as a long-term (6 years or more) program, designed to promote bilingualism and biliteracy among English-speaking children, while supporting academic inquiry through English and the foreign language, French. Students may use English at any time, whether to request clarification or to explain their own understanding. Although in the early years, much of the instruction from the teacher is given in the new language, the teacher always understands and responds to students' use of English, often reflecting students' comments and questions back to them in the immersion language. The amount of instruction in the native language, English, remains at this level or increases yearly until it is carried out 50% of the time and

students become skilled at speaking, reading, and writing in both English and the foreign language.

Program Goals

In contrast to FL immersion, no attempt is made in SEI programs to allow for the children's first-language development or to teach them literacy in two languages. Students are not permitted to study academic subjects through the language they already know, nor are teachers required to be bilingual, so students are typically unable to ask questions or understand instruction. Hence, SEI clearly constitutes an entirely different model from the long-term, bilingual FL immersion program described above. It is, moreover, a model that has been implemented without having been systematically researched because of misunderstandings of the dramatic differences between a 6-year or more program with the goals of academic excellence, bilingualism, and biliteracy and a 1-year program that strives for the quick, surface development of English only.

Teacher Qualifications

In the initial years of FL immersion, teachers must be bilingual. Simply put, teachers have been found to be most effective when they can understand the questions and concerns of their students. When students have not yet learned enough of the immersion language to phrase their questions and comments in that language, teachers must be able to understand the children's home language. It is essential that teachers be able to communicate with all students directly, even though the teachers themselves may never speak the students' language in class. In later years, as the children become more proficient in the foreign language, the teacher may be monolingual in that language. In contrast to teachers in FL immersion programs, it has been noted that many, if not most, of the teachers currently engaged in teaching SEI are not bilingual and often do not even permit other students to translate questions or comments.

Immersion teachers must also be trained to use immersion methods. Teachers must become skilled at providing an instructional context that is comprehensible to all students at all times, reducing or elaborating the linguistic demands of academic activities to suit the learners. As in any program, instructional settings should vary among whole-group, small-group,

and individual activities, but an effective immersion teacher must always be cognizant of the linguistic interactions and how to best facilitate them. Sometimes students working collaboratively in small groups may be encouraged to discuss issues in their first language; at other times, they may be encouraged to use their foreign language. The skilled foreign-language teacher develops a fine-tuned sense of the appropriateness of the linguistic demands for any given setting or activity. In contrast, in many cases, children in English immersion settings have been forbidden to speak in their first language and, in some cases, have suffered verbal and physical punishment for doing so.

An Authentic English Immersion Program

Modeled properly after the FL immersion approach, English immersion would use bilingual teachers, trained in immersion methods, to engage students in a specially designed academic immersion curriculum. Student comments and questions could be phrased in either language, since teachers would understand both. Despite attempts to maintain at least 50% of instructional time in the students' home language, students' use of English would naturally outstrip their use of the home language as they develop proficiency in English, as is consistently noted in the research literature. The program would last for a minimum of 6 years, after which students would be expected to demonstrate proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing in both languages. What might students achieve in a model such as this?

In fact, two models that meet these requirements have been implemented and researched. They are *maintenance*, or developmental, bilingual education for ELLs, and *dual*, or two-way, immersion. The maintenance model, first implemented in the 1960s, has been largely replaced by *transitional* bilingual programs, not because transitional programs were found to be superior in any way, but because public opinion did not support long-term programs. If people believe that children can learn English quickly, easily, and well, they will see no need to provide young students with academic support or to ensure that they develop bilingualism and biliteracy. Transitional bilingual programs allow young children to use their home language only as a means to transition into all-English instruction, expected to occur within

approximately 3 years. However, even 3 years seems unacceptably long to those who assume that English can be learned quickly and easily and who find the educational needs of ELLs inconvenient. Instead, policies and laws have been implemented requiring that students learn English within 1 year, but it can already be observed that legislating away the difficulties of learning English has not proven effective.

Parents and educators interested in ELL children developing bilingualism and academic success find it increasingly difficult to locate developmental bilingual programs, with one exception: two-way bilingual (or dual-language) immersion programs. Dual-language immersion (DI) programs have not only been maintained in the face of attacks against bilingual education but have also increased and expanded. The success of the DI model is due in large part to its effectiveness in teaching a foreign language to English-speaking children who have experienced little success in other models of foreign-language instruction.

Dual Immersion: English Immersion Plus

Dual immersion has as a goal the attainment of bilingualism by two different monolingual populations, instructed together. It integrates English speakers and English learners in such a way that all students become bilingual and biliterate. Programs vary considerably in amount and distribution of instruction through the two languages, but all aim to provide at least 50% of instruction through the target minority language and focus on teaching language through academic content. In all DI models, the ELLs, when taught in their first language, are able to fully comprehend what occurs in the classroom and are supported in their gradual acquisition of English, because the form of English immersion these children undergo meets all the requirements for authentic English immersion listed above.

Besides its potential for positively impacting school success, DI may be the most promising educational approach for promoting societal bilingualism, because it aids language minority children in maintaining their home language while at the same time teaching a second language to English-speaking children. In states in which English immersion has been mandated, DI programs have persisted, partly due to the political support garnered by English-speaking participants and because bilingual approaches that include

English-speaking children are perceived as less threatening to mainstream voters, as James Crawford and others have noted. However, federal legislation requiring earlier standardized testing has begun to push FL programs to emphasize English over FL instruction, a development that does not bode well for the future success of FL or DI programs. Furthermore, in Arizona, particularly harsh interpretations of the SEI law have considerably weakened the DI model. For example, only children who already know English can be included, so the positive dynamics created by two groups of children learning from each other are lost.

Can SEI Programs Be Improved?

Truly bilingual instruction serves children well: English learners can learn English, while using English and their first language to learn academic content, and children who already know English can add bilingualism to their educational accomplishments. Why does SEI continue to receive support among policymakers and the public? Many people believe that young children possess superior abilities to learn a second language that allow them to absorb the language quickly, easily, and painlessly. Research has uncovered no such abilities, and, in fact, studies of FL immersion programs have shown the reverse to be true. Many also believe that the success of immersion models in teaching foreign languages means that schools need do little or nothing in order for children to learn English—despite the teacher qualifications and training that are necessary and the years of study that English-speaking children are required to put into their education in order to become bilingual, biliterate, and academically successful. FL immersion programs and English immersion programs are far more different than similar, and predictions for the success of English immersion cannot be made on the basis of FL immersion success. However, assumptions about children's ability to learn English with 1 year of SEI persist, despite the efforts of immersion researchers and teachers to educate and caution educators, policymakers, the media, and the public.

Kellie Rolstad

See also Dual-Language Programs; English for the Children Campaign; Pull-Out ESL Instruction; Proposition 203 (Arizona), Impact of; Proposition 227 (California), Impact of; St. Lambert Immersion Study; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs

Further Readings

- Baker, K., & de Kanter, A. (1981). *Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature* (Final draft report). Washington, DC: Department of Education Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation.
- Christian, D., Montone, C., Lindholm, K., & Carranza, I. (1997). *Profiles in two-way bilingual education*. McHenry, IL: Delta Systems.
- Genesee, J. (1984). Historical and theoretical foundations of immersion education. In R. Campbell (Ed.), *Studies on immersion education: A collection for U.S. educators* (pp. 32–57). Sacramento: California State Department of Education.
- Hernández-Chávez, E. (1984). The inadequacy of English immersion education as an educational approach for language minority students in the United States. In R. Campbell (Ed.), *Studies on immersion education: A collection for U.S. educators* (pp. 144–181). Sacramento: California State Department of Education.
- Lambert, W. E., & Tucker, G. R. (1972). *Bilingual education of children: The St. Lambert experiment*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Lindholm-Leary, K. J. (2001). *Dual language education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Mahoney, K., MacSwan, J., & Thompson, M. (2004). The condition of English language learners in Arizona: 2004. In D. García & A. Molnar (Eds.), *The condition of pre-K–12 education in Arizona, 2004* (pp. 3.1–3.27). Tempe: Arizona State University, Education Policy Research Laboratory. Available from http://epsl.asu.edu/aepi/AEPI_2004_annual_report.htm
- Rolstad, K., K. Mahoney, K., & Glass, G. V. (2005). The big picture: A meta-analysis of program effectiveness research on English language learners. *Educational Policy*, 19, 572–594.
- Swain, M., & Johnson, R. K. (1997). Immersion education: A category within bilingual education. In R. K. Johnson & M. Swain (Eds.), *Immersion education: International perspectives* (pp. 1–16). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, M. S., DiCerbo, K., Mahoney, K., & MacSwan, J. (2002). ¿Éxito en California? A validity critique of language program evaluations and analysis of English learner test scores. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 10(7). Available from <http://lmri.ucsb.edu/resources/prop227.php>
- Wright, W. E., & Choi, D. (2006). The impact of language and high-stakes testing policies on elementary school English language learners in Arizona. (Abstract) *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 14(13). Retrieved from <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v14n13>

ENGLISH IN THE WORLD

Bilingual educators in the United States give a high priority to learning English. This is an incontrovertible need. Differences arise only on whether it is necessary to coerce children to give up their native languages in order to learn English. In recent decades, the press has reported on a creeping fear that English in the United States is somehow threatened. Nothing could be further from reality. The emphasis on the teaching and learning of English is well justified, however, when we consider the importance of that language, not only in the United States but around the world. Curiously, some of the fiercest proponents of English may not know the extent to which English predominates in the world. When asked to name the countries in which English is spoken as the national language, many college students name the United States, Canada, the British Isles, and Australia. Some might even include New Zealand or some of the islands of the Caribbean. Most Americans are surprised to learn that there are quite a few countries in which English predominates and is even considered the national language. The *Oxford Dictionary Online* notes the following:

Australia, Botswana, the Commonwealth Caribbean nations, Gambia, Ghana, Guyana, Ireland, Namibia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States have English as either de facto or statutory official language. In Cameroon and Canada, English shares this status with French; and in the Nigerian states, English and the main local language are official. In Fiji, English is the official language with Fijian; in Lesotho with Sesotho; in Pakistan with Urdu; in the Philippines with Filipino; and in Swaziland with Siswati. In India, English is an associate official language (after Hindi), and in Singapore English is one of four statutory official languages. In South Africa, English is the main national language—but just one of eleven official languages.

Oxford.com also reports that the 75 countries in which English is commonly spoken have a combined population of approximately 2 billion people. Accordingly, Oxford explains that approximately 1 in 4 people in the world speaks English with a modicum

of fluency. In his book *English as a Global Language*, David Crystal maintains there are 1,500 million speakers of English worldwide.

English is the second most spoken language in the world. Only the combined varieties of Chinese, taken together, have more speakers. In addition to being the de facto national language of more than a dozen countries, English is the top language used in aviation, commerce, tourism, higher education, international law, the Internet, and the media.

Some observers liken the spread of English to the growth of our galaxy. It emerged from the explosive origins and growth of the United States. As the new nation gained power and prestige, so did its language. When the United States became the sole superpower in the world, English became the language of choice for many purposes. Do other languages threaten the hegemony of English around the world? Hardly: China has no fewer than five languages, and many people do not understand each other's language. Spanish runs third in the world. It is not commonly associated with a world power and for that reason alone is not a threat to English.

Josué M. González

See also English, First World Language; Nationalization of Languages; Native English Speakers Redefined; Spanish, the Second National Language; World Englishes

Further Readings

Ask Oxford.Com. (n.d.). *Ask Oxford: How many countries in the world have English as their first language?* Retrieved from <http://www.askoxford.com/globalenglish/questions/firstlang/?view=uk>

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

ENGLISH-ONLY ORGANIZATIONS

English-only organizations are composed of supporters who believe that English alone should be the “official” language of the United States. Most of these organizations are active in lobbying for state and federal legislation in support of English-only laws. The laws promoted by these groups usually require that English be the only medium of instruction in schools

and typically require that all government and official documents be published exclusively in English. Advocates of English-only organizations believe that learning and speaking English are essential in order for immigrants to succeed and achieve the “American dream” in the United States. Although many groups are interested in English-only policies, the most notable are U.S. English, English First, the Research on English Acquisition and Development Institute (READ), the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO), ProEnglish, and English for the Children.

Opponents of English-only organizations believe that these groups fail to recognize the linguistic, cultural, social, and ethnic experiences and resources that immigrants bring to the United States; that the contributions of immigrants and English language learners (ELLs) should not be ignored; and that by emphasizing assimilation and Americanization, the cultural heritage of immigrants is devalued. Critics who oppose English-only organizations also believe that such organizations ultimately marginalize ethnic and linguistic minorities from mainstream involvement in the United States and that in order to make English the sole official language of the country, these practices would harm rather than help immigrants. They further argue that it is the diversity of its people and cultures that makes the United States strong and that this society is best served when everyone has equal access to the rights and opportunities that are guaranteed to its members.

Historical Background

In 1911, the newly formed Immigration Commission announced findings that showed little concern over immigrants' English language knowledge upon their arrival in the United States. A few years later, however, on September 1, 1917, the National Americanization Committee—a group aimed at “Americanizing” immigrants—launched a campaign called “English First.” Its purpose was to teach English to all of the nation's immigrants. The ideological distinction between the findings of the Immigration Commission in 1911 and the aim of the National Americanization Committee 6 years later speaks of the social forces that led to the dissemination of English-only ideology.

Pressure for English-only is evident throughout American history, but significant shifts toward language restrictions, aimed at immigrant communities, is most notable during and after World War I.

Although World War I ended in 1918, xenophobic sentiments against German immigrants and German Americans created anti-German language movements in communities in which German immigrants had settled. During this period, communities enacted laws that prohibited the use of the German language in schools, on public documents, during community meetings, and on other civic occasions. In one town, inhabitants were threatened with fines for speaking German on the street. In 1923, *Meyer v. Nebraska* was an important Supreme Court case related to anti-German restrictionism. In this court case, the state of Nebraska fined Robert T. Meyer for reading verses from the Bible in German to one of his students. Under Nebraska law, Meyer was initially found guilty; the case, however, was later overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court, which found the original ruling unconstitutional.

Early organizations that called themselves “English-only” were few; however, two factions emerged that harbored goals similar to those of today’s English-only organizations: (1) those whose aim was restrictionist in nature and (2) those that emphasized acquiring English language proficiency.

Contemporary Activities

The civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s prompted an increased attention to social justice and equity that created changes in perceptions of language diversity. Judicial decisions against schools that did not support the needs of ELLs also emerged over about a 15-year period, beginning in the late 1960s through the mid-1970s. The most notable of these policies was the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, also known as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Judicial decisions subsequent to the Bilingual Education Act, such as *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) and *Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools* (1974), found that students’ civil rights were being violated on the basis of language. These cases help to demonstrate that through the mid-1970s, ELLs in schools were being faulted at two levels: by being undersupported and by being segregated on the basis of linguistic and ethnic background. Recently, English-only organizations have been founded largely in response to legislation and policies aimed at fostering linguistic diversity and multilingualism, the enactment of which has seen an increase of funding for programs in support of multilingualism.

In 1981, 2 years before he founded the organization U.S. English, Senator S. I. Hayakawa introduced a bill in the U.S. Senate to make English the official language of the United States. The relationship between English-only organizations as oppositional to policies that support ELLs was demonstrated that same year in an appellate court decision, when *Castañeda v. Pickard* was handed down. The court found that programs intended to meet the needs of ELLs must adhere to a set of three criteria. Schools that did not meet each criterion were considered to be in violation of ELLs’ civil rights. Legislation and momentous cases illustrate the ideological shift among both the legislators’ intentions in lawmaking and the justices’ interpretation of laws relative to linguistics and civil rights. The rise in number and quality of bilingual education programs appears to parallel the rise and vehemence toward antibilingual and English-only approaches to the education of ELLs.

U.S. English is the oldest and largest association dedicated to making English the “official” language of the United States. It was founded in 1983 by Senator S. I. Hayakawa of California, who served as honorary chairman from 1983 to 1990. The organization’s chairman, as of 2007, is Mauro E. Mujica, a businessman and immigrant who has served U.S. English since 1993. Mujico maintains that English is the key to opportunity for immigrants and has declared that English is under attack by the government, schools, and the court system. The goal of U.S. English is to ensure that English continues to serve as an integrating force among the nation’s many ethnic groups and remains a vehicle of opportunity for new Americans. The organization has three missions: (1) to help improve the teaching of English to immigrants, allowing them to enjoy the economic opportunities available in the United States; (2) to study language policy and its effects around the world, so that Americans can apply the lessons learned through the experiences of other countries to the United States; and (3) to raise public awareness through the media about the importance of English as the common language of the United States.

English First, based in Springfield, Virginia, is a nonprofit grassroots lobbying organization founded in 1986. It currently has about 150,000 members and believes that immigrants in this country must be able to speak with each other. They believe that the English language unites Americans, and they oppose to the use of tax dollars to divide Americans on the basis of

language and ancestry. English First claims to be the only organization to testify against bilingual education and the only pro-English group to lead the fight against bilingual education. English First has three stated goals: (1) to make English the official language of America; (2) to eliminate what it characterizes as costly and failed programs, such as bilingual education and bilingual ballots; and (3) to give every child the opportunity to learn English while young.

The Research for English Acquisition and Development Institute (READ) was founded in 1989. It supports research in the area of effective English language learning programs, produces policy reports and briefs, and publishes an annual scholarly journal called *READ Perspectives*. The current president of READ Institute is Linda Chávez. Chávez believes that bilingual education programs keep students who do not speak English in programs that do not teach them English and, instead, try to maintain students' native languages. READ's goal is to make its findings available to those who are concerned about the education of language minority students. The mission of the organization is to support research on English language learning and schooling for language minority children and to reform bilingual education. The parent organization for READ is the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO).

Chávez founded CEO in 1995. This organization focuses on the areas of racial preferences, immigration and assimilation, and multicultural education. CEO promotes the assimilation of immigrants into U.S. society, conducts research on the economic and social impact of immigrants in the United States, and opposes bilingual education on the basis of the belief that multiculturalists control the schools and universities. CEO has written several books to help teachers and parents learn how to oppose bilingual education programs. CEO is affiliated with the READ Institute.

ProEnglish was founded in 1994 under the name English Language Advocates, in defense of an Arizona ballot initiative to make English the state's official language. It is a nonprofit organization that promotes making English the official language of the United States. Their goals include (a) to promote the adoption of laws that declare English the official language of the United States, (b) to defend the right of states to make English the official language of government operations, (c) to end bilingual education in schools, (d) to repeal federal mandates that translate government documents into languages other than English, and (e) to

work to oppose statehood for territories that have not adopted English as their official language (such as Puerto Rico).

English for the Children was founded in 1997 by Ronald Unz, a California businessman. English for the Children began as an initiative campaign in California; its aim was to outlaw bilingual education and teach all ELLs through English immersion. Unz drafted Proposition 227 and campaigned for the measure to pass. In June 1998, the measure passed by a 61% landslide, causing the disruption and dismantling of many bilingual programs in California. This initiative helped English for the Children, which became the newest large-scale English-only organization. The 5 years following Unz's announcement of the English-only initiative sparked an outcry of Americans in support of language measures focused specifically on schools. Voters in other states, such as Arizona and Massachusetts, also mandated legislation that called for a means of teaching students English through immersion, as opposed to bilingual education.

English-Only in Education: Historical View

The most obvious example in American history of English-only enforcement in schools is that of the Native American boarding school experience. This case illustrates the country's history of forced assimilation through schooling and the relationship between Americanization and English acquisition. Indian boarding schools were the intended mechanisms through which to achieve Americanization and the "civilizing" of indigenous children, thus resulting in Native American students' loss of language, culture, and identity.

In 1879, the federal government began requiring that Native American children be taken from their parents and sent to boarding schools located hundreds of miles away. All activities in boarding schools were conducted only in English from the moment students arrived. Subjects were the same as those for White students, but Native American children were also required to study the Bible and etiquette and other Americanizing lessons. Girls were taught needlepoint, and boys played traditional American sports, such as baseball and basketball. Students were entirely forbidden from speaking their native languages and engaging in any indigenous ceremonies. For those who disobeyed the rules, extreme punishments resulted.

One of the main goals of boarding schools was to replace Native American languages with English. Overwhelmingly, this aim was achieved, and indigenous American communities across the country today are fighting to regain this loss of language. It is not possible to review the many cases of forced English-only in schools, but the Indian boarding school experience embodies the historical intentions of policies to transition children away from native languages and cultures and toward the English-speaking, American culture.

English-Only in Education: Contemporary View

Contemporary movements toward English-only in education and the organizations that support them were mentioned earlier with reference to Unz and English for the Children (both the organization and the ballot initiative). Often referred to as the “Unz initiative,” the first English-only proposition passed in the United States was strongly supported by the English-only organizations listed above. Unlike the other associations that often contained a strong anti-immigrant component, the education component of English-only organizations focuses tightly on the presumed benefits and advantages of educating immigrant children solely in English.

After the passage of Proposition 227, English for the Children founded a chapter in Arizona, and, in November 2000, Proposition 203 (Arizona’s English-only law) passed with about 68% of the vote. In 2002, English for the Children proposed ballot initiatives in both Massachusetts and Colorado (Question 2 and Amendment 31). While Question 2 passed in Massachusetts, Amendment 31 failed in Colorado. A key reason for this failure may be seen in the campaigning decisions made by bilingual education advocates in Colorado. Instead of trumpeting the successes of bilingual education, as had been done in California and Arizona, English Plus campaigned by feeding off anti-immigrant sentiments in the state. The advertising promoted the idea that students, mostly Spanish-speaking immigrants from non-White backgrounds, be removed from bilingual education classrooms and placed in all-English-speaking, mostly White classrooms. Essentially, English Plus of Colorado prompted voters to vote against Amendment 31 by suggesting that if bilingual education were outlawed, non-White,

Spanish-speaking children would then flood into predominantly White, English-speaking schools and classrooms.

Since the defeat of Amendment 31 in Colorado and the victories in Massachusetts, Arizona, and California, English for the Children has gone into hibernation and is no longer active. This may be due, at least in part, to the fact that its founder no longer supports the organization’s paid staff. Apart from this association, other English-only groups have not focused heavily on English-only in schools, with the exception of the READ Institute, which heralds the success of English immersion for teaching English learners.

The Future of English-Only

It is difficult to foresee how English-only organizations will realign efforts toward state and federal official English policies in future political campaigns. In an era when anti-immigrant sentiment is rampant, as largely Spanish-speaking workers enter the United States, English-only organizations and movements are likely to thrive, given their oppositional nature. Recently, a key figure in READ, Rosalie Pedalino Porter, has been closely tied to decisions about how English immersion programs will be implemented in Arizona, post-Proposition 203. In 2006, READ completed a study funded by the Arizona Department of Education, which claims improved achievement rates for English learners in English immersion settings. U.S. English and ProEnglish are focusing efforts on establishing English as the official language in states and ensuring that official English legislation is upheld in courts. Throughout U.S. history, English-only organizations and movements have sprung up as immigration trends increase sharply. Whether the emphasis of these groups is official English or English-only in schools, it appears that they are largely born out of a desire for stronger control of immigrant populations, to be achieved through linguistic and cultural assimilation. Hence, the future of one is dependent on the fortunes of the other.

Sarah Catherine Moore

See also Americanization and Its Critics; Americanization by Schooling; Chávez, Linda; Hayakawa, S. I.; Official English Legislation, Favored; Official Language Designation; Tanton, John H.; Appendix E

Further Readings

- Baron, D. (1990). *The English-only question: An official language for Americans?* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (1981).
- Crawford, J. (1992). *Hold your tongue: Bilingualism and the politics of "English only."* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Crawford, J. (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the Official English controversy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- One Nation/One California. (1997). *English for the Children.* Retrieved from <http://www.onenation.org/people.html>
- ProEnglish. (n.d.). *Who we are: All about ProEnglish.* Retrieved from <http://www.proenglish.org/main/gen-info.htm>
- Research on English Acquisition and Development Institute. (n.d.). *READ Institute provides first comprehensive study of program costs for non-English-speaking students.* Available from <http://www.ceousa.org?READ/index.html>
- Right Web. (2004). *Center for equal opportunity.* Retrieved from <http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/926.html>
- Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools, 499 F.2d 1147, 1154 (10th Cir. 1974).
- U.S. English, Inc. (n.d.). *About U.S. English.* Retrieved from <http://www.us-english.org/inc/about>

ENGLISH OR CONTENT INSTRUCTION

Among earlier generations of immigrants, especially adults, it was not uncommon for English language learners (ELLs) to study and learn English first and subsequently learn other subjects and skills in English. Persons unfamiliar with the status of current language policy in the United States often ask why schools do not employ an intensive English immersion program that takes up the students' entire day until they master the language. In short, why not teach them English first, intensively and without other subjects to distract them, before they are exposed to other portions of the curriculum such as history, science, or math? The answer is in two parts. First, that such a sequence would be in violation of the spirit of the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) decision, which is detailed elsewhere in this encyclopedia. The second is that such a plan would not comport with the education profession's current thinking on how curriculum should be organized and sequenced. This entry briefly explores both of these reasons.

In the *Lau* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court spoke directly, tersely, and unequivocally to this point:

Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education.

The Court also noted that because California requires all graduating students to pass a test in English at the end of their high school years, the schools have a legal responsibility to teach that language effectively. In short, it is not enough to require a certain score on the English test in order to graduate; there is a concomitant requirement that the schools teach that language well. We are not privy to the justices' complete thinking on this subject, but a review of the full decision suggests that they were not willing to impose greater requirements and responsibilities on language minority children that go beyond what is imposed on native speakers of English (see Appendix C for full text of the decision.). Instead, the decision focused on the responsibility of schools, since that was the issue before the court: to what degree schools are responsible to rectify a situation they did not create themselves, a linguistic incompatibility between the school and a segment of its student body. At the appellate court review of the case, Judge Shirley Hufstедler had made this point in clear and explicit terms. She pointed out that children learn whatever language is taught to them by their parents and that neither the teaching nor the learning of the non-English language can be used to negate the responsibilities of the schools relative to the lingua franca. Hufstедler argued that students could not be blamed or punished for having learned the language taught them by their parents.

Judge Hufstедler did not prevail at that level, but her idea and attendant logic found a more hospitable climate in the subsequent appeal to the Supreme Court. The appellate court had sided with the plaintiff, the San Francisco Unified School District, by ruling that the district had not created the linguistic incompatibility and was not, therefore, responsible for correcting it. Hufstедler and the Supreme Court saw things differently: It was not the legal responsibility of families to teach English to their children before they

enter school. Rather, it was the school's responsibility to develop that language at the same time they were teaching other subjects to those children. The Court made it clear that it did not wish to see any delays in the ELLs' engagement with the full curriculum, which may have resulted if children were first required to learn English.

A separate but equally important concept, derived from desegregation case law, may have also entered into the justices' thinking on the question of precedence of English. Assuming that some students in the *Lau* case were totally monolingual in Chinese, if the schools were to concentrate solely on English for a time, it would be necessary to segregate those students because their instructional program would be vastly different from that of their English-speaking classmates. Thus, a condition of instructional segregation would be created, which is not permitted under desegregation case law. Furthermore, this position recognizes the fact that learning is a social process and that students learn much from each other. This is especially true in regard to language. In mixed classrooms in which some students are fluent in English and some are not, it stands to reason that the latter students would find many more opportunities to practice the target language with other students who speak that language better than they do, and if the minority language were also being taught to the native speakers of English, they too would benefit from the presence of competent speakers in that language sitting side by side in the same classrooms. Segregating them for intensive direct instruction in English would deprive them of that opportunity.

Finally, but no less important, putting English into the category of a prerequisite to other school subjects violates contemporary thinking by education professionals regarding the structure of curriculum and the social nature of learning. Most linguists agree that in the context of schools and classrooms, language is more than a mere communicative tool. Languages are subjects that are taught in schools, but they are also the carriers of information and the means by which shared learning or social learning is based, as explained by sociocultural theory, drawing on the work by Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky. Attempting to teach English without its cargo of subject content would entail teaching a hollow body of language that would challenge the best teachers in terms of its content. The most effective way to teach the prevailing school language is to teach

it in the way it is normally used in school, with a full cargo of subject matter content.

Returning once again to the story of the adult immigrants of yesteryear, it should be acknowledged that the period during which those immigrants were denying themselves access to the benefits of mainstream America and not learning English could have been a protracted one. Because they were working and making a living for themselves and their families, it is not surprising to learn that many of them put off learning English not merely for a few months, but for a whole generation. They decided that English would be the language of their children, even though it would not be their own language. The context in which these life stories occurred is also important to consider. Many immigrants who came to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries took jobs in which English was not an important requirement. Fellow immigrants who had been here longer acted as language brokers to help them negotiate those situations in which English was needed. Today, however, jobs in which English is not required are almost nonexistent. Thus, learning English cannot be long deferred. For schoolchildren and youth, the situation is even more urgent and time sensitive: Being able to learn English in a comfortable but effective way is essential in order to keep up with their classmates. In addition, learning English must be embedded in other activities aimed at gaining facility with school subjects and with the social rules of American youth at the same time they are learning the language of greater commerce. Bilingual education is the program of choice that allows comprehensible instruction and the learning of English to take place simultaneously.

Josué M. González

See also Academic English; Affirmative Steps to English; BICS/CALP Theory; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Social Learning; Vygotsky and Language Learning; Appendix C

Further Readings

Lau v. Nichols, 483 F.2d 791 (9th Cir. 1973).

Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

EPSTEIN, NOEL (1938–)

Kalman Noel Epstein was an editor of the *Washington Post* for more than 30 years and, earlier, of the *Wall Street Journal*. He made an important contribution to the debate over bilingual education with his 1977 book, *Language, Ethnicity, and the Schools: Policy Alternatives for Bilingual-Bicultural Education*. Epstein's book highlighted the issues that school board members and some unions found controversial in the Bilingual Education Act, Title VII, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). He was especially critical of government funding of bilingual bicultural maintenance programs in public schools. A maintenance bilingual program was one of the options in the Bilingual Education Act that had been reauthorized in 1974. Other options local districts could choose, and which most did, were transitional bilingual programs in which the native language was used as a bridge to learning English as a second language (ESL) as soon as possible.

Epstein coined the term *affirmative ethnicity*, defined as a policy of government-financed support and promotion of ethnic identities by protecting existing languages and cultural communities in the schools. He questioned the bicultural component of the maintenance bilingual programs, which had as their goals students learning English while maintaining their native languages and affirming their cultures—that is, becoming bilingual and bicultural. Epstein did not object to the right of groups to maintain their languages and cultures, but he posed the question as to whether it was the role of the federal government to finance students' attachments to their ethnic languages and cultures. He noted that historically, this was the role of families, religious groups, ethnic organizations, and private schools. Critics charged that, like other nativists, Epstein ignored the fact that adherents of maintenance bilingual education are supporters of the public schools. As taxpayers, they have the right to advocate for instructional programs of their choice for their children.

Epstein is credited with helping shape the U.S. policy on bilingual education. He wrote in *Language, Ethnicity, and the Schools* that two lobbying groups had expressed concerns about federally sponsored biculturalism. The National Association of School Boards at that time suggested that the legislation, Title VII of the ESEA, could be read as promoting a

divisive, Canadian-style biculturalism. The United Auto Workers union was also concerned that the bicultural components of the Bilingual Education Act might lead to separation rather than integration in the schools. Epstein's 1977 book was the first to provide a broad canvas for discussing the political context for bilingual, bicultural education. He suggested that the policy had become perhaps the largest federally funded policy in the United States of an "ethnic, political wave that was sweeping the globe" (p. 4). He wrote that he had no question that bilingual-bicultural policy was largely the result of the "quest of discriminated-against minority groups, and particularly Hispanic Americans, for more power, prestige, and jobs" (p. 4).

Epstein's 2004 book, *Who's in Charge Here? The Tangled Web of School Governance and Policy*, which he edited, brings together varied perspectives on another debate: the extent of the role of the federal government in schooling. Scholars present arguments and analyses in support of either more centralization or more local decision making as a better direction for school improvement. In his introduction, Epstein noted that there were already two major competing lines of authority; local schools and districts were originally "protected" from politics by being responsible not to the mayor or governor, but to state boards of education. However, large city school systems (Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia) have increasingly been taken over by mayors, to be accountable to their electorate and the federal government in meeting national standards of annual achievement testing under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

Epstein was born in New York City in 1938. After earning a BS in journalism from New York University in 1961, he was a journalist and later assistant national editor of the *Wall Street Journal* until 1970. He moved to the *Washington Post* as assistant national editor from 1970 to 1971, education editor from 1973 to 1976, and managing editor of the Sunday "Opinion" section from 1971 to 1973 and 1977 to 1978. He was also editor and publisher of the *Post's National Weekly Edition* from 1986 to 1996 and has been director of Washington Post Books since 1997. He has been a scholar in residence with the Institute for Educational Leadership and journalist in residence at George Washington University. Epstein is currently a principal in Stakeholder Strategies, a communications firm that is a division of Venn Strategies, working with

lobbyists and issue experts on business and government affairs.

Marietta Saravia-Shore

See also Immigration and Language Policy; Maintenance Policy Denied; Views of Bilingual Education; Views of Language Difference; Appendix D

Further Readings

Epstein, N. (1977). *Language, ethnicity, and the schools: Policy alternatives for bilingual-bicultural education*. Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership.

Epstein, N. (Ed.). (2004). *Who's in charge here? The tangled web of school governance and policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press and Education Commission of the States.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1974

The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (EEOA), like its close relative the Civil Rights Act of 1964, has its roots in the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s. For matters of language, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act is the most pertinent aspect of that law. It provides that “no person in the United States shall on the grounds of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” In the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision of *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), the Court held that Chinese students who were limited in their English proficiency had been denied their rights under Title VI by a refusal to provide them with special programming. Essentially, the Court stated that “there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum,” because students who do not understand English are “effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.”

The findings in *Lau* were based on the Civil Rights Act, but Congress quickly codified *Lau* in new legislation called the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974. The relevant section, 1703(f), provides as follows:

No state shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of this race, color, sex or national origin, by . . . (f) the failure of an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs.

Ironically, many in the civil rights community opposed this legislation because it was part of an effort to stop the use of busing to achieve desegregated schools. The EEOA's companion piece of legislation was titled the “Student Transportation Moratorium Act” and was intended by President Nixon to stop school busing and preserve “neighborhood” schools.

Perhaps the most important feature of the EEOA is that it allows for private right of action, the right by an individual to bring suit against a government entity. The act clearly states that “an individual denied an equal educational opportunity . . . may institute a federal court action.” The ability to file a private right of action has become critical following the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Alexander v. Sandoval*, in 2001, requiring private litigants to establish intentional discrimination while proceeding under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1974. The attorney general of the United States is also empowered to file suits under the EEOA, a power rarely used. Most of the work of ensuring an equal educational opportunity has been generated by parents and advocacy organizations.

Neither Title VI, the *Lau* decision itself, nor the EEOA defines the meaning of “appropriate action to eliminate language barriers.” Several court cases took up this task. In the late 1970s, African American students in Ann Arbor, Michigan, who spoke a vernacular of English referred to as “Black English” or “Ebonics,” attempted to use the EEOA to improve their instruction in *Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board* in 1978. The students succeeded in convincing the federal judge that they suffered from a “language barrier” “that impede[d] equal participation by its students in its instructional programs” (20 U.S.C. Section 1703 (f)). This case was not appealed to an appellate court and, as a consequence, has not become a precedent followed by other courts.

The case most frequently cited with respect to “appropriate action” is the *Castañeda* case. In *Castañeda v. Pickard*, decided in 1981, the court set

out a three-pronged test to determine whether the rights of students with limited English proficiency (LEP) were being violated:

1. Determine whether the school district “is pursuing a program informed by an educational theory recognized as sound by some experts in the field or, at least, deemed a legitimate experimental strategy.”
2. Determine whether steps are taken “to implement effectively the educational theory adopted by the school.”
3. After a “legitimate trial” period, the program is to be examined for indications “that the language barriers confronting students are actually being overcome.” In other words, the program must be evaluated and, if found to be failing, modified by either changing the program itself (Prong 1) or taking further steps to implement the adopted theory of instruction (Prong 2).

The *Castañeda* case had other critical components: First, that English language learners (ELLs), often termed *LEP students* in legal documents, must be provided not only the opportunity to learn English but also the opportunity to have access to the school district’s entire educational program. Thus, in evaluating a school district’s program, each of the three *Castañeda* prongs must be met. They must be met with respect to teaching English and with respect to teaching the entire curriculum.

Second, the court left open to the district the “sequence and manner in which LEP students tackle this dual challenge so long as the schools design programs which are reasonably calculated to enable these students to attain parity of participation within a reasonable length of time after they enter the school system.” Although it was decided under 20 U.S.C. Section 1703(f), the *Castañeda* standard has been adopted by the federal government pursuant to Title VI as its rule for enforcement.

A challenge to the appropriateness of the Denver Public Schools program for LEP students utilized the *Castañeda* standard. In *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver*, decided in 1983, the court held that “transitional bilingual programs” designed to teach English and to provide understandable instruction in content areas while students are learning English was a sound educational theory. However, the Denver

schools had failed to implement the theory by, among other things, failing to hire and train qualified teachers. The court declined to rule on the third prong of *Castañeda*.

Although the court in *Keyes* found that the evidence before it did not compel bilingual or primary-language instruction as the exclusive means to provide access to LEP students, it is possible that in the right circumstances, such a remedy might be required. First, as *Keyes* states, if a district chooses to implement such a program, it must do so in an appropriate manner. In fact, the settlement negotiated in *Keyes* was an extensive model of bilingual education. Second, it is still possible that other courts, based on a full record, could require a bilingual program for certain students. For example, a court could find that a student possessing no English language skills might require such a program or a student without English language skills who is also a student with disabilities might require some primary-language instruction. Without such a language barrier, it is unlikely that a court would allow such a remedy.

Following *Castañeda*, a series of federal court cases have held that federal law imposes requirements on state educational agencies (SEAs) to enforce the EEOA. Among the most important of these cases are *Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education* (decided in 1981) and *Gómez v. Illinois State Board of Education* (decided in 1987). At a minimum, the state’s obligation is to set forth minimum standards for school districts in areas such as identification of LEP students, programming, and teacher qualifications and to monitor and enforce the state standards. The state must also provide resources when the district is unable to provide an appropriate program. The latter requirement is at the heart of *Flores v. Arizona*.

In 1992, *Flores v. Arizona* was filed in federal court, alleging the state’s failure to appropriately teach English and to enable LEP students to acquire content skills. Eight years later, the court ruled that the state had failed to adequately fund the program. The court stated that the EEOA was being violated since the “arbitrary and capricious” LEP appropriation was ineffective in ensuring that the educational theory selected by the state could be implemented. Failure of the Arizona legislature to appropriate sufficient funds led to the court holding the state in contempt. In July 2006, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit reversed an order of the District Court holding the

state in civil contempt for its alleged inactions. It remains to be seen whether the aspirations of the EEOA drafters will prevail in Arizona. However, while enforcement has proven difficult in *Flores*, the requirements of state responsibility still stand.

In sum, given the recent limitations placed on private right of action under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the EEOA has become the primary legal tool to ensure that LEP students receive an equal educational opportunity.

Stefan M. Rosenzweig

Author's Note: The author wishes to thank Peter D. Roos, Esq., for his editorial assistance.

See also Affirmative Steps to English; *Castañeda* Three-Part Test; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Federal Court Decisions and Legislation; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling

Further Readings

- Alexander v. Sandoval, 534 U.S. 275 (2001).
 Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th. Cir.1981).
 Crawford, J. (1999). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
 Equal Educational Opportunity Act, 20 U.S. C. 1701–1720 (1974).
 Flores v. Arizona, 48 F. Supp.2d 937 (D. Ariz. 1992).
 Gómez v. Illinois State Board of Education, 811 F.2d 1030 (7th Cir.1987).
 Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education, 647 F.2d 69 (9th Cir.1981).
 Keyes v. School District No.1, Denver, Colorado, 576 F. Supp. 503 (D. Colorado, 1983).
 Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
 Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor District, 431 F. Supp. 1324 (E.D. Mich. 1978).
 Office for Civil Rights. (1990, April 6). *Memorandum. Policy regarding the treatment of national origin minority students who are limited English proficient*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1991.html>

Web Sites

- Office for Civil Rights:
<http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr>

EQUITY STRUGGLES AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The struggle for improved educational opportunities for language minority children has gone through several changes in emphases and direction since the late 1960s. Language compatibility and cultural respect have been important components but by no means the only ones in the struggle for equity in education. Proponents and advocates of quality schooling for Latino students have always known that a better education would not come about merely by including the Spanish language in the curriculum, no matter how ably this inclusion was planned and executed. This entry sketches some of the changes that have occurred over a period of 40 years in this ongoing quest for quality instruction and equity in American public education.

Struggle for Quality Instruction in Recent Decades

Since the creation of Anglo-oriented public schools and the enactment of laws requiring children to attend them, activists have supported a variety of reforms to make these institutions more responsive to language minority students. One of the most important reforms they have supported has dealt with quality instruction in general and with gaining access to a differentiated curriculum geared toward meeting the diverse academic, linguistic, and cultural needs of those students in particular.

The struggle for quality instruction intensified after the 1960s. Unlike earlier decades, when the majority of educators, scholars, and policymakers were Anglos, in this period, an increasing number of them were Latino. Alongside the community activists and the practitioners in the schools, these scholars and researchers conducted research and provided the knowledge necessary for improving the schools serving Latino children. The work of these activist scholars was generally quiet and behind the scenes but no less effective for it.

In the 1960s, Latino activists involved in the education of Latino children (e.g., José Cárdenas, Frank Angel, Armando M. Rodríguez) and many others struggled for and either promoted, supported, or helped

establish a variety of curricular innovations aimed at improving the low academic achievement of English language learners (ELLs) in the public schools. Among the most popular were early childhood, migrant, bilingual, and adult education programs, but by the following decade, most of them began to concentrate on bilingual education. Bilingual education, as Guadalupe San Miguel has written in *Contested Policy: The Rise and Fall of Federal Bilingual Education Policy in the United States*, is viewed as the best means for bringing about significant changes in the way the schools educated these children and developed their various linguistic, cultural, and academic interests. The emphasis of this curricular innovation was to improve academic achievement by ensuring equal access to the mainstream or standard curriculum by children with limited English proficiency, commonly referred to as “limited English proficient” (LEP) students. They are now known as “English language learners” (ELLs). Bilingual education has affected mostly children enrolled in the elementary schools.

In the mid-1980s, a new crop of Latino scholars, researchers, and practitioners emerged and played important roles in promoting school changes throughout the country. Individuals such as Carlos E. Cortés, Josué M. González, Alfredo Castañeda, Beatrice Arias, and many others worked in alliance with both older activists and a variety of minority and majority group members to improve educational opportunities for Latinos. These activist scholars expanded the discourse on Latino education and went beyond both language and bilingual education to other concerns and reforms.

For more than a decade following the passage of the federal bilingual education act of 1968, scholars had focused on language issues in the education of Latino students and on the establishment and strengthening of bilingual education throughout the country. In the 1980s, they began to systematically explore factors other than language that impacted the education of these children and to consider a variety of other curricular and institutional reforms that would benefit their learning in the schools. The publication of *Beyond Language: Social and Cultural Factors in the Schooling of Language Minority Children*, by the Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center at the California State University at Los Angeles in 1986, was indicative of this trend. In this publication,

scholars and activists argued that Latino underachievement was due to a host of social and cultural factors in addition to language. Among some of the most important social and cultural factors identified as impacting the education of Latinos were teacher attitudes toward minority groups, cultural values, parental involvement, group attitudes toward education, historical experiences, language use patterns, and self-identity. Educational programs, in order to positively impact the academic achievement of these students, the authors asserted, had to address these concerns in a systematic fashion. Effective school reform, in other words, needed to go beyond language and beyond bilingual education.

Educators and scholars not only expanded the discourse on underachievement, they also shifted the emphasis of their concerns away from ELLs in the elementary grades to secondary-school-aged students who were relatively proficient in English but still underachieving. Most of these students, as noted in the National Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics report *Make Something Happen: Hispanics and Urban High School Reform* (published in 1984), attended segregated and overcrowded inner-city schools, had poor school achievement levels, were disproportionately tracked into vocational and general education programs, dropped out of school in large numbers, and had low college enrollment. They attended large, impersonal urban schools, and their needs were different from those of ELLs in the elementary grades. These students then required different types of curricular and instructional programs and more personal attention and support from adults and from school officials.

The shift and expansion of attention to underachievement in secondary schools and broader-based inequities was slow. It occurred in the context of an acrimonious debate over bilingual education and a new national concern with the quality of public education. Beginning in 1983 with a national report that noted that the nation was “at risk” because of declining academic competitiveness, this movement soon overwhelmed the equity struggles of the Latino community. The 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*, sponsored by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, urged immediate improvement in the nation’s schools and led to the emphasis on excellence or quality education, including improved standards, a more rigorous curriculum, and accountability.

Although this report called for excellence or quality education, many Latino activists and their allies raised questions about its relationship to equity concerns and sought to blend both of these movements. Peter Roos, a strong advocate of quality instruction for Latinos, for instance, analyzed the tensions between traditional views of equality and the proposed concepts of quality in an article called “Equity and Excellence,” which he wrote for the National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics in 1984. In this article, Roos called not only for quality education, but for equity as well.

Working within this context of a national call to action, Latino and non-Latino activists pressured or compelled federal and state officials to form special committees or enact legislation to investigate and address the issue of improving the quality of education for Latino youth. Emphasis in most cases, as noted in *Make Something Happen*, was on emphasizing the devastating impact that high drop-out rates and low school achievement levels of Latino high school students were having on minority communities and on American society. Scholars and researchers also conducted investigations and research on the status and drop-out rates of Latino students in the schools, proposed recommendations to address these concerns, and encouraged local and state leaders to promote significant reforms, including curricular changes, to ensure academic success.

The nature of the struggle during the latter decades of the 20th century thus changed, without great fanfare, from one demanding access to a differentiated curriculum to one aimed at getting access to a rigorous curriculum. At the elementary level, activists and scholars interpreted this shift to mean getting access to a rigorous curriculum through quality bilingual education. At the secondary level, they focused on getting access to both a college preparatory and an accelerated curriculum made up of magnet, gifted and talented programs, and Advanced Placement classes.

Struggle for Quality Education Through Bilingual Education

Despite the multifaceted nature of these curricular struggles, the dominant theme continued to be high-quality bilingual education. This specific curricular innovation, as noted earlier, was supported for various reasons. Foremost, it continued to be viewed as the

most important means for bringing about significant change in the education of linguistically and culturally distinct children, and it united all educators around a central theme in the education of Latinos: language and culture. In addition, it addressed the linguistic, cultural, and academic concerns of these children. For these and other reasons, the quest for access to a rigorous curriculum through quality bilingual education continued unabated, although the results in terms of policy change were minimal.

This struggle, although difficult and contentious, was waged on multiple fronts—in Congress, the courts, the executive branch, the streets, the schools, and the universities—and involved both Latino and non-Latino individuals and organizations working together or in coalitions. It encountered many obstacles, especially national desegregation mandates, a diversity of approaches, a declining activist federal bureaucracy, and political opposition to it by educators, Anglo parents, and conservative organizations.

The struggle for bilingual education, as noted earlier, originated in the 1960s. In the early part of the decade, Latino activists and their allies took advantage of the new social and political climate in the society to reject subtractive and ineffective schooling and to articulate oppositional ideologies, structures, and policies aimed at supporting Latino student success through significant educational reform. Most of these educators and activists focused on language as the linchpin of significant school reform. Bilingualism and bilingual education came to be viewed by many educators and activists as a viable tool for promoting comprehensive curricular, administrative, and political reforms aimed at improving Latino academic success and minority empowerment. Among the changes sought by those in support of bilingual education were the repeal of English-only laws, the use of Spanish in interactions between community groups and their schools, the hiring of minority language administrators and teachers, and the election of Latinos to local boards of education. All of these changes were needed, it was felt, to address the total linguistic, cultural, political, and academic needs of these students. These hopes served as the inspiration for the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. Once enacted, this bill became Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1968.

Title VII, as the Bilingual Education Act came to be known, did not promote comprehensive reforms to improve the education of Latino children as many

activists involved in its passage had hoped for. This bill was, in reality, a minor albeit important piece of federal legislation. It was programmatically small and both categorical in nature and compensatory in intent. Also, the policy's purpose and the program's goals were vague or undefined. During the next several decades, however, as San Miguel has noted in *Contested Policy*, Latino activists and their allies helped transform this minor voluntary piece of legislation aimed at low-income, "limited English speaking" students into a major programmatic effort reinforced by state legislation in some 15 states. Despite pervasive passive resistance or nonsupport for bilingual education, the proponents made several important changes to this policy by the late 1970s. With the support of the federal government, they transformed the voluntary character of federal bilingual education policy, established a federal preference for using native-language instructional approaches, delineated and expanded the goals of this policy, increased the bill's funding, and expanded its scope to include capacity-building activities. A decade after the enactment of Title VII, ESEA, bilingual education was mandatory throughout the country and was supported by a variety of state and local measures and funding streams.

Obstacles to Bilingual Education

Although successful in transforming bilingual education from a vague concept to implemented reality, proponents of this curricular policy experienced challenges beyond political opposition or program misunderstanding. One of the most important challenges during the 1970s was another federal mandate: desegregation policy. This policy, embodied in judicial mandates, federal legislation, and executive actions issued between 1954 and the 1970s, required the dispersal of minority students, including Latinos. Bilingual education, on the other hand, often required the concentration of ELLs in order to bring together a critical mass of teaching resources. Different Supreme Court decisions and policy statements supported both of these potentially clashing positions. The judicial basis for desegregation was the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1954, which prohibited racial segregation in education. The judicial support for bilingual education was the *Lau v. Nichols* decision of 1974, which ruled that local school districts had to take affirmative steps to overcome the language "deficiency" experienced by language minority students. Latino

activists, however, did not perceive the requirement to provide special language programs to ELLs as clashing with the requirement to desegregate the public schools. They believed that bilingual education could be effectively incorporated into desegregated settings. However, a federal court in the Denver desegregation case in 1973, *Keyes v. Denver School District No.1, Denver*, shattered this illusion. It found that bilingual education was not a substitute for desegregation and had to be subordinate to a plan of school desegregation. Gradually, unimpressive results led to diminished support for desegregation among Latinos, and support for bilingual education flagged in the face of organized opposition to the concept. Fragile coalitions that had fought together for both programs weakened once there was no longer a common programmatic goal.

Although bilingual education suffered setbacks during this period, those setbacks were not always obvious to the casual observer. The prevalence and growth of bilingual education, in addition to other social, economic, and political factors, created fears and anxieties among Americans of all colors, classes, and genders and sparked a vigorous opposition. In the latter part of the 1970s, this opposition was highly disorganized and limited primarily to journalists and researchers. In the 1980s and 1990s, Republicans in the executive and legislative branches of the federal government and special interest groups, especially English-only organizations, conservative authors, and parent groups, began an open battle against bilingual education.

Two early critics of bilingual education were Keith Baker and Adriana A. de Kanter, who, in 1981, wrote *Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature*. Other notable publications were Tom Bethel's 1979 article "Why Johnny Can't Speak English"; John R. Edwards's "Critics and Criticism of Bilingual Education"; the address in 1985 by William J. Bennett, U.S. Secretary of Education, to the Association for a Better New York; and Rosalie Pedalino Porter's book *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education*. In "Conservative Groups Take Aim at Federal Bilingual Programs," James Crawford gives an overview of three organizations opposed to bilingual education: Save Our Schools (SOS), the Council for Inter-American Security, and U.S. English. More general studies attacking bilingualism and diversity in American life include Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Disuniting of America* and William J. Bennett's

The Devaluing of America: The Fight for Our Culture and Our Children.

The opponents pursued two major strategies, one aimed at attacking the empirical basis of bilingual education and the other at repealing or modifying federal bilingual education policy. Both of these were highly contested by the proponents.

The first major strategy raised questions about the goals, effectiveness, and consequences of federal bilingual education. Opponents within and outside the federal government argued, among other things, that bilingual education was ineffective in teaching English and that English-only methods were available to accomplish this goal. They also argued that bilingual education failed to assimilate immigrant children as fast as it could, promoted Hispanic separatism and cultural apartheid, created an affirmative action program for Latinos, contributed to social divisions based on language, and led to the federal imposition of curricula at the local level by mandating one single approach to educating ELLs.

Proponents of bilingual education vigorously countered all these charges. A few of them, as in Ann Willig's report "A Meta-Analysis of Selected Studies on the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education," published in the *Review of Educational Research* in 1995, criticized the methodological flaws and conclusions of studies indicating that bilingual education programs were not effectively teaching ELLs. Some proponents argued that no significant research showing the success of English-only methods existed and concluded that findings showing the success of well-designed bilingual programs were distorted or suppressed. Many of these arguments were reflected in the U.S. General Accounting Office's report of 1987, titled *Bilingual Education: A New Look at the Research Evidence*. Still others noted that the attack against this policy was ideologically inspired or that the arguments against bilingual education were, as Stephen D. Krashen noted in 1999, in *Condemned Without a Trial*, "bogus."

In addition to attacking various aspects of bilingual education policy, opponents also sought changes in federal bilingual education funding and in the federal compliance enforcement in order to water down the programs funded with those resources. Opposition within the federal government came primarily from elected officials in the executive and legislative branches of government. The former will be referred to as *executive opponents*, the latter as *congressional opponents*.

Executive opponents, led by the president of the United States, sought to weaken federal support for bilingual education. President Ronald Reagan initiated the campaign against bilingual education in 1980. In his first term, he tried to halt the growth of bilingual education by seeking rescissions and decreased funding. During his second term, he developed a new initiative to undermine bilingual education. Reagan appointed William J. Bennett, an outspoken opponent of bilingual education, to head the Department of Education and to lead the campaign against it. Once in office, Bennett developed and implemented a coherent plan to redirect the program toward more English instruction. First, he eliminated the mandatory provisions of bilingual education by dismantling its civil rights component. Second, he downgraded the primary instrument for enforcing the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) Supreme Court decision, the Office for Civil Rights, by reducing its enforcement budget and staff. Finally, he weakened the administration of bilingual education and tried to undo existing *Lau* agreements.

Proponents of bilingual education, especially Latino groups, opposed these changes and criticized Bennett for his shortsightedness and the negative implications his strategy could have for language minority children. Their opposition, however, had no significant impact on Bennett's efforts to undermine bilingual education.

Congressional opponents also took a variety of actions against bilingual education. Between 1980 and 2001, they introduced numerous pieces of legislation aimed at repealing the federal bilingual education law. In 1993, for instance, two bills were introduced to repeal the Bilingual Education Act, but no action, as the *Congressional Quarterly Researcher* noted in that same year, was taken on them. One of the most publicized bills aimed at eliminating the federal bilingual education bill was submitted by House Majority Whip Tom Delay (R-Tex.) in April 1998. Known as the "English for Children Act," this bill would have effectively ended federal funding for about 750 bilingual programs nationwide. This bill's provisions, as well as opposition to it by the League of United Latin American Citizens and both Gene Green and Sheila Jackson, U.S. Congressional Representatives from the Houston area, were summarized in an article written by Greg McDonald for the *Houston Chronicle* in April 1998. In many cases, opponents of bilingual education also introduced English-only bills in an effort to eliminate bilingual education policies. None of them, as San Miguel noted in *Contested Policy*, became law.

Unable to repeal bilingual education, congressional opponents sought changes in federal policy. Two key changes were made over the years and were reflected in the reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act of 1994. One of these placed limits on the number of years ELLs could participate in bilingual programs, on the number of English-speaking children eligible to participate, and on the amount of non-English languages one could use in bilingual education. The other major change focused on redefining bilingual education policy to allow for the inclusion of non-English-language approaches.

In the first half of the 1990s, the election of President Clinton, a supporter of bilingual education, to the White House temporarily halted the opposition's efforts. His election led to the strengthening of bilingual education legislation in 1994. During the second half of the decade, following the assumption of control by Republicans of both chambers of Congress, the election of Republican George W. Bush to the White House in 2000, and the successful dismantling of bilingual education in California and Arizona, opponents in Congress renewed their attempts to change bilingual education policy. In 2001, a new bill was enacted that included most of the provisions that had been promoted by bilingual education opponents. This legislation, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, amended and reauthorized the ESEA for the next 6 years. Among its many changes, this law reauthorized the Bilingual Education Act of 1994. It became Title III of the overall bill. This title, a major overhaul of federal programs for the education of ELLs and recent immigrant students, provided more funds for their education, but it also officially repealed bilingual education and replaced it with English-only legislation. The term *bilingual education* was removed from all programs of the Department of Education, including the office that once managed Title VII. Taken together, these actions signaled an escalating lack of support for bilingual education at the federal level. Although proponents lost this particular battle, the war over bilingualism in American life was far from over. Before long, the primary arena for the continuing struggle shifted to the states, notably, those states that allow voter initiatives and referenda.

Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr.

See also Bennett, William J.; English for the Children Campaign; Improving America's Schools Act of 1994; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III; Paradox of Bilingualism; Porter, Rosalie Pedalino; Program

Effectiveness Research; Roos, Peter D.; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Baker, K., & de Kanter, A. (1981). *Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation.
- Bennett, W. (1992). *The devaluing of America: The fight for our culture and our children*. New York: Touchstone.
- Bennett, W. J. (1992). Bilingual education act: A failed path. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy* (pp. 358–363). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bethel, T. (February, 1979). Why Johnny can't speak English. *Harper's Magazine*, pp. 30–33.
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Crawford, J. (1986, March). Conservative groups take aim at federal bilingual programs. *Education Week*, 19, 1.
- Crawford, J. (1989). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice*. Trenton, NJ: Crane.
- Crawford, J. (2000). *At war with diversity: U.S. language policy in an age of anxiety*. Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Edwards, J. R. (1980). Critics and criticism of bilingual education. *Modern Language Journal*, 64, 409–415.
- Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center. (1986). *Beyond language: Social and cultural factors in the schooling of language minority children*. Los Angeles: California State University, Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center.
- González, J. M. (1979). *Towards quality in bilingual education: Bilingual education in the integrated school*. Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).
- Krashen, S. (1996). *Under attack: The case against bilingual education*. Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Krashen, S. (1999). *Condemned without a trial: Bogus arguments against bilingual education*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- McDonald, G. (1998, April 22). Delay bill would end federal support of bilingual education. *Houston Chronicle*. Retrieved from <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/linguistics/people/grads/macswan/HC2.htm>
- National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform*. Washington, DC: Author.

- No Child Left Behind Act. Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002).
- Porter, R. P. (1990). *Forked tongue: The politics of bilingual education*. New York: Basic Books.
- Roos, P. D. (1984). Equity and excellence. In National Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics (Ed.), *Make something happen: Hispanics and urban high school reform* (Vol. 2, pp. 75–78). Washington, DC: Hispanic Policy Development Project.
- San Miguel, G., Jr. (2004). *Contested policy: The rise and fall of federal bilingual education in the United States, 1960–2001*. Denton: University of North Texas Press.
- Schlesinger, A. M. (1992). *The disuniting of America*. New York: Norton.
- U.S. General Accounting Office. (1987). *Bilingual education: A new look at the research evidence*. Washington DC: Author.
- Willig, A. (1995). A meta-analysis of selected studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education. *Review of Educational Research*, 55, 269–317.
- Worsnop, R. L. (1993, August 13). Bilingual education. *CQ Researcher*, 3, 697–720. Retrieved from <http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/cqresrre1993081300>

ERROR ANALYSIS

Error analysis comprises a variety of linguistic analyses of the errors language learners make in producing or comprehending a new language. The two questions that guide this analysis are as follows: (1) What types of errors do they make? and (2) what are the sources of these errors? During the heyday of error analysis, it was thought that such analysis could give language teachers an idea about where learners are in the language learning process so that they could help students by focusing on areas that seemed most troublesome. Today, there is less enthusiasm concerning the benefits of error analysis, although it has particular uses as a diagnostic tool for teachers.

Error analysis is a learner-centric approach. S. Pit Corder claimed that through this approach, the developmental process of language learning could be better understood, and teachers would be able to build a syllabus meet language learners' needs. The assumption here is that each learner's mind has a built-in syllabus for language learning. To find this learner-generated sequence and adapt instruction to it is more efficient than to follow an instructor-generated sequence and impose it upon the learners, which was the method that dictated language teaching in the past. The instructor-generated

syllabus is associated with the behaviorist approach to language learning and uses a contrastive analysis method that predicts difficulties the learner would have, by comparing the linguistic structures of the target language and the native language. Using error analysis, it was expected that teachers would build a syllabus on these assumptions, without actually observing and analyzing the language being produced. Error analysis was the first important attempt to study the learner's language in itself, and thus some researchers believe it to be the beginning of the field of second-language acquisition research.

Historical Overview

The potential benefits of looking at learners' errors had not been recognized until the 1960s. In the behaviorist approach, which had been a prevailing learning theory since the 1930s, it was believed that children learned their first language by imitating and forming a habit of connecting stimulus and response. Within this framework, learning a second language was viewed as developing a new set of language habits and transferring the language habits from the first language. Contrastive analysis, therefore, was a way to predict a learner's difficulty or ease of establishing a new language habit. More similarities between the two languages meant an easier transition in learning the target language, because learners could transfer a beneficial habit from their first language to the target language. Errors were considered bad habits that needed to be prevented and could be predicted, reduced, and eventually eliminated.

In the 1960s, the behaviorist theory of language learning was challenged by the growing recognition that children acquire their first language not by imitating or being reinforced, but by playing active roles in creating their linguistic rules. Children's incorrect forms in their mother tongue during their first-language acquisition is demonstrated evidence that children set hypotheses and test them, and construct linguistic rules. This new perspective in child language acquisition had an impact on the field of second-language learning. A second-language-learner's errors began to be viewed in the same way, regarded as a window through which teachers and researchers could see what strategies a learner employs while learning a language. In this view, errors were no longer regarded as bad habits, but as the logical steps in constructing and testing rules for the new language.

Error Analysis Research

Not all errors are a focus of error analysis. In his chapter “The Significance of Learners’ Errors” in the edited book *Error Analysis* (1974), Corder distinguished “errors” from “mistakes.” *Mistakes* are any nonsystematic errors that language speakers make because of fatigue, slip of the tongue, or emotion. Speakers know when they have made mistakes and, if asked, can correct them easily, because they know the rules. These are also called *errors of performance*. Errors in error analysis are *errors of competence*, which are systematic and occur repeatedly. These errors show the learners’ *transitional competence*, which is in the process of moving toward the competence of native speakers. They are not errors to the language learners who make them, only to the native speakers who hear them. Therefore, learners cannot correct the errors by themselves, because according to their linguistic systems, they are using the correct rules. These systematic errors of competence are the focus of error analysis. The utterances of language learners should be observed regularly by the teacher in order to differentiate errors from mistakes.

Conducting error analysis involves a few steps. First, samples of a learner’s language in oral or written forms are collected. Then, errors in the sample data are carefully identified for errors that are not only overt but also covert. In this step, teachers need to be aware that even well-formed sentences may contain errors. The meaning of the sentence can be different from what the learner intended, or the learner may not know the rules but accidentally made a well-formed utterance. In some cases, the learner’s utterance does not seem to have any errors in its sentence structure but may not be what a native speaker of the language would say in that context. One example given by Corder is “After an hour it was stopped.” This sentence does not appear to contain any errors, but if the learner used “it” to refer to “the wind,” then this sentence becomes erroneous. How can one figure out the intended meaning of the learner’s utterance? The best way is to ask the learner, if necessary, in their mother tongue. This way, the researcher or teacher can make an authoritative reconstruction of the sentence in the target language by asking what a native speaker of the target language would have said to express this meaning in that context. When making an authoritative reconstruction is not possible, the intended meaning needs to be inferred by the structure of the sentence and the context of how it was written or spoken; this is called *plausible reconstruction*.

This process denotes an important difference between contrastive analysis and error analysis. While in contrastive analysis, the learner’s native language and the target language are compared; in error analysis, the learner’s utterance, which is also known as *interlanguage*, is compared to the target language.

The next step is to linguistically describe the nature of the error by comparing the meaning of the sentence and the structure of the sentence, for instance, comparing errors of a grammatical category such as a missing article versus errors made on a morphology level or syntactic level. Then, linguistic and psycholinguistic explanations of the error need to be made by answering how and why the learner made such an error. The different types of errors in error analysis vary among researchers in error analysis. Jack C. Richards suggests there are three kinds of errors: *interlanguage*, *intralingual*, and *developmental*. Interlanguage, or “language transfer,” errors occur when the learner tries to apply rules from his or her mother tongue to those of the second language. Therefore, the learner’s first-language background plays a part in this type of error. Contrary to the interlanguage errors, language learners show a similar pattern in making an intralingual error and a developmental error regardless of their language backgrounds. This type of error is thought to originate from the language structure itself and is found not only in the production of the second-language learner but also in the language of children who are acquiring the language as their first language. One example of intralingual errors is missing a modal auxiliary (the verb *to be*), as in the following sentence: *What you reading?* Two other researchers, Heidi C. Dulay and Marina K. Burt, categorize errors differently. Their two categories, “interference-like goofs” and “first-language developmental goofs” are similar to Richards’s interlanguage and intralingual errors, respectively. The other two types are “ambiguous goofs,” which can be either interference-like goofs or first-language developmental goofs, and “unique goofs,” which are not found in the children’s language acquisition of the target language. Because some categories of errors are unclear, generally, researchers classify errors as interlingual errors and intralingual errors.

During the 1970s, many studies were conducted in error analysis. As mentioned above, some research was done to find out the different sources of these errors. Studies on what type of error occurred more frequently were conducted, and it was concluded that intralingual errors occur more often than interlingual

errors. Error analysis also brought about new ideas in teaching languages. Whereas in the behaviorist view of learning, the teachers' role was to prevent the learners from making errors and the main classroom activities were drills of the correct rules or forms, within this new perspective, correcting the errors immediately was not desirable because it could deprive the learner of the opportunity to reformulate their hypothesis about rules of the target language. It is recommended, as for an adult during child-adult conversations while a child is acquiring his or her first language, that teachers repeat what the learner said in the correct form or ask the learner in the correct form, rather than point out the incorrect form and provide the correct one immediately.

Limitations of Error Analysis

Over time, the limitations and problems of error analysis have become clear. One of the problems is the difficulty in identifying errors. As Rod Ellis mentions, dialects exist in every language. Depending on what dialect of the second language is used to compare with the learner's language production, his or her utterance can contain errors or can be errorless. How much corpus or sample of the learner's utterance is needed to decide whether the error is a real error, a mistake, or a feature of a different dialect? Another issue is whether teachers or researchers can rely on the learner's retrospective explanation of their intended meaning. Learners may lack the necessary metalinguistic knowledge to talk about their oral or written utterance. Ellis points out that there is a problem with reconstruction, as well. To conduct an error analysis, reconstruction of learners' oral or written sentences is necessary. However, in some cases, the learner's sentences can be reconstructed in different ways without losing the learner's intended meaning. Ellis gives an example of "I am worried in my mind." This utterance can be reconstructed as "I am feeling worried" or "I have a problem on my mind" as well. The description of errors will be different depending on which of these two reconstructed sentences is chosen as a correct form. It can be an error of using a wrong verb or a wrong preposition. Another limitation is the difficulty in pinpointing the source of the error. Dulay and Burt call this type of error "ambiguous goofs." For example, if a Spanish speaker produces a sentence like *Susan not can read*, this error can be referred to as interlingual, because in Spanish, the negation word comes before the verb. Yet

it can be categorized as intralingual, because English-speaking children learning their first language also go through this developmental stage.

An important study that points out a critical problem in error analysis was conducted by Jacquelyn Schachter. She looked at the relative-clause production of students from four different language groups: Persian, Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese. In her study, she observed that the total number of relative clauses Persian and Arab students produced was much greater than that of Chinese and Japanese students. The percentage of errors was also higher in Persian and Arab learners than in the other two groups, although relative-clause formation of Persian and Arabic languages is similar to English compared with that of Chinese and Japanese. If one focuses only on the number or percentage of the errors in producing relative clauses, it could be concluded that Persian and Arab learners have more difficulty producing relative clauses than do Chinese and Japanese learners. However, Schachter's conclusion was that due to the difficulty, Chinese and Japanese learners avoided using relative clauses or used them very carefully, and this led to fewer errors.

Owing to the limitations and methodological issues inherent in error analysis, interest in this method has diminished. It is thought that like contrastive analysis, error analysis gives only a partial view of language learning, and it is too complicated for the average teacher, untrained in linguistics, to use.

Hye Jong Kim

See also Contrastive Analysis; Interlanguage

Further Readings

- Corder, S. P. (1974). Error analysis. In J. P. B. Allen & S. Pit Corder (Eds.), *Techniques in applied linguistics* (pp. 122–154). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Corder, S. P. (1974). Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition* (pp. 158–171). London: Longman.
- Corder, S. P. (1974). The significance of learners' errors. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition* (pp. 19–27). London: Longman.
- Dulay, H. C., & Burt, M. K. (1974). You can't learn without goofing: An analysis of children's second language 'errors.' In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition* (pp. 95–123). London: Longman.

- Ellis, R. (1985). *Understanding second language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Gass, S. M., & Selinker, L. (2001). *Second language acquisition: An introductory course*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Richards, J. C. (Ed.). (1974). *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition*. London: Longman.
- Schachter, J. (1974). An error in error analysis. *Language Learning*, 24, 205–214.

ESCAMILLA, KATHY (1949–)

Kathy Escamilla was born on April 16, 1949, in Greeley, Colorado. She earned a PhD in 1987 from UCLA in curriculum and study of schooling, with an emphasis in bilingual education, after having completed an MS in education, with an emphasis in bilingual-bicultural education at the University of Kansas (1975) and a BA in Spanish and education at the University of Colorado, Boulder (1971). Escamilla began her career as a bilingual elementary and early childhood teacher in Colorado and California. She subsequently lectured in the division of teacher education at California State University, Fullerton (1978–1982), and served as director of Bilingual Programs for the Tucson Unified School District (1983–1988). She also served as an assistant professor and research associate at the University of Arizona (1988–1990), the BUENO Center for Multicultural Education (1990–1992), and the University of Colorado, Denver (1992–1998). She is currently a professor in the School of Education at the University of Colorado, Boulder, where she has been a faculty member since 1998.

Escamilla engages in research that supports effective models of intervention for English language learners. For more than 35 years, she has explored questions related to the development of bilingualism and biliteracy for Spanish-English bilingual children in the United States. Her work challenges the assumption that language, literacy, and evaluation theories developed in monolingual contexts are appropriately applied to multilingual children. Further, her research reinforces her belief that all languages are cognitive, linguistic, and societal resources.

Escamilla's primary research interests include the following foci: language and literacy acquisition theory for bilingual children, methods of bilingual/multicultural

education, sociolinguistic and sociocultural practices in classrooms and schools, and the impact of assessment on multilingual communities. She has published and lectured extensively on each of these topics. Much of her research questions the teaching of Spanish using English methodologies. Her book chapters in *The Power of Two Languages* and *The Handbook for Literacy Assessment for Bilingual Learners*, as well as articles in *Equity and Excellence in Education* and the *Bilingual Research Journal*, examine literacy instruction and assessment in bilingual programs.

Working with colleagues, Escamilla reconceptualized the English reading program Reading Recovery into Spanish. Her research in this field culminated with the publication in 1996 of *Instrumento de Observación de los Logros de la Lecto-Escritura Inicial* (Observation Instrument for Initial Reading/Writing Achievement). This program is a research-based Spanish language reading intervention designed to accelerate literacy for Spanish-speaking first-grade students. Aspects of this research were reported in peer-reviewed journal articles and two book chapters. The articles appeared in *Education and Urban Society* (1992); *NABE Conference Proceedings* (1992); and *Literacy, Teaching, and Learning* (1994, 1998). The book chapters appeared in *Research on Reading Recovery* (1997) and *Early Intervention and Early Literacy* (1998).

As coinvestigator on a 3-year project to examine assessment practices and the impact of high-stakes testing on English language learners, Escamilla examined the results of English language learners' achievement in reading, writing, and math, as measured by the Colorado Student Assessment Program (CSAP). Results indicated that students were doing well on the Spanish CSAP and that Spanish CSAP results correlated well with students' CSAP testing in English. The results of this study are reported in four monographs, from 2000, 2001, 2002, and 2003, and one article that appeared in the *Bilingual Research Journal* in 2003.

Escamilla is a member of numerous professional organizations in education and has served two terms as the president of the National Association for Bilingual Education (1993–1994, 1995–1996). She has served as a member and chair of various committees for the National Association for Bilingual Education and the American Education Research Association. She has functioned as a member of the board of editors for the *Bilingual Research Journal* and the *Literacy, Teaching,*

and *Learning Journal*. She is currently a member of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Spencer Review Panel for Pre-Dissertation Fellows, the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE) Committee on Research, and the Associated Directors of Bilingual Education (ADOBE). Escamilla participates on the Colorado Department of Education steering committee for examining issues relating to limited-English-proficient students and has been a consultant to school districts in Colorado, Texas, and California in the areas of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Kathy Escamilla and Susan Hopewell

See also Amendment 31 (Colorado); Literacy and Biliteracy; Raising Bilingual Children

Further Readings

- Escamilla, K. (1999). Teaching literacy in Spanish. In J. Tinajero & R. DeVillar (Eds.), *The power of two languages 2000* (pp. 126–141). New York: MacMillan/McGraw-Hill.
- Escamilla, K., & Coady, M. (2001). Assessing the writing of Spanish speaking students: Issues and suggestions. In J. Tinajero & S. Hurley (Eds.), *Literacy assessment of second language learners: Effective dual language use across the curriculum*. (pp. 43–63). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Escamilla, K., & Nathenson-Mejia, S. (2003). Preparing culturally responsive teachers: Using Latino children's literature in teacher education. *Equity and Excellence in Education, 36*, 238–248.
- Escamilla, K., Shannon, S., Carlos, S., & García, J. (2003). Breaking the code: Colorado's defeat of the anti-bilingual education initiative (Amendment 31). *Bilingual Research Journal, 27*, 357–382. Retrieved from <http://asu.edu/archive.html>
- Nathenson-Mejia, S., & Escamilla, K. (2003). Connecting with Latino children: Bridging gaps with children's literature. *Bilingual Research Journal, 27*, 101–116. Retrieved from <http://asu.edu/archive.html>

ESCOBEDO, DEBORAH (1954–)

Deborah Escobedo has been involved in litigation and administrative and legislative advocacy on education equity issues, in particular those involving the rights of language minority and immigrant children. Born on March 9, 1954, in Lynwood, California, she received her JD from Boalt Hall School of Law in 1979.

Escobedo has had extensive experience in litigating statewide issues impacting California's immigrant communities and has been either lead counsel or cocounsel on legal challenges such as *Valeria G. v. Wilson* (1998), *Angel v. Davis* (2002), *Pedro A. v. Dawson* (1994), and *Pazmiño v. California Board of Education* (2003) and to statewide antibilingual and anti-immigrant initiatives Proposition 227 and Proposition 187. In *Pazmiño v. California Board of Education*, Escobedo was lead counsel, and it was one of the first successful cases brought under the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

The *Valeria G. v. Wilson* suit was filed on June 3, 1998, the day after voters in California approved Proposition 227, a ballot measure designed to severely limit bilingual education for 1.6 million English language learners in California. *Valeria G. v. Wilson* was a class action suit filed on behalf of limited-English-proficient students, their parents, and several immigrant rights organizations. The suit charged that Proposition 227 denied language minority children equal access to educational opportunity. Both the U.S. District Court and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals denied the request to block the implementation of Proposition 227. However, Escobedo eloquently and prophetically stated that “the state should be the guarantor of educational opportunity for all children in California. . . . The state is willing to put these children's future at risk. We are not—and they shouldn't be” (*ACLU News*, 1998) and that the proposition “would cause immediate and profound disruption of the education of students who can least afford such disruption” (CNN, 1998). Undaunted by defeat, Escobedo has kept fighting.

The case of *Pedro A. v. Dawson* was filed after the passage of Proposition 187 in California. The goal of Proposition 187 was to prevent undocumented immigrants' access to benefits and public services, including public education. *Pedro A. v. Dawson* was filed to halt the implementation of Proposition 187 and its exclusionary provisions. Legal challenges to Proposition 187 were filed in both state and federal courts, and the proposition was declared unconstitutional at both levels. Escobedo was a major force in the successful fight against implementation of this proposition, seen by many as overtly anti-Latino.

The case of *Pazmiño v. California Board of Education* is significant for several reasons. The state of California severely restricted bilingual education with the passage of Proposition 227 in 1998. However, under certain conditions, parents and school districts

maintained bilingual education programs. With the passage of No Child Left Behind in 2001 came a federal grant program aimed at helping children learn to read. This program was called "Reading First." The state of California accepted federal funds under the Reading First initiative but restricted school districts' access to Reading First monies to school districts that were teaching in English only. The *Pazmiño* case challenged the state of California's decision to provide Reading First money only to districts teaching in English, claiming that the policy excluded about 16,000 children in California who were still receiving some form of bilingual education. Many school districts, some of California's poorest, did not even apply for Reading First money because they still offered bilingual education and feared they did not qualify. In 2003, the San Francisco Superior Court ordered California to make funding from Reading First available to children who were learning to read in languages other than English and to children in bilingual programs, as well as all English programs.

Escobedo received the National Hispanic Bar Association Award for Excellence in Public Service in 1998, the San Francisco Minority Bar Coalition Unity Award in 1997, and the California La Raza lawyers Association's Cruz Reynoso Community Service Award in 1992. She has also received numerous awards from education-related organizations for her advocacy on behalf of language minority children. Escobedo is also a writer and frequently contributes to educational publications that focus on issues of race, ethnicity, language, and education.

Since 2005, Deborah Escobedo has been a staff attorney at the Youth Law Center in San Francisco. In addition to her stellar career as an attorney and advocate for language minority and immigrant students, she is involved in many civic activities in San Francisco and California. She was appointed by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to serve on the Immigrant Rights Commission in 2005. In 2006, she was appointed to serve on California's Blue Ribbon Commission on Children in Foster Care, a committee that has been charged with helping to find secure safe and permanent homes for California's 97,000 foster children.

Kathy Escamilla and Susan Hopewell

See also Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META); No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III; Proposition 227 (California); Proposition 227 (California), Impact of

Further Readings

- Angel v. Davis, 307 F.3d 1036 1040 (9th Cir. 2002).
California judge won't halt bilingual education ban. (1998, July 15). CNN.com. Retrieved from <http://www.cnn.com/US/9807/15/bilingual.court.fight>
- Pazmiño v. California Board of Education, # CPF03-502554 (Superior Ct., San Francisco County, 2003).
- Pedro A. v. Dawson, No. 965089 (Superior Ct. San Francisco County 1994).
- Proposition 227 appealed: Civil rights group seek trial on bilingual ed measure. (1998). *ACLU News*, 62(5). Retrieved from http://www.aclunc.org/news/print_newsletters/september-october_1998.shtml
- Valeria G. v. Wilson, No. C-98-2252-CAL (N.D. Ca. 1998).

ETHNOCENTRISM

Ethnocentrism (sometimes *ethnocentricism*) is often defined as the presumption that one's own culture is superior to all others and, consequently, that other cultures should be judged by the standards and definitions of one's own. In most of the conceptual literature that examines relationships between groups, the concept of ethnocentrism is given a decidedly negative slant. Often, there is little or no distinction made between ethnocentrism and racism. At times, the difference between the two concepts is assumed to be one of degree. Positioning ethnocentrism in this way causes us to view the concept with suspicion and to assume that people who are ethnocentric have made a conscious choice to feel and behave that way. While volition may be a factor in some forms of ethnocentrism, it is not always central to the concept.

Like racism, ethnocentrism may be examined through the beliefs and actions of individuals, in culturally or ethnically defined groups of people, or in social institutions and their practices. There are important differences between these levels of analysis. To gain greater insight and build an understanding of ethnocentrism, it is helpful to know its bases and functions in human development, because this perspective cuts across many, perhaps most, ethnic cultures. Having done so, we can then extend this analysis to the institutional level and perhaps gain a better understanding of how this concept relates to school policies and practices that affect particular programs such as bilingual education.

Ethnocentrism, Good and Bad

Anthropologists say it is not unusual for members of human groups to identify their own cultures as the best in the world. It requires only a moment's reflection to understand how this might be true. Through enculturation, we acquire the patterns, paradigms, exemplars, and behavioral templates that have worked well for the group or groups with which we identify most closely. These are the patterns of thought, action, and belief that have worked well for "our own kind," however we may interpret that phrase. Many people in the world have had little or no firsthand experience with other groups. For those who know no other culture or worldview, is it surprising that they think theirs may be the best one? Not at all. The idea that one's preferred way of living and valuing is the best (or among the best) is probably the foundation of ethnocentrism and an ethnocentric outlook. Paradoxically, it is also the foundation of a healthy concept of self.

Erik Erikson, in his book *Childhood and Society*, made the case that child development occurs in stages, proceeding from the simple to the more complex. While much has been learned about his *stage theory of development* since Erikson first proposed it, the schema is still accepted among psychologists and educators as a useful framework in understanding child development. Using this concept as base, we can gain insights on how cultural differences may be reflected in later life, even when the child has taken little notice of his or her induction into a particular cultural or value system. Erikson did not set out to explain enculturation with his theory. His purpose was to explain the stages of life that he believed were benchmarks

leading to healthy adulthood. He argued that human development proceeds in stages beginning at birth. In total, Erikson reported eight stages that constitute the task of an individual's growth. At each stage, there is a tension or struggle between polar opposites, which operates to create a resultant "virtue" or coping ability. When the skill(s) associated with any stage are acquired, the individual is able to move on to meet the demands of the next level. Since enculturation is a developmental task, we can assume that the requirements of one's identity or ethnic group are deeply involved in the resolution of these tensions.

Table 1 shows a summary of the stages, tensions, and "virtues" of Erikson's developmental schema.

For Erikson, it is axiomatic that each stage must be successfully negotiated. No step can be skipped. No "virtue" accrues until and unless each stage is successfully negotiated. Failing that, an individual will encounter difficulty in subsequent stages. When this happens, an individual must reengage the previous stage to mine its coping powers and incorporate them into his or her repertoire. A critically important aspect of Erikson's schema is that the tensions and "virtues" he identified are heavily oriented toward the affective. Because of this, they have much to do with values. They reflect, perhaps unknowingly, the values, beliefs, and predispositions of one's cultural identity. In short, a child's development takes place on a plane in which the affective side is preeminent. These virtues are acquired gradually, generally without any overt signals to mark their acquisition.

Erikson's theories are well accepted among developmental psychologists, but it should be noted that we do not know for sure that these virtues or skills hold

Table 1 Erikson's Stages of Human Development

<i>Between These Approximate Ages</i>	<i>These Tensions</i>	<i>Produce These Virtues</i>
0–2 yrs.	Trust vs. Mistrust	Hope
2–3 yrs.	Autonomy vs. Shame & Doubt	Willpower
3–4 yrs.	Initiative vs. Guilt	Purpose
4–11 yrs.	Industry vs. Inferiority	Competence
12–20 yrs.	Identity vs. Role Confusion	Fidelity
Young Adulthood	Intimacy vs. Isolation	Love
Adulthood	Generativity vs. Stagnation	Care
Maturity	Ego Integrity vs. Despair	Wisdom

Source: Synopsis of Erikson's stages, adapted from various writings over the course of his career.

true across all cultures. It is not known whether people in all parts of the world develop the same virtues during the same time frames or whether the tensions that produce them are the same in all or in most cultures. This caveat notwithstanding, Erikson's conceptual model is useful as a way to frame discussions and to suggest how the maturation of virtues or life skills takes place. But are these virtues always benign? If not, when and why do they cease to be virtues and become liabilities?

In the process of socialization and enculturation, the child is led naturally and inexorably to become ethnocentric: to believe that the cultural values, beliefs, and practices of his or her family, community, and other members of his or her identity group are satisfying and satisfactory. This is especially true for children growing up in a monocultural environment in which cultural differences and complications are rare and, as far as children can discern, their needs are satisfied by the culture they have internalized. Children have no reason to reject, distrust, doubt, or feel insecure about their cultural identities—in short, about the way of life of those around them. In this sense, their feeling of pride and comfort is benign. It is a sign that enculturation has been successful and a baseline has been adopted for interpreting the world in ways that are sanctioned by the child's group. It can be argued, therefore, that ethnocentrism is normal and that it is a component of healthy development in the passage from childhood to adulthood.

Most children are well served by a process whose end result is making them into complex, culturebound creatures with a strong group identity derived from their primary identity group. It is not ethnocentrism per se that is detrimental in the broader social context (i.e., outside the matrix group). Within the matrix group, ethnocentrism is a necessary and indispensable ingredient in the transfer of the parents' culture to their children. It may also be a necessary ingredient in cognitive development, as suggested by developmental psychologist Jean Piaget in his analysis of egocentrism, the personal analogue of ethnocentrism.

Among adults, however, and especially in a context of diversity, ethnocentrism is often regarded as negative. There are good indications that while ethnocentrism is necessary in children, it becomes problematic when it is prolonged, unchecked, undisciplined, and without reflection into adulthood. In adulthood, clinging to ethnocentric sentiments and behavior has the danger of infringing into the lives of other groups

because it may lead to overzealousness and excessive pride regarding one's matrix group. Ethnocentric persons may ignore or diminish the worth of identity patterns other than their own. In a group context of great power differences and/or deeply engrained asymmetries of wealth or status, ethnocentric behavior can be the cause of discrimination and prejudice. It raises the possibility of discord, exclusion, and conflict. Therefore, it is possible to think of some manifestations of prejudice as the result of overextended and unhealthy ethnocentrism.

It should be noted, however, that *culture*, with its powerful (anthropological) baggage, may not be the most accurate term with which to encompass and label the full range of differences that exist between groups. In some cases, when nationality and ethnicity are not the primary determiners of *groupness*, we might elect to focus on worldviews, religions, or value and belief systems to describe differences that occur naturally among and between groups. The concept of culture is not sufficiently utilitarian to help us see all factors that help to shape identity, which may not be, strictly speaking, "ethnic" in nature. Regrettably, there is not an alternative term that can serve as a substitute for culture in such cases.

Institutional Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism and racist behavior may differ conceptually, but the results of either may not be very different from the point of view of victimized groups. This is most apparent in dealing with institutions and their engrained behaviors. In education, it is often the case that hidden forms of ethnocentrism play a significant role in making children feel at home in an institution new to them or, conversely, feeling unwanted or unappreciated in that context. In the context of schools, it is not necessary for educators to choose to be ethnocentric to cause unwanted results in children. Schools, like most social institutions, have cultures of their own that value certain behaviors and ways of thinking and frown upon others. Like institutional racism, institutional ethnocentrism can have the unintended consequence of retarding or impeding feelings of acceptance and belonging on the part of cultural and ethnic minority groups.

At the risk of overgeneralization, we may agree that schools in the United States are based on institutional beliefs and practices originating in Western Europe. School people find it quite "normal" to

encourage students to be competitive, to work toward personal rewards, to assert individualistic views and beliefs, and to question the validity of the ideas they read and discuss in class. All of these are well within the set of school behaviors that are accepted in American culture. Moreover, the institution itself encourages values and beliefs that are rarely questioned or held up for debate: the adequacy of speaking only one language, collaborating with fellow students only at certain times, and engaging in a variety of school-sponsored activities to remind students that they live in “the greatest country in the world.” Such thoughts, values, and predispositions may not appear to exclude anyone. We take them for granted as “normal” in our school culture. Any single item probably does little harm. It is the aggregate of many such culturally loaded items that can have negative effects on the willingness of children to engage in schoolwork if they regard their participation as questionable in their own culture.

Nowhere is this matter more charged with negative potential than in the emphasis we place as a society on the mastery and use of English in school. For many historical reasons, U.S. society and most of its institutions drifted away from the use of multiple languages. Many American children grow up with the ethnocentric belief that English is the only language that matters. They may not do so with the intention of excluding anyone; it is simply the result of living in a monolingual society and of undergoing enculturation into a monolingual mind-set. Even in schools that operate programs of bilingual education, it is sometimes the case that the children who participate in them are regarded as less than full members of the school community until they master English. Under those conditions, it is doubtful that bilingual education alone will make substantial improvements in student gains.

The range of beliefs and assumptions concerning language is important, especially in the ever-increasing context of language diversity. Only a clear and ringing endorsement of the value of speaking more than one language can help alleviate feelings of alienation or exclusion. Minority and nonminority children alike may suffer when these affective aspects of language use are left unexamined and unattended. Language and cultural differences are good material to help majority group youngsters reflect on their ethnocentrism. For minority children, these differences can be helpful in recognizing that their worth and value as human beings is no less than that of classmates.

Finally, because none of this analysis can be done without using language, the chances of reaching more fruitful conclusions are enhanced by the use of more than one language in the transactions involved.

Josué M. González

See also Acculturation; Culturally Competent Teaching; Enculturation; Language Socialization

Further Readings

Erikson, E. (1964). *Childhood and society* (2nd ed.). New York: Norton.

Piaget, J. (1955). *The child's construction of reality*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

EXCEPTIONAL STUDENTS

See GIFTED AND TALENTED BILINGUALS

EXIT CRITERIA FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNER PROGRAMS

In accordance with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 2001 (“No Child Left Behind”), each state must identify processes and criteria to guide school districts in exiting or removing English language learners (ELLs) from a range of specialized services offered to students previously identified by the school as ELL or limited English proficient. The terms *exit* or *reclassification* (used synonymously) denote the process in which a student who has previously been identified as limited English proficient exits, or is removed from, programs and services for which they are no longer eligible. This includes transitional bilingual education programs but not necessarily dual-language programs.

Most commonly, such students are subsequently placed in a general education setting in which English is the only mode of instruction except, possibly, for foreign-language classes. Students no longer require, or are eligible to receive, services such as transitional bilingual education (TBE) or English as a Second Language (ESL) support. The term *limited English proficient* (LEP) is commonly used in policy to identify

and define students for whom English is not their first or native language. LEP-identified students vary in their abilities to speak, read, or write English; some have little or no ability to do so, while others demonstrate a moderate command of English. The term came into the language of schools after the passage of the 1968 federal Bilingual Education Act, which established Title VII categorical funding. Title VII funding streams were used to develop materials for use with LEP-identified students, including entrance and exit criteria instruments. With the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) case and subsequent 1975 *Lau* Remedies, schools were required to provide compensatory education for ELLs, allowing them to exit their status as LEP students and equally access curricular resources in English in a “reasonable” amount of time.

Exit criteria for ELLs vary across policy contexts at the state, district, and school campus levels. Variability exists in how policy is developed and interpreted according to the orientation toward English language acquisition and programs provided for ELLs. For example, districts or campuses with accommodationist bilingual education or dual-language programs that promote the use of native language in the acquisition of English may choose a different approach toward the use of exit criteria than those districts or schools that reflect more-assimilationist English-first orientations in programming for ELLs, in which the native language is minimally used and English is the primary mode of instruction. Within the United States, TBE models of bilingual education or ESL predominate. These programs tend to focus on English acquisition as the primary goal, rather than maintenance of native language while acquiring English.

Assuming transitional frameworks, each state has different criteria for determining the process of exit or reclassification of LEP students as fluent or proficient English students. While each state is encouraged to develop its own process in accordance with federal statutes, similarities exist across states. The following section reviews and compares the exit criteria and follow-up procedures across five states with the largest population of ELLs: California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Texas.

Exit Criteria and Follow-Up

All states are required to have an established and consistent process for exiting students from LEP programs. Of primary concern is measuring and advancing students’

relative English language proficiency in order to enable students to successfully engage English-only curricula in general education classrooms.

In California, students are exited from LEP programs when they are reclassified as fluent English proficient (FEP). The process for reclassification of a LEP student as a FEP student in California involves four stages. The first stage into the reclassification process is determined by the students’ results on the most current California Standardized Test (CST) in English language arts. The cut scores (the scores that delineate one stage from another) are determined by local districts and typically fall between “basic” and midpoint of “basic.” If the results are at or above the cut scores, then the student enters the process for reclassification. Next, results from the annual California English Language Development Test (CELDT) are considered. To continue in the reclassification process, students must have an overall score that is classified as “early advanced” or higher on the CELDT and score at an intermediate or higher level on each skill area—listening, speaking, reading, and writing. A student may also qualify to continue in the process if an overall score in the upper end of the intermediate level on the CELDT and other measures indicate a likelihood of English proficiency. The third stage considers teacher evaluation of academic performance indicators as set by the local school district. Typically, it is a review of the student’s grades. The final stage is parent opinion and consultation, in which parents and/or guardians are notified and encouraged to participate in the reclassification, and a face-to-face meeting is set up to encourage participation.

If a student does not meet the criteria at any stage in the process, the student remains classified an English learner, or LEP student. For those students in first and second grade, the first stage does not apply, and the state does not recommend that students in kindergarten who have been identified as LEP exit from services. Once exited from LEP programs, students are monitored for 2 years to ensure success within the general education curriculum. Monitoring does not include CELDT scores, but rather academic performance indicators to ensure adequate yearly progress.

In Illinois, there is no standard procedure for exit, as individual districts are given discretion to set policy and procedures. The transitional bilingual education policy (CR Part 228) states that no child shall be exited from services prior to his or her third year of enrollment in services, unless the student performs at

or above grade level for English language skills. However, with the recent adoption of the World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA) system, a large-scale test called Assessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-State (ACCESS for ELLs), procedures for exit are expected to be clarified in accordance with measured results on this annual assessment.

In New York State, if a student scores at or above the proficient level on the New York State English as a Second Language Achievement Test (NYSESLAT), the student is reclassified as non-LEP and exited from services to enter the general education program. Unlike the other states, New York does not specify a follow-up period, as deference is made to the follow-up procedure set by No Child Left Behind legislation, which is to monitor students for 1 year after exit from LEP services.

In Texas, students are exited from LEP services if the Language Proficiency Assessment Committee (LPAC) determines that the student meets the exit criteria. One exit criteria is a score at or above the 40th percentile on a norm-referenced standardized achievement test for reading and language arts in English, such as the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS). Students may also be exited if they meet the state performance standards on the reading and writing portions of the accountability examination, the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) in English. Students who are classified as LEP in prekindergarten through first grade are not eligible for exit from services. If the student has been enrolled in a bilingual program, the student's native-language proficiency must be assessed for oral and written skills. Students exited from LEP programs must be monitored for 2 years by the LPAC to determine academic success in the general education curriculum.

In Florida, there are different sets of exit criteria for students in kindergarten through 3rd grade than for those in the 4th through 12th grades. Students in kindergarten through 3rd grade are considered for exit if they score above the LEP range on a state-approved aural/oral proficiency test. Once the student is determined to be a full or fluent English speaker, the LEP committee meets to determine whether the student is eligible for exit on the basis of comparable assessments, procedures, and standards used to qualify the student as LEP. Those criteria include at least two of the following: (a) student interview regarding prior

educational and social experiences; (b) written recommendation and observation from current and previous educational staff; (c) level of mastery of basic competencies or skill in English according to local, state, and or national criterion-referenced standards; and (d) grades from current or past years. Other test results may be used; however, these tests must be district or state approved. Students in Grades 4 through 12, in addition to the above criteria, must score at or above the 33rd percentile in both reading and writing on any one of the state-approved assessments. Unlike the other states reviewed, Florida does not have one statewide assessment measure, but rather provides a list of state-approved tests that can be used for both language proficiency and to assess the content area skills. Students in Grades 4 through 12 are not required to take an aural/oral English language proficiency test if the other criteria are met to qualify for exit from LEP services.

In Florida, the academic performance of students who are exited from LEP programs must be monitored for 2 years through periodic reviews of academic performance. In the first year, the student is reviewed twice, and in the second year, the student is reviewed only at the end of the year. If any consistent decline in academic performance is noted, the LEP committee convenes with the parents to determine whether additional English instruction or other services are needed.

Conclusion

Exit policies set forth processes and guidelines that assist school personnel in reclassifying ELLs as general education students. The term *exit* is somewhat misleading since a student is considered to exit only in the sense that he or she moves from one program category to another. While much variation exists across different state contexts, each state's criteria for reclassification or exit from LEP services employ a transitional model that seeks to measure English language growth annually and to promote students' relatively rapid acquisition of English proficiency in schools. The focus on English language acquisition is consistent with the spirit and language of the No Child Left Behind Act and the U.S. Department of Education's Office of English Language Acquisition programs. With some exceptions, these policies are not designed to focus attention on the role native language plays in

the acquisition of the English language or measuring and promoting content area skills students learn and demonstrate in another language. This variation in exit criteria reflects the state- and district-level contexts of policy creation and implementation, as well as an unresolved and historically situated tension between accommodationist versus assimilationist orientations toward the education of ELLS.

Barbara J. Dray and William Black

See also Affirmative Steps to English; Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners

Further Readings

- California Department of Education. (2004). *State Board of Education Code Section 313(d)—Reclassification Section 306 English learners*. Retrieved from <http://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el>
- Florida Department of Education. (2005). *State Board of Education Consent Decree—LULAC*. Office of Multicultural Student Language Education. Retrieved from <http://www.firn.edu/doe/aala>
- Hamayan, E., & Freeman, R. (2006). *English language learners at school: A guide for administrators*. Philadelphia: Caslon.
- Illinois State Board of Education. (n.d.). *Transitional bilingual education*, Title 23, Subtitle A, Chapter I, Subchapter F Part 228. Illinois Advisory Council on Bilingual Education. Retrieved from <http://www.isbe.state.il.us/bilingual/htmls/iacbe.htm>
- New York State Bilingual and ESL Network. (n.d.). *Education Department Regulations*, CR Part 117 and CR Part 154. Retrieved from <http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/biling/info.shtml>
- Texas Education Agency. (n.d.). *Commissioner's rules concerning state plan for educating limited English proficient students*. Chapter 89. Adaptations for Special Populations Subchapter BB. Retrieved from <http://www.tea.state.tx.us/curriculum/biling>

F

FEDERAL COURT DECISIONS AND LEGISLATION

The history of bilingual language policy in education in the United States can be examined through various lenses. This entry focuses on court decisions and selected legislation that have shaped the principle of educational opportunity for all students and specifically for English language learners (ELLs). These legal and legislative milestones include the 1896 Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which established the legality of “separate but equal” treatment; the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868, which provides for equal protection under the law; the 1923 *Meyer v. Nebraska* case, which overturned the state of Nebraska’s prohibition against the teaching of foreign languages; the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which struck down the constitutionality of “separate but equal”; Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which added a ban on discrimination based on language; the 1974 Supreme Court ruling on the landmark case of *Lau v. Nichols*, which requires a meaningful education for all students, regardless of language background; and the 1981 *Castañeda v. Pickard* federal decision that formulated a set of basic standards to determine school district compliance with the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA) of 1974. This review of litigation includes 15 of the most important federal court decision that have helped to formulate linguistically responsive language policies in public schools for ELLs.

Language Policy and Rights

Language policy plays a significant role in our school communities throughout the nation and directly affects social policy. Although language policy affects the spoken language, its ramifications are complex and extensive. Language policy is not a debate about grammar or syntax. It is about power, points of view, and ideology. Attitudes, values, and beliefs about language are a reflection of social issues such as nationalism and cultural identity. The role of language in a society is built into its structures to such a degree that it is a fundamental variable in that society. Thus, the system of language policy establishes a linguistic preference that underlies the organization of human society and its most important institutions.

Language policy in education is associated with legal cases that have established the thresholds for educational legal compliance. As such, the close relationship between language policy, power, and privilege are at the core of the struggle for equity. In the case of bilingual education in the United States, legal court cases serve to underscore the struggles for language rights by Americans who speak languages in addition to English.

The concept and practice of bilingual education has its roots deep in the history of the United States. Colin Baker suggests four distinct periods of tendencies in language policy: permissive (1700s–1880), restrictive (1880s–1960), opportunistic (1960s–1980), and dismissive (1980s–present). The four periods are important because they point to periods of conflict and tolerance toward the development of a second language and biliteracy. In the permissive period,

tolerance or benign neglect existed toward the many languages represented in the new society, especially those of northern Europe. In the restrictive period, linguistic isolationist policies and repressive policies appeared toward Native American languages and embodied anti-German sentiments. A push for all immigrants to be assimilated into one cultural and linguistic mold was the prevailing policy. During the opportunistic period, support for equal access and equal benefits was the driving policy. The 1974 *Lau* decision legitimized services to students who did not speak English and raised the nation's consciousness of the need for bilingual education. Finally, during the dismissive period, a change in government brought a different focus for ELLs and the focus of equal educational access and benefits changed to reduce bilingual program development and research activity. The current focus has been to allow each state to define its approach toward services for ELLs.

Federal Court Cases Affecting Bilingual Education

With the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution in 1868, the constitutional basis for the educational rights of all students was established. This amendment guaranteed that no state can make or enforce any law abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens; nor deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny equal protection of the laws. Between 1886 and 1896, the principle of equal educational opportunity was tested. Under *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court decision of 1896 established the legality of separate but equal. This policy gave impetus to segregation, discrimination, and separate educational services for African Americans and language minority communities.

By 1923, as Heinz Kloss documents, the legislatures of 34 states had dictated English-only instruction in all private and public primary schools. Schooling in any language other than English was forbidden and outlawed. Until *Lau*, the predominant approach to educating language minority students was the undifferentiated method, sometimes called *submersion* because of its sink-or-swim orientation. Although the restrictive period emphasized monolingual English instruction in public schools, the debate about the role of non-English mother-tongue instruction continued. In 1923, in the case of *Meyer v. Nebraska*, the Supreme Court declared Nebraska's prohibition against teaching

foreign languages in elementary schools to be unconstitutional on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment due process clause. Although the Court accepted that the state may have justification in fostering unity among the populace by means of its education policies, it ruled that this particular attempt reached too far into the liberties of parents to teach what they want to their children. Although educational practices continued to be provided under segregated conditions, the impetus for equal educational opportunity continued. In 1946, *Méndez v. Westminster* helped pave the way for *Brown v. Board of Education* by challenging the institutional nature of segregation "for the cause of Americanization" as did as challenges by Latino parents on behalf of their children. In *Méndez*, the court declared unconstitutional the segregation of Mexican Americans in separate classrooms within "integrated" schools.

By 1954, the separate but equal doctrine established under *Plessy* was challenged in the Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. This case reversed the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* of 1896 that permitted separate but equal education for children of color in general. *Brown* declared the separation of African American and White students to be unconstitutional and ordered desegregation of schools. This decision established the principle of equal educational opportunity for all students. With the launching of the Soviet Union's Sputnik satellite into earth's orbit, scientific activity provoked federal policies that supported foreign languages, mathematics, and science, and created the National Defense Education Act in 1958. Although foreign-language instruction was encouraged for English monolinguals, no educational program supported children from non-English language backgrounds. As a result of the civil rights movement, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the creation of the Office for Civil Rights, and changes in immigration laws that terminated the 1924 national origin quota system, the right to equal educational access began to be actualized.

In Florida, subsequent to the Cuban Revolution of 1959, many middle- and upper-income exiled Cubans arrived in Florida and wanted their children to retain their language and culture, and in 1963, two-way bilingual education programs were launched in Dade County, Florida. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 allowed large numbers of Asians and Latin Americans to enter the country, and the need for some type of bilingual instruction became paramount for

many schools. To aid and monitor the education of ELLs through mother tongue and English education, the federal government enacted the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) in 1968. Although the Bilingual Education Act was ambiguous, it moved away from the sink-or-swim educational practices of the 1880s through the 1960s. Language minority students' ancestral languages and cultures were recognized in the curriculum of schools. Although controversial, bilingual education became a household term in the educational community as school districts began to receive federal funds with which to improve incipient programs. To meet federal compliance standards, school districts were obligated to address the needs of ELLs. The Bilingual Education Act began to challenge the English-only instruction laws that were still on the books in many states. As an outcome of the Bilingual Education Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many elementary and some secondary bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) programs were implemented throughout the United States. These programs had the objective of addressing the academic, linguistic, and sociocultural needs of students from linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Also important was the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) Office for Civil Rights May 25, 1970, Memorandum, which outlined school districts' responsibility to provide equal educational opportunity to national origin minority group children considered deficient in English language skills. Four years later, enactment of the EEOA of 1974 codified the findings of the *Lau v. Nichols* decision and required specific action by schools and states to prevent the denial of equal educational opportunity. Among the practices ruled illegal by the EEOA was the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by students in an instructional program.

Although it did not require bilingual education per se, the 1974 Supreme Court case of *Lau v. Nichols* gave great impetus to bilingual education across the country. The *Lau* decision was the result of a class action suit representing 1,800 Chinese students who alleged discrimination on the grounds that they could not achieve academically because they did not understand their English-speaking teachers. The U.S. Supreme Court concluded that equal treatment of English speaking and non-English-speaking students did not constitute equal educational opportunity and,

therefore, violated non-English-speaking students' civil rights. The *Lau* verdict put aside the sink-or-swim practices of the past. Although the *Lau* decision did not prescribe a specific curricular content or methodology, a broad range of programs with diverse philosophical underpinnings could satisfy the spirit of the law. The San Francisco Unified School District, the defendant in *Lau*, chose a bilingual education program to meet the mandate of the decision.

The *Lau* decision had an enormous affect on the development of bilingual education in the United States. That decision gave impetus to the movement for equal educational opportunity for students who did not speak English, raised the nation's consciousness of the need for bilingual education, and encouraged supportive legislation at the state level. The unanimous decision by the Court emphasizes that the Court in *Lau* was not concerned with the intentions or motivations of the school district. Regardless of how much good faith a school district might be exercising in trying to meet the problem, the only relevant factor is whether the child receives a "meaningful" and "comprehensible" education and "effective participation in the educational program." Thus, under the *Lau v. Nichols* decision, Supreme Court affirmed the authority of the executive branch of government to require affirmative remedial efforts to give special attention to linguistically diverse students.

From 1975 to the early 1980s, school districts developed educational master plans to comply with the *Lau* decision. In 1975, DHEW provided guidelines known as the *Lau* Remedies. To comply with these remedies, a *Lau* plan was required to meet the minimal requirements of the decision and of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, the legislation under which the case was decided. A *Lau* plan was a working document that was revisited frequently. Essential components of a *Lau* plan include the legal foundation, student assessments, an instructional plan, parental involvement, qualified personnel, a coordination plan, a budget, support services, and other considerations unique to the district in question.

From 1974 to 1982, several court cases addressed the educational language rights of ELLs with respect to assessment, appropriate and well-implemented programs, staffing, and evaluation of program quality. In the 1974 case of *Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools*, the court ascertained that Spanish-surnamed individuals did not reach the same achievement levels as non-Spanish-surnamed peers. The court ordered Portales

Municipal Schools, in New Mexico, to implement a bilingual/bicultural curriculum, revise procedures for assessing achievement, and hire bilingual school personnel. This was the first court to specify bilingual education as a remedy since the *Lau* decision. The court stated that a student who does not understand English and is not provided with bilingual education is therefore precluded from any meaningful education. In 1975, the case of *Otero v. Mesa County Valley School District No. 51* involved a class action complaint on behalf of Mexican American parents and school-aged children residing in a Colorado rural town. The suit alleged that the school district's educational program and hiring practices discriminated against Chicanos. Plaintiffs requested that the court institute a comprehensive bilingual/bicultural curriculum and require affirmative action hirings. In *Otero*, the court entered judgment for the defendants on all counts; however, the Colorado legislature passed a broad bilingual/bicultural program. An important outcome of this lawsuit was notice to educators that schools have to consider the academic aspirations of Latino/Hispanic students.

Regarding program quality, in the 1978 case of *Ríos v. Read*, the federal district court for the eastern district of New York found that the Patchogue-Medford School District's transitional bilingual program was basically a course in English and that students were denied an equal educational opportunity by not receiving academic instruction in Spanish. The court further declared that a denial of educational opportunities to a child in the first years of schooling is not justified by demonstrating that the educational program employed will teach the child English sooner than will a program comprising more extensive Spanish instruction. In the 1978 *Cintrón v. Brentwood Union Free School District* case, the federal district court for the eastern district of New York rejected the Brentwood School District's proposed bilingual program on the grounds that it would violate *Lau* Remedies by unnecessarily segregating Spanish-speaking students from their English-speaking peers in music and art. The court also objected to the program's failure to provide for exiting students whose English language proficiency was sufficient for them to understand mainstream English instruction. This case set the standard for the courts in examining programs for ELLs. Basically, districts must have the following: a pedagogically sound plan for ELL students, sufficient qualified staff to implement the plan, and a system established to evaluate the program.

In contrast to *Cintrón* and *Ríos*, in 1978, the Ninth Circuit Court in *Guadalupe Organization, Inc. v. Tempe Elementary School District* found no right to bilingual/bicultural education. Using the EEOA to reach its decision in favor of the school system, the court found it inappropriate to rule on the adequacy of a bilingual program that was already being implemented by the school board. The court found that by providing a remedial English language program, the school system had met its requirement to provide "appropriate action" to overcome language barriers. Beyond ruling that bilingual/bicultural education was not required; the *Guadalupe* court provided no specific criteria for evaluating whether an educational agency has met its obligation under EEOA. However, in *Castañeda v. Pickard*, the Appeals Court for the Fifth Circuit was proactive and provided such criteria. In *Castañeda*, Mexican American children sued the Raymondville, Texas, school district, claiming that the district's failure to provide an adequate bilingual education program resulted in discrimination. The court delineated a three-pronged test to establish the program's appropriateness, namely, school districts must demonstrate (1) *theory*: a program is based on an educational theory recognized as sound or, at least, as a legitimate experimental strategy; (2) *practice*: the program is actually implemented with instructional practices, resources, and personnel necessary to transfer theory to reality; and (3) *results*: the program must not persist if it fails to produce results.

Subsequent court cases have consistently used the three-pronged test to determine compliance with EEOA. In another important court case in 1981, the federal court ordered the state of Texas to address the needs of ELLs. In *United States v. Texas*, the case requested the court for supplemental relief to require that the state of Texas monitor, enforce, and supervise programs for ELL students in the Texas public schools to ensure that those students receive appropriate educational programs and equal educational opportunities. The U.S. District Court for the eastern district of Texas, Tyler division, instructed the Texas Education Agency to phase in mandatory bilingual education in Grades K–12. This decision outlined specific requirements including 3-year monitoring cycles, identification of ELL students, and a language survey for students entering school, and it established the need for exit criteria. In a similar state context in 1981, the *Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education* case effectively mandated that state

education agencies be required to supervise local districts to ensure compliance. The court ruled in favor of the Idaho Migrant Council, which was representing the ELLs from Idaho public schools. The Migrant Council argued that the Department of Education and State Board of Education failed to exercise their supervisory power over local school districts to ensure that appellants receive equal education. This case established the legal responsibility of the State Department of Education to monitor implementation of programs for ELL students.

As previously noted, the beginning of the 1980s marked the dismissive period of bilingual programs. With the change to a more conservative government led by President Ronald Reagan, school districts challenged the federal government to be more flexible. The federal government instituted the policies of deregulation and decentralization that led to the use of the *Castañeda v. Pickard* set of basic standards to determine school district compliance with EEOA. The “*Castañeda* test” has been used since 1981 as the predominant criteria for meeting federal language guidelines in determining if equal educational access is provided to ELLs. Today, the *Castañeda* test is used to monitor programs that are attempting to respond to the Civil Rights Act as well as to cases brought under the EEOA.

A court case that tested the *Castañeda* test was *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO* in 1983. This case centered on desegregation and, as part of its remedy, supported the use of bilingual education. This option allowed students who were non-English speakers to receive instruction in academic areas in their native language until they could compete effectively in English. A U.S. district court found that a Denver public school district had failed to adequately implement a plan for language minority students—the second element of the *Castañeda* test. The finding in *Keyes* was important because it placed the burden of proof on the school districts, rather than on the students and their families.

Another court case testing the responsibility of a state to ELLs involved *Gómez v. Illinois State Board of Education*, in 1987. In this court case, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that state education agencies are also required, under the EEOA of 1974, to ensure that language minority student’s educational needs are met. Under this federal court case, the court ruled that the State Education Agencies must also comply with the three-pronged test established in *Castañeda v. Pickard*.

Challenges Facing School Districts and School Communities

In the state with the greatest linguistic diversity, California voters approved Proposition 187 (1994), a ballot initiative designed to sharply curb illegal immigration through strong restrictions on social and educational services for undocumented persons. Moreover, in November 1996, Proposition 209 was passed, calling for the elimination of affirmative action programs. In June 1998, the passage of Proposition 227 by California voters established that English should be the primary medium of instruction for language minority students, and as a result, ELLs receive less help than before in their native languages. At the federal level, the push against better services to ELLs led to the restructure of bilingual education in 2001 under President George W. Bush’s administration’s program of “No Child Left Behind.” In 1999, under President Bill Clinton, funding cutbacks for bilingual education were restored, but under Title IV of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the focus of the program under the Bush administration became English language development.

During this period, we have seen increasing resentment toward massive immigration from developing countries, particularly from Asia and Latin America, and highly visible and active anti-immigrant initiatives that call for no support to anything that resembles bilingual instruction. The overview of salient federal court cases affecting bilingual education points to basic orientations toward language and its function in society. Richard Ruiz suggests three orientations: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. All three orientations link language with politics, economics, society, culture, and opportunity. In the language-as-a-problem domain, maintaining or promoting other languages creates problems of non-assimilation, lack of national cohesiveness, regional disunity, and potential for intergroup conflict. Another perspective of this premise is that the speakers of the nonmajority language belong to an underclass in society, and their low socioeconomic status and underachievement because they do not speak the politically accepted language. In the language-as-right paradigm, an individual or group’s language is viewed as a basic human right, on an equal par with freedom of religion, or freedom of movement. The language-as-resource orientation is a pragmatic view of language. Given the need for communication between and among diverse linguistic

groups and cultures, it seems that developing and maintaining languages is in everyone's best interests. Certainly the potential for commerce and trade, in both real terms and in ideas and concepts, would be enhanced if languages were treated as resources. In this paradigm, language diversity does not promote national disintegration, and language diversity and unity are not considered mutually exclusive.

Alberto M. Ochoa

See also Castañeda Three-Part Test; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974; *Lau v. Nichols*, Enforcement Documents; *Méndez v. Westminster*; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (4th ed). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- Brisk, M. E. (2006). *Bilingual education: From compensatory to quality schooling* (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
- Cintrón v. Brentwood Union Free School District, 455 F. Supp. 57 (EDNY 1978).
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. Sec. 200d (1964).
- Crawford, J. W. (1999). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory and practice* (4th ed.) Trenton, NJ: Crane.
- Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) May 25, 1970 Memorandum, 35 Fed. Reg. 11595.
- Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, 20 U.S.C. § 1703.
- Gómez v. Illinois State Board of Education, 811 F.2d. 1030 (7th Cir. 1987).
- Guadalupe Organization, Inc. v. Tempe Elementary School District, 578 F.2d 1022, 1027 (9th Cir. 1978).
- Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education, 647 F.2d. 69 (9th Cir. 1981).
- Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Pub. L. No. 89–236, 79 Stat. 911 (1965)
- Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO, 576 F. Supp. 503 (D. Colorado, 1983).
- Kloss, H. (1966). German American language maintenance efforts. In J. Fishman (Ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States: The maintenance and perpetuation of non-English tongues by American ethnic and religious groups* (pp. 206–252). The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Méndez v. Westminster, 64 F. Supp. 544 (S.D. Cal. 1946).
- Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).
- National Defense Education Act of 1958, Pub. L. 85–864, Sept. 2, 1958, 72 Stat. 1580 (20 U.S.C. 401 et seq.)
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002).
- Otero v. Mesa County Valley School District No. 51, 408 F. Supp. 162 (1975).
- Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).
- Ríos v. Read, 480 F. Supp. (1978).
- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, 8(2), 15–34.
- San Miguel, G., Jr. (2004). *Contested policy: The rise and fall of federal bilingual education in the United States 1960–2001*. Denton: University of North Texas Press.
- Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools, 499 F.2d. 1147, 1154 (10th Cir. 1974).
- Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000(d).
- Tollefson, J. W. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community*. New York: Longman.
- United States v. State of Texas, 506 F. Supp. 405 (E.D. Tex. 1981).

FERNÁNDEZ, RICARDO (1940–)

Ricardo R. Fernández is president of Lehman College, a 4-year public liberal arts college located in the Bronx. Lehman is part of the City University of New York, the nation's largest urban university. Before assuming this position (on September 1, 1990), he was affiliated with the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee from 1970 to 1990, where he served as assistant vice chancellor for academic affairs (1988–90) and professor of educational policy and community studies.

Born and raised in Puerto Rico, Fernández received a bachelor's degree in philosophy and a master's degree in Spanish literature from Marquette University, as well as an MA and PhD in romance languages and literatures from Princeton University. He also attended the Harvard Institute for Educational Management in 1992, and was an American Council on Education Fellow in Academic Administration in 1981 to 1982 and a senior fellow of the U.S.–Mexico Solidarity Foundation in 1996. This entry describes Fernández's career and contributions to education.

Fernández began his career at Marquette University in 1968 as an instructor and became an assistant professor of Spanish in 1970. In his first administrative appointment at the University of Wisconsin, Fernández was director of its Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute from 1970 to 1971. He later directed the Midwest

National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center from 1977 to 1987, which was responsible for helping districts in 10 midwestern states to implement education plans to serve English language learners. From 1976 to 1977, he was coordinator of the Governor's Council on Hispanic Affairs (on partial leave from UW–Milwaukee) in the Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations. From 1986 to 1987, he was a research fellow at the National Center for Effective Secondary Schools at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where he worked on a book about at-risk students.

During more than three and a half decades in education, Fernández has focused on ways to improve educational outcomes, especially the preparation and encouragement of minority students to graduate from high school and to enter and succeed in college. His books, articles, and research reports deal with the causes of Hispanic school dropout, the desegregation of Hispanic students in the nation's public schools, and bilingual education policy. At Lehman, he has fostered extensive collaboration between the college and local schools in such areas as technology, the arts, professional development, and curriculum development and enrichment. Building on community resources, the college developed a multilingual journalism department that publishes a newspaper in several languages, which is available to the college community and to schools in the area. During his tenure, the college has steadily increased the level of its grant-funded research and the variety and reach of its programs, while becoming a major resource for the borough's economic, cultural, and educational development.

Fernández has been recognized nationally for his leadership. He is past president of the National Association for Bilingual Education, and past chair of the Board of the American Association of Higher Education, the Governing Board of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU), and the Hispanic Educational Telecommunication System (HETS), an international distance education consortium of colleges and universities. In 2006, he was elected vice chair of the board of directors of the American Council on Education (ACE). In 2006, he joined the boards of directors of the Intercultural Development Research Association in Texas and the Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy (META), which has offices in California and Massachusetts. Other positions include serving on the New York State Commissioner of Education's Advisory Council on Higher Education, the New

York-based National Hispanic Business Group's Advisory Board, and the Frito-Lay (North America) Latino/Hispanic Advisory Board. In addition, Fernández has given expert testimony in support of the Minority-Serving Institution Digital and Wireless Network Technology Opportunity Act of 2003 in Washington DC.

Fernández has received extensive recognition for his contributions to education. He received the Comité Noviembre Educational Excellence Award and the National Society of Hispanic MBAs Award in 2002, the P. Gus Cárdenas Award from the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities in 2000, the Promesa Community Service Award in 1992, the Interfaith Brotherhood Award of the Riverdale Jewish Community Council in 1991, the National Puerto Rican Coalition's Lifetime Achievement Award in Education in 1990, and the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee's Faculty Distinguished Service Award in 1984. In 2004, he was selected by Crain's *New York Business* as one of New York City's Top 100 Minority Business Leaders.

Fernández and his wife, Patricia, an attorney, have five children and three grandchildren.

Marietta Saravia-Shore

See also Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META); National Association for Bilingual Education

Further Readings

H.R. 2183: The Minority-Serving Institution Digital and Wireless Network Technology Opportunity Act of 2003: *Hearings before the House Subcommittee on Research, Committee on Science, House of Representatives*, 108th Cong., 105 (2003). Retrieved February 11, 2008, from http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=108_house_hearings&docid=f:88165.wais

President Fernández named one of "The 100 most influential Hispanics." (2007, October 9). *Lehman E-News*. Retrieved February 11, 2008, from http://www.lehman.edu/lehman/enews/2007_10_09/feat_fernandez.html

FIRST-LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Considering that language is the primary vehicle through which thoughts are expressed and cultural identity is developed and transmitted, the ability to use language is one of the most essential qualities of human beings. Although it has been proven that other

(nonhuman) animals also use a set of language-like communicative skills, as explained by linguist Steve Pinker, the generative nature of human speech is truly unique. To fully appreciate the profound intricacy of language use, the process through which humans acquire the set of skills necessary to communicate must be understood. How, and when, do humans develop the ability to distinguish between words like *play* and *pay*? What prompts children to consistently produce utterances with correct word orders (e.g., subject-verb-object versus verb-subject-object)? At what point do people learn that such phrases as *It's hot in here* can either be a statement or an indirect request (e.g., to open a window)? How is meaning assigned to different tenses (*eat*, *ate*) and aspects (*is eating*, *has eaten*)? These examples typify the breadth of language use, and they emphasize the complex nature of how humans acquire such abilities.

The acquisition of language is a combination of biological, environmental, and cognitive influences. The ideas presented here concern the processes involved in acquiring language as a concept rather than any one specific language. To best understand the process of acquisition, language must be viewed from multiple vantage points. The sounds (phonology), grammar (syntax), meaning (semantics), vocabulary (lexicon), and social norms (pragmatics) of language are all intertwined and play equally important roles in the development of a child's capacity to effectively communicate.

Because of the important role that language plays in social construction and cultural maintenance, the process of language acquisition has received much attention from cognitive scientists and linguists, among others. Historically, language acquisition has been one of the most theoretically contested and mysterious biological processes of human beings. Such a complex topic has produced various subfields of interest. Researchers are interested in neurological, semantic, cultural, phonological, pragmatic, and syntactic issues that surround the process of language acquisition. The aim of this entry is to provide an overview of the different topics surrounding first-language (L1) acquisition and examine important ideas connected with this process, but many of the factors outlined here can be extended to the area of second-language (L2) acquisition.

Stages of Acquisition

First, *all* languages are equally complex, and any human being capable of acquiring language can

acquire any particular language. As human beings, we are not biologically predisposed to learn any one specific language more easily than another. Though specific features might differ in complexity across languages, children find all languages equally simple to acquire. Furthermore, the following stages of development should be understood as applicable to language in general, taking into consideration that there might be variability between equivalent features of different languages.

Babies are exposed to language even before they are born. Invariably, babies' comprehension of language develops much faster than does their production of it. Actually, the asymmetry between comprehension and production spans adulthood; think of how many dialects a person can understand but cannot easily produce. While learning to decipher the meaning of the language being used around them, babies are concurrently developing the capacity for developing sound systems, vocabulary, and a grammar program.

Around their first birthday, babies usually begin to produce their own words. However, studies conducted by Vivian Cook and Eve Clark show that infants as young as 4 days old can distinguish between different phonemes when spoken to. By monitoring the rate at which a baby sucks on a pacifier, researchers were able to determine that infants detect the difference between words like *par* and *bar* in English and different click sounds in Zulu. Although some sounds tend to develop later than others (e.g., the English "r" and "th" sounds), most children flawlessly acquire the entire phonological inventory of the given language generally by the age of 5.

At about 6 months of age, children begin babbling by repeating a series of identical syllables (e.g., ba-ba-ba), as reported by Edward Finegan. As their vocal apparatus matures in the following months, they begin to expand their babbling to include more complex syllables (e.g., bab-bab-bab). Around the 1-year mark, children begin their single-word (holophrastic) stage. They typically start by producing words for familiar objects (e.g., food, household items, and people) and simple actions (e.g., open, eat, and go). Moreover, simple words like *dada* are used to express a range of thoughts and communicative ends (e.g., There's Daddy! This is Daddy's shirt. Where is Daddy? Come here, Daddy!). Pinker explains that the holophrastic stage can last from 2 months to 1 year. At 18 months, children usually begin to produce two-word sentence structures. These sentences usually comprise two

types of words: pivot class words and open class words, as reported by Nancy Parrot Hickerson. Pivot class words are fewer in number and are added more slowly. These are words like *more*, *see*, *all-gone*, and *other*. Open class words are quickly acquired and consist of things like family member names, toys, food items, and so on. The two-word productions often are a combination of one word from each class (e.g., *more cookie*, *see doggie*). Pinker mentions that children will begin to learn words at a rate of 1 every 2 waking hours (a pattern that typically continues until adolescence).

Even though the two-word stage might seem simplistic, children are displaying definite patterns of grammatical word order. Cook mentions that although their production might not appear complex, the two- and three-word productions reflect the prominent syntactic characteristics of the language. When asked simple questions using subject-verb-object structures, young children can differentiate between different subject-object combinations. In one example, Pinker describes a situation where babies that were still in their one-word stage were able to identify the difference between *Big Bird is tickling Cookie Monster* and *Cookie Monster is tickling Big Bird*.

By the time children are able to produce three-word phrases, definite word order is apparent (e.g., subject-verb-object, verb-subject-object). Usually by the age of three, children are able to have full conversations. At this time, the children are involved in multiple conversations where they are exposed to, and attempt to, produce more complex structures (e.g., embedded clauses and Wh-movement). Children also begin to acquire more detailed inflections and complex grammatical structures (e.g., third person auxiliaries, irregular past-tense forms). Though there may be slight variations from child to child, morphemes and grammatical structures are generally acquired in a set order. Psychologist Roger Brown found that English-speaking children tend to acquire grammatical morphemes in the following order, as cited by Finegan:

1. Present progressive verb (with or without the auxiliary): (*is*) *playing*, (*was*) *singing*;
- 2–3. Prepositions *in* and *on*;
4. Regular noun plural: *toys*, *cats*, *dishes*;
5. Irregular past-tense verbs: *came*, *fell*, *saw*, *hurt*;
6. Possessive noun: *Daddy's*, *doggie's*;

7. Uncontractible copula: *Here I am*, *Who is it?*;
8. Articles: *a* and *the*;
9. Regular past-tense verbs: *played*, *washed*, *wanted*;
10. Regular third-person singular present-tense verbs: *sees*, *wants*, *washes*;
11. Irregular third-person singular present-tense verbs: *does*, *has*;
12. Uncontractible auxiliary: *She isn't crying*, *He was eating*;
13. Contractible copula: *That's mine*, *What's that?*;
14. Contractible auxiliary: *He's crying*.

The pattern of acquiring these types of structures differs across languages. For example, a child learning English might quickly acquire the “s” ending for plural nouns. Other languages might have multiple plural markers depending on the gender of the noun (e.g., masculine, feminine, or neuter), the shape of the object (e.g., flat, round, long), or the relative quantity of the noun being described (e.g., 2 versus 10 versus 100). In such cases, acquiring the ability to accurately mark plurality would be much more complex than in English, and therefore take longer to master.

Considering the development of a child's lexicon, it has been found that children form conceptual categories, as noted by George Lakoff and Clark. Whereas a baby might quickly acquire the word *dog* (or *doggie*), it takes a while before the child can produce words for different types of dogs (e.g., a poodle versus a greyhound). Furthermore, the term *dog* might initially be used to describe all animals. Also, the terms for dog traits are easily used to describe traits of other animals (e.g., using *paws* to describe a duck's feet). Through embodied experiences, children expand their conceptual categories and develop more distinct ways of describing their world, as Lakoff points out. This concept of embodiment is inextricably related to the context of language acquisition.

Context of Language Acquisition

The goal of language acquisition is to become a member of a specific community of speakers. That children learn words and word associations leads to the question of how they form categories and associations between entities. The ways in which a child learns to use a language depends on the community in which he

or she is raised. Speech communities share specific linguistic characteristics (syntactic, phonological, semantic, and pragmatic) that are derived from their shared experiences and traditions. Sociolinguist Dell Hymes describes an individual's ability to communicate fluently within a specific sociocultural context as *communicative competence*. Hymes's description of competence encompasses an individual's knowledge of whether something is formally possible within a distinct cultural environment. Communicative competence also entails being able to distinguish whether something is appropriate in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated.

A combination of cognitive linguistics and socio-cultural approaches is necessary to understand the breadth of linguistic grounding and cognitive perception in a first-language acquisition context. This view is echoed in the *use-based* theory of language acquisition, explained further by Michael Tomasello and Clark. According to this view of language, children acquire language by being contextually involved within a speech community. Children create novel utterances and then proceed to modify their speech according to feedback and further observation. As interesting as the use-based theory sounds, other studies have shown that some children are not spoken to, only about, and they still develop fully competent linguistic skills, as found in research by Shirley Brice Heath. Aside from syntactic acquisition, the context of acquisition does determine issues of socialization and enculturation into a speech community.

Noam Chomsky and Universal Grammar

Although *functionalist* views emphasize the importance of pragmatics and semantics in the process of language acquisition, Noam Chomsky's formalist approach posits an underlying cognitive structure that is used in the process of language development. Chomsky believes that the uniformity and efficiency of language acquisition can be attributed to a biologically endowed innate language faculty in the brain that provides children with a set of genetically transmitted formulae for developing the grammar via the exposure to language, as explained by William Ritchie and Tej Bhatia. Chomsky's view holds that our biologically endowed language faculty, also called the language acquisition device (LAD), filters outside linguistic stimuli and detects syntactic patterns

that apply to specific languages. Through ample exposure to native speech, individuals develop a template for producing generative syntactic structures.

The processes involved in first-language acquisition are specifically defined by Chomsky's theory of universal grammar (UG). Chomsky's notion of UG states that certain universal *principles* govern human language. In this theory, all speakers possess an innate mental faculty that consists of syntactic, phonological, and morphological principles that are common to all languages. Every language is derived from the same original set of principles. A specific example of a UG principle is the *structure dependence principle*, which specifies that all grammatical operations are sensitive to the grammatical structure of the sentences to which they apply. Furthermore, these types of principles help a child lay the groundwork for the more detailed nuances of the specific language that they are acquiring. The language-specific characteristics are referred to as *parameters*. All structural learning will be limited to the parameters of the given language. For example, the *pro-drop* parameter tells speakers of Spanish that they may omit the subject in most situations. Simply through their exposure to language, children are able to grasp the UG principles and parameters of their language and quickly begin to produce their own speech.

It has been suggested that the existence of a *poverty of stimulus* in a child's input supports Chomsky's theory of UG. Poverty of stimulus means that spontaneous speech is full of mistakes, repairs, and pauses. This would prove that children's language is not a result of behavioral reinforcement and repetition. Instead, the language acquisition device is processing the information as a uniform structured pattern to set the parameters of the language. Other researchers such as Pinker have stated that caretaker-baby speech (sometimes referred to as *motherese*) is actually methodical and clear in comparison with adult-adult discourse. Although Chomsky's views have made a significant impact on our understanding of language acquisition, they have been contested and extended by such scholars as Ritchie and Bhatia.

The Biology of Language Acquisition

Although there is a lot of discrepancy regarding an exact description of a definable period of language acquisition, many researchers, such as David Birdsong,

posit that children *acquire* a language easier than adults do, especially in the area of phonology. Whether this is because of a reduced metabolic rate or the loss of synaptic processes, it has been claimed the onset of puberty produces certain biological changes in the way people can acquire language; this window of linguistic opportunity is referred to as the *critical period*. The sensitive period of language acquisition is highly contested, and ample research argues against it, such as work conducted by Barry McLaughlin, Ellen Bialystok, and Christo Moskovsky.

The atrophy of language-acquisition abilities is widely considered as biologically rooted. During the critical period, neurons have the ability to make more connections than they do later in an individual's life. More specifically, the ability of cortical neurons in the relative cognitive area to form new connections is based on peripheral or outside stimuli versus predetermined genetic connections. The plasticity of the brain during the first 4 years of life apparently allows children to acquire language effortlessly. By the time a child is born, all of her or his neurons have already been formed. The cerebral cortex, where the synapses occur, continues to increase rapidly during the first year. Synapses continue to develop usually until the child has reached 2 years old, at which point, there are 50% more than in an adult brain. Pinker argues that language acquisition demands a high number of synapses, myelination of brain cells, and a certain elevated level of metabolic activity in the brain. Therefore, the age of immersion or exposure to a given language has been posited as the best predictive variable for the person's ultimate linguistic proficiency, as stated by Birdsong.

Advocates of the critical period hypothesis claim that, once a child reaches puberty, the level of fluency that can be attained in either first- or second-language acquisition is limited. The closure of this critical period results in a loss of access to the innate mental faculty (or latent language structure) for language acquisition that allows children to organize language input into syntactic structures. Variations in language acquisition that are associated with the critical period of language acquisition (i.e., changes in the brain) are also attributed, however, to the accumulation of cultural experiences. Tomasello contends that the mental organization of new cultural knowledge structures and language patterns fossilize over time. Once a concept has been embedded cognitively, acquiring another language system to express the same concept

becomes more difficult than was the case with the first language.

Usually, the critical period hypothesis is used to explain the lack of ability to acquire language in two main areas: syntax and phonology. Though this is especially applicable to the study of second-language acquisition, some studies have looked at individuals who started their first-language acquisition process after puberty. The most famous case is that of Genie, who from the age of 1 year and 8 months to 13 years and 7 months was locked in a closet and deprived of any communication. After Genie was rescued, her linguistic acclimation was closely studied, as reported by Susan Curtiss. Even after years of training and exposure to language, Genie was unable to produce syntactically fluent speech. She failed to acquire three aspects of language: pronominal forms, movement rules, and the English auxiliary system. As interesting (and tragic) a case as Genie's situation has proven to be, it is not a good model to exemplify the late onset of a first-language acquisition. Because of the extreme psychological abuse suffered during the first 13 years of her life, it is not possible to tell whether her language deficiencies are solely the result of biolinguistic processes.

The main argument against the sensitive period of acquisition may not focus directly on the fact that children achieve native-like levels of language fluency more often than adult learners do but, rather, that it is *not* completely impossible for adults to achieve native-like levels of fluency—especially in cases of second-language acquisition, as scholars such as Bialystok argue. Another intriguing argument against the critical period hypothesis concerns phonological production and acquisition. James Flege and Theo Bongaerts conclude that, with proper training and exposure to the target language, adults can achieve near-native levels in pronunciation if properly trained. Advocates of this stance admit that children acquire phonological traits of a language flawlessly, but they maintain that puberty is not an absolute barrier for acquiring a native accent.

The concept that humans have only a certain window of opportunity to acquire a language is hard to ignore, yet it is even more difficult to prove. The idea of depriving individuals of linguistic interaction to better understand such a theory is unthinkable. Therefore, most of the research done on the critical period is based on second-language acquisition. Whereas all humans are innately endowed with a

language faculty to flawlessly acquire a first language, attaining a high level of second-language competency depends on numerous other factors.

Eric Johnson

See also Baby Talk; Critical Period Hypothesis; Language Acquisition Device; Language and Thought; Language Defined; Language Learning in Children and Adults; Linguistics, an Overview; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Bialystok, E. (1997). The structure of age: In search of barriers to second language acquisition. *Second Language Research*, 13(2), 116–137.
- Birdsong, D. (1999). *Second language acquisition and the critical period hypothesis*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bongaerts, T. (1999). Ultimate attainment in L2 pronunciation: The case of advanced late L2 learners. In D. Birdsong (Ed.), *Second language acquisition and the critical period hypothesis* (pp. 133–159). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origins, and use*. New York: Praeger.
- Clark, E. (2003). *First language acquisition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, V. (1997). *Inside language*. New York: Arnold.
- Curtiss, S. (1977). *Genie: A psycholinguistic study of a modern-day "wild-child."* New York: Academic Press.
- Finegan, E. (1999). *Language: Its structure and use* (3rd ed). Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Flege, J. E. (1999). Age of learning and second language speech. In D. Birdsong (Ed.), *Second language acquisition and the critical period hypothesis* (pp. 101–132). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Heath, S. B. (1996). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. In D. M. Brenneis, Ronald K. S. (Eds.), *The matrix of language: Contemporary linguistic anthropology* (pp. 12–38). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Hymes, D. (1977). *Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. London: Tavistock.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- McLaughlin, B. (1992). *Myths and misconceptions about second language learning: What every teacher needs to know*. Santa Cruz, CA: National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning.
- Moskovsky, C. (2001). *The critical period hypothesis revisited*. Proceedings of the Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society. Available from <http://au.geocities.com/austlingsoc/proceedings/als2001/moskovsky.pdf>
- Parrot Hickerson, N. (2000). *Linguistic anthropology*. New York: Harcourt College.
- Pinker, S. (1995). Language acquisition. In L. R. Gleitman, M. Liberman, & D. N. Osherson (Eds.), *An invitation to cognitive science* (Vol. 1., pp. 135–182). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Ritchie, W. C., & Bhatia, T. K. (Eds.). (1999). *Handbook of child language acquisition*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Tomasello, M. (2000). First steps toward a usage-based theory of language acquisition. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 11, 61–82.

FISHMAN, JOSHUA A. (1926–)

Joshua A. Fishman's contributions to the field of bilingual education span more than half a century. His own personal and scholarly experience with bilingual education might have spurred Fishman's intellectual creativity as the founder of what has become the field of sociology of language, or Fishmanian sociolinguistics. A review of his roles in bilingual education marks him clearly as a visionary linguist: a supporter of bilingual education as enrichment for one and all, an advocate for the Bilingual Education Act, a critic of Title VII ideology, and a scholar interested in the role that bilingual education plays throughout the world in supporting minority languages and communities. This entry describes some of Fishman's contributions to bilingual education

Born and raised in Philadelphia, Joshua A. Fishman attended the Yiddish Workmen's Circle Schools, supplementary Yiddish schools that had a linguistic and secular function. These schools armed him with a commitment to the development of minority languages, especially Yiddish, and a pro-proletariat activism. He went on to teach in elementary and secondary Jewish secular schools while pursuing his doctorate in social psychology and education at Columbia University. It is not surprising, therefore, that his first book in English was titled *Bilingualism in a Yiddish School: Some Correlates and Non-Correlates*.

Fishman's first major book, *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (published in 1966), includes a chapter on what he calls ethnic-mother-tongue schools; these are bilingual education day and supplementary schools run by ethnolinguistic communities—groups of a particular ethnicity, usually regarded also as linguistic minorities. The influence of his work on the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968 was paramount. He testified in the hearings, and his work was frequently cited. Fishman proposed the word *transitional* to substitute for *compensatory*, a term that has since been adopted by policymakers and scholars alike. After the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, Fishman devoted a great deal of personal and scholarly attention to the topic. In the early 1970s, he and his wife, Gella Schweid Fishman, served as consultants for a Title VII Bilingual Education Curriculum Center at the New York City Board of Education. Between 1970 and 1985, he published 15 important articles on bilingual education as well as three significant books—*Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective* (1976); *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives, Volume 1: Social Science* (1977); and *Bilingual Education for Hispanic Students in the United States*.

In his 1976 book, Fishman proposed four of the principles of bilingual education that summarize his ideology on the topic:

1. Bilingual education is good for the majority group.
2. Bilingual education is good for the minority group.
3. Bilingual education is good for education.
4. Bilingual education is good for language learning and language teaching.

His insistence that “poor little rich kids” need bilingual education most leads him to promote enrichment bilingual education for all, proposing what we know today as two-way dual-language education. Fishman warned of its limitations by asserting the following:

If both types of children can ultimately wind up in the same classroom . . . , an optimal *modus vivendi* will have been attained. . . . However, if an enrichment language policy is limited or restricted to the

schools alone, it will fail as surely as either transitional or maintenance policies when similarly restricted. (1989, p. 414)

Fishman believes that bilingual education is good for several reasons: It provides for multiple memberships and for multiple loyalties in an integrative fashion. It equalizes the children of marked- and unmarked-language backgrounds. Bilingual education can also afford economic possibilities to bilinguals. He has predicted the growth of bilingual education in the future, as local languages are given increased educational recognition, and world languages, especially English, are gaining wider currency.

Although Fishman was a strong supporter of enacting the Bilingual Education Act, he soon became a critic, calling it an act “for the Anglification of non-English speakers and not an act for Bilingualism” (1989, p. 405). He conceptualizes transitional bilingual education as a vaccine with a “little bit of deadened mother tongue, introduced in slow stages in the classroom environment” (1976, p. 34) to cure children who do not speak English of their disease.

Fishman is responsible for the most popular typology of bilingual education in the United States, that of programs being transitional, maintenance, or enrichment. In 1970, with John Lovas, Fishman further proposed four types of bilingual education, thinking about all the bilingual situations in the world:

Type I. Transitional Bilingual Education: The child's home language is used in the early grades.

Type II. Monoliterate Bilingual Education: Literacy skills are developed only in the dominant language.

Type III. Partial Bilingual Education: A form of partial bilingualism, where both languages are used for different subject matter.

Type IV. Biliterate Bilingual Education: Full bilingualism, with both languages used for all subjects, and literacy skills developed in both as well.

Fishman and Lovas point out that although full biliterate-bilingual programs seem to be desirable, they may not be grounded in societal reality, where it is difficult to continue to use two languages

if they are functionally redundant. Thus, they suggest that a partial biliterate bilingual program may be sufficient.

In recent years, Fishman's attention has turned to reversing the language shift of threatened languages and the potential of bilingual schools in that enterprise (see, for example, his books *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages* and *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved?*). Blending his interest in bilingual education and particularly the ethnic-mother-tongue schools, Fishman has coauthored with Guadalupe Valdés the book *Developing Minority Language Resources: Spanish for Native Speakers in California*.

Fishman's contributions to the development of bilingual education theoretical perspectives, practices, and research throughout the world have been unparalleled. His monumental work of more than 1,000 items has supported the efforts of many ethnolinguistic minority groups, large and small, in different parts of the world, in the development of bilingual schools.

Ofelia García

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy;

Bilingualism Stages; Dual-Language Programs; Language Revival and Renewal; Language Shift and Language Loss; Social Bilingualism; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Transitional Bilingual Educational Programs

Further Readings

- Fishman, J. A. (1949). *Bilingualism in a Yiddish school: Some correlates and non-correlates*. Unpublished manuscript. Yiddish Scientific Institute.
- Fishman, J. A. (1976). *Bilingual education: An international sociological perspective*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Fishman, J. A. (1977). The social science perspective. In *Bilingual education: Current perspectives* (Vol. 1, pp. 1–49). Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Fishman, J. A. (1989). *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited, a 21st century perspective*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A., & Keller, G. D. (Eds.). (1982). *Bilingual education for Hispanic students in the United States*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Fishman, J. A., & Lovas, J. (1970). Bilingual education in sociolinguistic perspective. *TESOL Quarterly*, 4, 215–222.

Fishman, J. A., Warshauer, V. E., Hofman, J. E., & Hayden, R. G. (1966). *Language loyalty in the United States: The maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups*. The Hague: Mouton.

García, O., Peltz, R., & Schiffman, H. (2006). *Language loyalty, continuity and change: Joshua A. Fishman's contributions to international sociolinguistics*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Valdés, G., Fishman, J. A., Chávez, R., & Pérez, W. (2006). *Developing minority language resources: Spanish for native speakers in California*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

FLORES V. STATE OF ARIZONA

In Arizona, approximately 15% of students attending public school are English language learners (ELLs), according to the Office of English Language Acquisition. Beginning in 2006, all high school students must pass an achievement test to graduate from high school. In spring 2004, more than 80% of ELLs in high school were still failing the Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS) test compared with 26% of the entire high school population, as reported by the Arizona Department of Education.

The struggle for adequate funding for English language learner programs in Arizona's public schools has been going on since 1992. That's when *Flores v. State of Arizona* was filed, alleging that the state was violating federal law by failing to adequately fund ELL programs. That judgment was issued in favor of the plaintiffs in January 2000, but the state has yet to comply with the judgment. As a result, ELL students in Arizona are still not receiving the equal education to which they are entitled under federal law.

The Case

This case was filed as a class action suit in 1992 on behalf of parents and students in the Nogales and Douglas Unified School Districts in Arizona. Originally, the class representative was identified as Evangeline Miranda on behalf of her children and other parents and children similarly situated. Miranda was eventually dismissed, and Miriam Flores was substituted in her place as the named class representative.

The complaint filed in 1992 generally alleged that the state was violating the Equal Education Opportunity Act of 1974 (EEOA). The EEOA requires that local education agencies including the state take “appropriate action” to help non-English-speaking students overcome their language barriers so that they can participate to the same extent as other students in public education. The *Castañeda v. Pickard* case provides the analytical framework for determining whether the EEOA has been violated.

The decision in *Castañeda* established a three-prong test for determining compliance with the EEOA. First, the state must have a recognized educational methodology in place for delivering language acquisition services. At the time the *Flores* case was filed, Arizona had authorized four different methodologies for use by school districts; none of these was challenged by the plaintiffs in *Flores*. Second, the state must allocate appropriate resources to effectively implement the educational methodology that has been approved; the plaintiffs challenged this prong of the test in *Flores*. And, third, even with a recognized methodology and adequate resources to implement it, the program must work. That is, it must produce results indicating that the language barriers confronting students are actually being overcome.

In 1996, the plaintiffs amended their complaint to include an additional claim. That year, the state adopted the AIMS test and established successful completion of the test as a graduation requirement. The additional claim asserted by the plaintiffs in *Flores* was that the AIMS test would have a disparate impact on minority students in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

U.S. District Court Judge Alfredo Marquez established a trial date of August 16, 1999. The plaintiffs and defendants agreed that only the funding issues would be tried to the court and that the programmatic issues in the case would be settled by agreement of the parties and become the subject of a consent order approved by the court. The court heard three days of testimony concerning the state’s funding for ELL programs. The court issued its judgment on January 24, 2000.

Judgment’s Ruling on EEOA Claim

Judge Marquez ruled in favor of the plaintiffs on their EEOA claim. The judge’s decision began with a description of the Arizona school finance system and the manner in which ELL programs are funded through that system. In general, a base level amount

of funding is made available to each school district on a per student basis. The state’s finance formula increases the base funding amount by weighing certain factors such as the type of student, the experience of the teaching faculty, and the size and type of the school district. The weighting factor for ELL students was established by the state in 1989 to 1990 and was based on a cost study performed in 1987 to 1988. That cost study showed that, on average, school districts were actually spending \$450 extra per ELL student.

The state’s witness at trial testified that the cost study did not reflect the actual cost of operating a successful language acquisition program for numerous reasons. At the time of trial, the state had not updated or revised the 1987–1988 cost study. In 1989 to 1990, the weight applied to base level funding for ELL students was .02, meaning that schools received approximately \$50 more for each ELL student. In 1991 to 1992, the state legislature increased the weight to .06, which resulted in approximately \$150 more being apportioned for each ELL student.

After describing the state’s school financing scheme, the court extensively summarized the testimony of the director of Bilingual Education and Curriculum for Nogales Unified School District (NUSD). By the time of trial, the plaintiff class had been limited to ELL students and their parents in the NUSD. The class action allegations on behalf of students and parents in Douglas Unified School District had been decertified by the court. The director of Bilingual Education and Curriculum for NUSD testified about the programs NUSD had in place for ELL students and testified that the U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights had conducted a compliance review of NUSD in 1992, and that the district had entered into a compliance agreement to remedy certain problems. She also testified about problems that continued to persist in the district in the operation of ELL programs. Those problems included the need for qualified faculty, additional classroom space, materials, teacher training, parent training, and transportation. The director testified that NUSD lacked the resources to address these inadequacies.

The court held that the state’s \$150 appropriation per ELL student, in combination with the state’s property based financing scheme, was inadequate and resulted in ELL program deficiencies. The court identified the deficiencies as (a) too many students in a classroom, (b) not enough classrooms, (c) not enough qualified teachers including teachers to teach ESL and bilingual teachers to teach content area studies, (d) not

enough teacher aides, (e) an inadequate tutoring program, and (f) insufficient teaching materials for both ESL classes and content area courses.

Additionally, the court determined that the state's \$150 appropriation per ELL student was based on the state's cost study, which the state conceded was unreliable and which the state had failed to update. Consequently, the court ruled that the ELL program cost on which the state's minimum \$150 appropriation was based was arbitrary and capricious.

Judgment's Ruling on the Title VI Claim

The court rejected the plaintiffs' claim that the AIMS test violated Title VI's implementing regulations, which prohibit a recipient of federal funding from using criteria or methods of administration that have the effect of subjecting individuals to discrimination because of their race, color, or national origin (34 C.F.R. §100.3[b][2]). The court held that demonstrating discriminatory effect suffices to establish a violation of the regulations but held that the plaintiffs had failed to make the necessary showing.

The court said that to establish a prima facie case of disparate impact, the plaintiffs had to establish that the AIMS test would have a disproportionate and adverse impact on minority students in NUSD, that the AIMS graduation test causes the disparity, and the disparity falls on the plaintiffs because they are members of a protected group based on race, color, or national origin. The court held that the plaintiffs' evidence failed to establish the necessary causal link between the disparate impact of the test and the plaintiffs' minority status. That was particularly so because there was a correlation in NUSD between low-income, at-risk students and ELL students that eliminated any race-based inferences that might otherwise be drawn. Therefore, the students in NUSD might fail the test because they are low-income, at-risk students who are not legally protected from discriminatory treatment rather than members of a protected group to whom such protections are available.

The Consent Order

Following issuance of the judgment, the plaintiffs and defendants continued to negotiate resolution of the programmatic issues in the case. Those negotiations resulted in a proposed Consent Order that was presented to the court. The court approved the

Consent Order on July 31, 2000. With the court's approval, the Consent Order acquired the same force and effect as a judgment and became judicially enforceable.

The Consent Order addresses numerous programmatic issues regarding the delivery of ELL programs in Arizona. Among other issues, the Consent Order requires the following:

1. The Superintendent of Public Instruction selects tests and scores to determine English proficiency.
2. The State Board of Education amends its rules to require that a student exited from an ELL program be reassessed in the two years following exit to determine whether the student is making academic progress. Exited students who do not perform satisfactorily on the reassessment tests shall be re-enrolled in an ELL program or given compensatory instruction aimed at curing the skill or knowledge deficits revealed by the reassessment results.
3. The State Board is also required to amend its rules to require that English language instruction shall be appropriate to the level of English proficiency and shall include listening and speaking skills, reading and writing skills, and cognitive and academic development in English. Additionally, the rules shall require daily instruction in basic subject areas that is understandable and appropriate to the level of academic achievement of the ELL student.
4. The State Board is also required to enact rules to provide that ELL students who are not progressing toward achieving proficiency of the Board's academic standards shall be provided additional compensatory instruction to help them achieve those standards.
5. The Superintendent is required to monitor school districts for compliance with state and federal laws including the Consent Order.

Enforcement Proceedings

Immediately after the court issued its judgment on January 24, 2000, counsel for the plaintiffs delivered a letter to each Arizona legislator and the governor informing them of the judgment and their responsibility to comply with it. By the time the legislative session concluded in May, no legislative action had been taken.

Plaintiffs' First Motion for Injunctive Relief

Given the legislature's failure to take any action during the 2000 legislative session to comply with the judgment in *Flores*, the plaintiffs filed their first motion for injunctive relief in May 2000. They requested that the court order the defendants to perform a cost study upon which legislative action could be based to comply with the funding provisions of the judgment. On October 12, 2000, the court granted the plaintiffs' motion and ordered that a cost study be conducted to determine appropriate funding levels for ELL programs. The court further ordered that the study be completed in sufficient time for the legislature to act during the legislative session that would begin in January 2001.

Plaintiffs' Second Motion for Injunctive Relief

Two legislative sessions passed without any action being taken to comply with the judgment. The plaintiffs then filed another motion asking the court to establish a deadline for compliance.

The court granted that motion and ordered the defendants to comply with the judgment and provide adequate funding for ELL programs by January 31, 2002, or the conclusion of any earlier special session of the legislature that had been called for any other purpose. As it turns out, the governor called the legislature into special session in December 2001 for a purpose unrelated to *Flores*. Rather than face sanctions from the court, the legislature enacted legislation that addressed the judgment in *Flores* but only on an interim basis.

The interim legislation, House Bill 2010, was premised on the notion that the state still did not have reliable cost data to establish appropriate funding levels for ELL programs. In total, House Bill 2010 increased annual funding for ELL programs by more than \$40 million. Additionally, the legislation commissioned a comprehensive cost study and required that it be distributed by August 2004.

Plaintiff's Third Motion for Injunctive Relief

The state contracted with the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) to conduct the cost study required by House Bill 2010. By August 2004,

only an executive summary of the study had been published. The plaintiffs determined that prospects for any legislative action in the session beginning January 2005 were becoming unlikely. As a result, they filed a third motion for injunctive relief requesting that the court establish a deadline for compliance with the judgment by the end of the legislative session. In January 2005, the court granted that motion and ordered that the state "constitutionally and adequately fund" programs for English language learners consistent with the court's judgment in previous orders.

Legislation was not introduced to address the *Flores* judgment until the last week of the session. The legislation was sponsored by the majority leadership in the legislature and generally predicated on their belief that the draft NCSL cost study failed to provide them sufficient information from which to accurately assess and fund the cost of ELL programs. In the intent section of the legislation, the legislature declared,

It has grave concerns regarding the validity and reliability of the cost study performed by the National Conference of State Legislatures . . . the cost study used what it referred to as the "professional judgment approach" to determine the incremental costs for English language learners, yet acknowledged that this kind of approach "depends on the judgment of educational professionals in identifying strategies rather than research that actually shows a linkage between the strategy and student performance." (House Bill 2718, § 17[A])

Instead of relying upon the cost study, the legislation required the development of research-based models of structured English immersion. Once the models were developed, the legislation allowed school districts to apply for additional funding associated with the incremental costs of the research-based models that are in addition to the normal costs of conducting programs for English-proficient students.

House Bill 2718 provided a temporary increase in the funding formula weight for ELL students that amounted to approximately \$75 per student. After one year of funding the weight at that level, House Bill 2718 eliminated the weight all together, finding that classification of a pupil as an ELL is "fundamentally different than the classification of the pupil as qualified for any other . . . category" (House Bill 2718, § 17[B]).

The legislation declared that the costs of implementing the new ELL programs could not be determined

until the research-based models were developed. Thus, more than five years after the judgment had been issued in the *Flores* case, the legislature had not yet identified the cost of providing ELL programs as required by the court. This was a major defect of the legislation, causing the plaintiffs to oppose it.

In mid-June 2005, the governor released her own legislative proposal relying on the NCSL cost study to establish appropriate funding levels. The governor's proposal provided for phased-in funding over a 4-year period. Like the legislature's proposal, the governor's proposal eliminated the ELL weight and substituted a separate funding mechanism for ELL students that required that the funding be spent solely for ELL purposes. In contrast, the weighted funding system allows school districts to budget ELL funds for any purpose and does not restrict the expenditure of funds to ELLs.

After the 4-year phase-in, the governor's proposal established funding at a level of \$1,289 per ELL student. This amount was within the range identified by the NCSL cost study, after total incremental costs were offset by monies that school districts had historically spent on ELL programs from other sources, including federal and locally generated funding. The governor's proposal also included strict accountability provisions for the expenditure of the funds.

The legislative majority's reaction to the governor's proposal was instantaneous. The speaker of the House declared that Arizona would become "Mexico's best school district north of the border." Other legislators denied that the state had any responsibility for educating noncitizens and insisted that children born in the United States to parents who had immigrated illegally were not citizens despite the U.S. Constitution's explicit language to the contrary. One legislator suggested that the children "should be deported, along with their parents."

Subsequent Motions

Given the legislative majority's reaction to the governor's proposal, the plaintiffs determined that they could wait no longer for the executive and legislative branches to discuss, much less agree, on a proposal that would comply with the court's judgment and orders. In late July and early August, the plaintiffs filed two motions seeking further relief from the court: a motion to enjoin the AIMS Test as a graduation requirement on July 28, 2005, and a motion for sanctions against the defendants, on August 2, 2005.

The latter motion requested that the court provide the state with 30 days in which to comply with the court's judgment but if the state fails to take action within that period, the court should enjoin Arizona from receiving federal highway funds.

In December 2005, the district court granted the motion to enjoin the AIMS test as a graduation requirement. Instead of enjoining Arizona from receiving federal highway funds, the district court chose to impose a schedule of fines that would begin 15 days after the legislative session convened in January 2006, if there was no compliance by the date. In late January, fines of \$500,000 per day began to be assessed against the state, and by the time the fines were finally terminated, they totaled \$21 million. In the meantime, the Arizona legislature had intervened in the case and requested that the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals stay the distribution of the fines pending the legislature's appeal of the district court's order.

The superintendent and the legislature's appeals were expedited by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. On July 23, 2006, the court of appeals issued a memorandum decision vacating the district court's orders and remanding the case to the district court to conduct an evidentiary hearing, the purpose of which was to provide the legislature and the superintendent an opportunity to show that changed circumstances that had occurred since the judgment was entered in 2000 justified dissolution or a modification of the court's original judgment. Among the changes asserted by the legislature and the superintendent was legislation enacted in 2006 as the fines were accumulating. That legislation established an English Language Learner Task Force to develop models of instruction for adoption by school districts. The models were to include at least 4 hours of daily English language development for first-year ELLs. School districts were then permitted to submit budget requests to recover the incremental costs of implementing the models. However, the amount of the budget request submitted by a school district was to be offset by proportionate shares of federal funds and desegregation funding. Additionally, funding under the legislation would only be provided for any ELL for 2 years.

On remand to the district court, an evidentiary hearing was held in January 2007. The court heard eight days of evidence from the parties and issued an order on March 23, 2007, holding that the superintendent and the legislature had failed to demonstrate changed circumstances that would justify dissolution or modification of the judgment. The district court also held that House Bill 2064, the legislation enacted the previous

year, violated federal law by deducting federal funds from the amount of state aid for ELL programs and by terminating funding for ELL students after 2 years. The evidence at the hearing demonstrated that it takes ELLs 3 to 4 years to become English proficient and that the legislation's termination of funding after 2 years violated the EEOA.

The superintendent and the legislature have appealed the district court's decision to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The court of appeals has not yet set a hearing on the matter.

Implications

The *Flores* case is significant in several respects. First, it is the only reported court decision finding that a state has failed to comply with the EEOA. Other decisions have involved school districts, but a state has not been ordered by a federal court to increase funding for ELL programs before. Second, there have been many school finance decisions across the country in which state courts have determined that school finance systems are unconstitutional under the terms of a state's constitutional provisions. Those questions almost always raise separation of powers issues regarding the state court's ability to mandate legislative compliance with varying results. However, the *Flores* case is one of the few cases in which a federal court has mandated legislative compliance with funding provisions. Although questions regarding separation of powers are not a barrier to judicial enforcement, the integrity of the federal-state relationship poses similar problems. The *Flores* case will test the federal judiciary's ability to enforce federal law against an uncooperative and unwilling state.

From an educational prospective, *Flores* represents a case in which the judiciary has been willing to use state or federal law as a basis for imposing limitations on legislative funding decisions. Those funding decisions have historically been reserved to the sole and exclusive discretion of the legislature. During the past 30 years, however, courts have shown a willingness to review those legislative decisions under either state constitutional provisions or, as in the *Flores* case, federal law.

The judicial trend is toward requiring legislative decisions that have some relationship to the costs of providing an adequate education. Where legislative funding decisions in the educational arena had been politically driven in the past, states are being required in many instances to establish some rational cost basis for their decisions.

That is not to say that states must simply perform a cost study and then provide funding at the recommended level. If that were true, then there would be no need for state legislatures. Instead, the evolving legal standard seems to require an inquiry into the costs of adequately educating students and using that inquiry at least in part as a basis for funding decisions.

Cases like *Flores* are not a panacea for inadequate educational funding. Ultimately, funding decisions are committed to the sound discretion of legislative and executive officials who have been elected to make those decisions. However, cases such as *Flores* established the principle that such discretion is not unlimited and requires consideration of the costs associated with funding inadequate education.

Timothy Hogan

Editor's Note: This entry is a shortened but updated version of a previous report on this legislation prepared by the same author. The original article can be accessed at <http://www.nsba.org/site/docs/39500/39473.pdf>

See also Costs of Bilingual Education; Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974; Federal Court Decisions and Legislation

Further Readings

Arizona Department of Education (2004). *AIMS Report Wizard*. Retrieved from <http://www.ade.az.gov/profile/publicview>

Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).

Equal Education Opportunities Act, 20 U.S.C. § 1703(f) (1974).

Flores v. State of Arizona, 172 F. Supp. 2d 1225 (D. Ariz. 2000).

Office of English Language Acquisition. (2005). Arizona: Rate of LEP growth 1994/1995–2004/2005. Retrieved from http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/stats/3_bystate.htm

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000.

FLUENCY

See PROFICIENCY, FLUENCY, AND MASTERY

FOREIGN TEACHERS, IMPORTING

See CREDENTIALING FOREIGN-TRAINED TEACHERS

FOUR-SKILLS LANGUAGE LEARNING THEORY

In language learning theory, the *four-skills sequence* refers to a belief that language learners go through a specific sequence in learning a language, any language. According to this theory, we first learn to understand an utterance or an idea, then learn to say it, then read it, and finally write it. Although the theory is somewhat dated because of its simplistic basis, many language teachers still believe that the sequence accounts for a substantial portion of the work involved in teaching a language. In the extreme, the practice means that students are not asked to write what they do not yet read and are not asked to speak utterances they do not yet understand.

The four skills in question are listening, speaking, reading, and writing, and according to structural linguistic theory, language learning is best facilitated by structuring instruction so that language learners progress through the four skills in that sequence. One listens first, and then speaks, which is followed by reading, and writing is the last skill developed. Colin Baker speaks of listening, speaking, reading, and writing as language *abilities*; he believes language skills have measurable and observable components, such as handwriting and pronunciation. Carlos Ovando, Virginia P. Collier, and Mary Carol Combs use the term *language mode* when referring to the four skills. Some purists in the science of linguistics argue that the written form of a language is not part of their science because they consider language to be the spoken phenomenon and the marks we make on paper as merely a representation of the latter. This entry describes the theory and uses the terms *language abilities*, *language skills*, and *language modes* interchangeably when referring to the four skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

Audio-Lingual Method

The four-skills sequence of language learning was embraced by the audio-lingualists, whose language teaching methods are based on the structural linguistic theoretical perspective. In their practice, audio-lingualist teachers first model dialogues to which beginning language learners listen and then repeat. Then the teacher prompts the students to recombine

utterances from the dialogues with different vocabulary, different verb tenses, or additional modifiers, such as adverbs and adjectives. As learners progress through the sequence of dialogues, the amount and complexity of language used increases, and practice to develop additional language abilities is introduced. In most cases, the students would have experienced all phrases or sentences that he or she was asked to incorporate into a learning dialogue.

After some time, learners are introduced to short reading passages related to the topic of the dialogue and integrating previously introduced vocabulary and grammatical structures. After students have sufficient practice with reading, they then start to write short sentences in response to questions about the reading passage. The writing assignments grow more complex over time, until learners are able to write more extended passages on topics of their choosing with the scope of vocabulary and structures to which they were already introduced and familiar.

Ovando et al. point out that the four language modes fit into two dimensions: receptive and productive skills. Listening and reading are receptive skills, and speaking and writing are productive skills. Further, listening and speaking are components of *oracy*, language skills that do not depend on written language. Reading and writing are components of *literacy*, skills that depend on written language. Baker points out that in understanding relationships between the four abilities, receptive and productive skills, and oracy and literacy, one can also understand better the subtleties of what it means to be bilingual and how to arrange instruction for bilingual students.

Sequential Versus Integrated Approach

To classify people as bilinguals or monolinguals is too simplistic because some can understand more than one spoken language and may not be able to speak it, or they may be able to read, but not write in more than one language or in either. This is often the case with immigrant children who come to the United States from preliterate environments such as refugee camps. Further, within the abilities, gradations exist. Some language learners may be more or less fluent speakers than others; others may listen with understanding while shopping but not when listening to an academic lecture. There are also skills within skills, such as

pronunciation, extent of vocabulary, correctness of grammar, and so on.

Thus, bilingualism is not the black- and-white phenomenon that many paint it to be, and the four-skills sequence where each type of ability is developed separately from the others is not practicable as a consistent teaching or learning approach. Each ability flows naturally into the next, which makes it difficult to explore any in isolation from the rest. For this reason, using an integrated approach to developing the four language abilities is preferable to a sequential one. An integrated approach to developing all four abilities also allows for a more balanced development in oracy and literacy because both are attended to throughout the language learning process. In an audio-lingual approach where abilities are introduced and developed sequentially, a learner requiring practice in developing literacy but not oracy has to wade through an unnecessary oracy development process that may prove to be too long, or perhaps boring.

Stephen Krashen echoes this concern. First, the effects of skills-based instruction on developing language proficiency are weak. For instance, studies claiming to show a positive effect for grammar study on language learning show only a limited contribution of grammar study to language proficiency. Grammar, spelling, vocabulary, and so on are too complex to be learned consciously. Second, numerous cases exist of people who have achieved high levels of proficiency without skill-based instruction. The skill-building hypothesis, according to Krashen, is an “output” hypothesis. It presupposes that students produce language to acquire it. This contradicts the structural perspective that generally maintains that students first acquire language to produce it. Output, in this context, serves two functions: (1) to expose errors for correction and to lead to better understanding of the existence of rules governing the target language and (2) to solidify learners’ knowledge and application of these rules. Krashen maintains that the amount of output that language learners produce in this way is often too small to be a meaningful tool for learning.

Critical Literacy Approach

Baker points out that a four-skills approach results in functional literacy, a low-level literacy, which may be an admirable goal but which is not the optimal literacy goal for language learners. Baker espouses literacy

approaches that focus on both meaning and structure and are intertwined with knowledge and inquiry. In the latter instance, language proficiency is means toward a greater end; in the former case, language is an end in itself. Developing literacy skills through the examination of and interaction with authentic, meaningful texts equips students to demonstrate proficiency in the four skills without having to analyze the underlying linguistic structures themselves. In a critical literacy-oriented learning environment, authentic language is modeled and language learners develop implicit language-governing rules that will stand the test of time because learners will use them again and again toward a greater end of producing original ideas and creating new knowledge. This approach contrasts with a four-skills approach that conditions students to manipulate others’ ideas in the name of drill and practice focused solely on language structures.

Many bilingual education teachers recognize the complementary advantages of a number of methods and approaches and will mix them to serve specific pedagogical purposes for particular students. The field of language teaching offers many opportunities to study how second-language learners employ various language learning strategies to develop higher levels of proficiency in a second language. Also, rich opportunities exist for further research on relationships between home language skills and proficiency and second-language skills and proficiency, especially with reference to the transferability of skills from the first to the second language.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Audio-Lingual Method; Comprehensible Input; Continua of Biliteracy; Linguistics, an Overview; Literacy and Biliteracy; Literacy Instruction, First and Second Language

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Krashen, S. (2004). Why support a delayed-gratification approach to language education? *Language Teacher*, 28(7), 3–7.
- Ovando, C., Collier, V. P., & Combs, M. C. (2003). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (3rd ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.



GARCÍA, EUGENE E. (1946–)

Eugene E. García was director of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA)—currently known as the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA)—of the U.S. Department of Education from 1993 to 1995. García was born on June 3, 1946, in a small town on the western slope of Colorado named Grand Junction. His parents were migrant farm workers from the “Four Corners” area—the border region of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah—who worked in seasonal crops, harvesting sugar beets, cherries, apricots, peaches, apples, and pears.

Although neither of his parents attended school on a regular basis, Eugene’s family deeply valued education. From young childhood, he was taught in his native Spanish language to value education as an important resource. To all of his children, Eugene’s father would often say, “*Nunca te pueden quitar la educación*” (“They can never take your education away”). Although his parents could not offer their children traditional schooling—literacy, mathematics, and science skills—the education Eugene and his siblings received from their parents were respect for family, respect for elders, respect for others, hard work, persistence, patience, the importance of spirituality, and so on.

After completing a BS in psychology at the University of Utah in 1968, García attended graduate school at the University of Kansas, where he received an MS in child development in 1970 and a PhD in human development in 1972. He also completed

postdoctoral work at Harvard University, and was a postdoctoral fellow at the National Research Council and the Kellogg Foundation.

García’s professional career has been marked by an ongoing commitment to academia, research, administration, and other scholarly activities. He has served as professor, researcher, mentor, and administrator, often concurrently. From 1980 to 1987, he served as director of the Center for Bilingual Education and Research at Arizona State University; from 1990 to 1993, he was chair of the Department of Education and dean of the Division of Social Sciences at University of California, Santa Cruz; during this period, he was also director of the National Research Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning. From 1993 to 1995, he was director of OBEMLA during President Bill Clinton’s administration; from 1995 to 2001, he served as dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley, during which time he was a special advisor to the university chancellor. Subsequently, he served as dean of the Mary Lou Fuller College of Education at Arizona State University from 2002 until 2006. In 2003, García was appointed vice president of School-University Partnerships at Arizona State University and is the current chair of the National Task Force on Early Childhood Education for Hispanics.

Even though he has had extensive administrative experience, his fundamental function and identity continues to be that of a professor and researcher. In collaboration with colleagues and grant-issuing bodies nationwide, García has earned more than \$13 million in research funding during the past 30 years, serving as principal investigator or coinvestigator, to

increase the scientific and practical knowledge-base concerning issues of language development, early education, cognition, bilingualism, culture, curriculum and instruction, and effective schooling practices for language minority and Hispanic children. He has been a professor in the psychology and education departments at several universities, including the University of Utah, the University of California–Santa Barbara, Arizona State University, the University of California–Santa Cruz, and the University of California–Berkeley. Since 2002, he has been a professor in curriculum and instruction at Arizona State University.

García is the recipient of many awards. He was named U.S. Hispanic educator of the year in 1986 by the League of United Latin American Citizens, given the Senior Research Award by the American Education Research Association in 1991, named one of the 100 most influential Hispanics in 2001 by *Hispanic Business* magazine, and was given the Outstanding Support of Hispanic Issues in Higher Education Award in 2005 by the Hispanic Caucus of the American Association of Higher Education. He also has authored or coauthored more than 150 articles and book chapters and has written several books—his most recent authored volumes include *Hispanic Education in the United States: Raíces y Alas* (2001), *Student Cultural Diversity: Understanding and Meeting the Challenge* (2001), and *Teaching and Learning in Two Languages: Bilingualism and Schooling in the United States* (2005).

García is married and has two children and two grandchildren.

Bryant T. Jensen

See also Improving America's Schools Act of 1994; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs

Further Readings

- García, E. (2001). *Hispanic education in the United States: Raíces y alas*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.
- García, E. (2001). *Student cultural diversity: Understanding and meeting the challenge* (3rd. ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- García, E. (2005). *Teaching and learning in two languages: Bilingualism and schooling in the United States*. New York: Teachers College Press.

GERMAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The use of various languages in American education occurs in cycles. No single language remains preeminent forever. Spanish occupies an important place today, but at another point in our history, German occupied second place only to English in the schools. Unlike German as a foreign language, in which students learn German as a subject, instruction in and through German uses the language as a tool for teaching other subjects. Proponents of the use of German for instruction were also interested in preserving the language and culture of that group among the young.

The history of bilingual education for children of German immigrants in the United States falls roughly into three periods: (1) the colonial to early Republican period (1683–1800), (2) the early 19th century through the Civil War period (1800–1865), and (3) the post–Civil War period through World War II (1865–1950). In each of these eras, bilingual education in German and English served different groups. The German settlers of the colonial era and the early republic sought refuge from religious oppression, whereas the German immigrants of the 19th century were mainly political refugees. German immigrants and Americans of German heritage in the first half of the 20th century lived, at times, in an environment of anti-German sentiment. During this period of international tensions and wars, those of German heritage were regarded as a threat to U.S. security because it was feared they might be German spies or sympathizers. Such fears find an echo today in concerns about Mexican immigration, which often clouds discussions of bilingual education. This entry describes German-language education in the United States.

Colonial Through Early Republic Period (1683–1800)

The first German settlers arrived in the Pennsylvania colony in 1683, where they founded Germantown, near Philadelphia. Immigrants from German-speaking regions in Europe grew into an influential presence during the colonial period, especially in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and through the birth of the new nation. During this era and into the beginning of the 19th century, German immigrants in the United States aroused little hostility. They had proven themselves to be good

patriots as early as the Revolutionary War, and they were well represented at the Philadelphia convention of 1774 and 1775 and in the Continental Army. The Continental Congress even printed German versions of a number of documents, including the Articles of Confederation. Not unexpectedly, many German families during the Colonial era requested that German be included along with English in the curriculum of the schools their children attended. The first bilingual schools, which opened before 1800, were parochial institutions, as was the norm for education in general during this period. Clergy were commonly the teachers. However, some schools were technically not bilingual—German was the only language of instruction in these cases. In other instances, schools were bilingual and included German and English and a variety of balances between German and English as language of instruction, depending on local preferences. Either German or English might be the exclusive language of instruction, with one or the other taught as a subject, or both might be the language of instruction at different times of the day.

Nineteenth Century Through the Civil War (1800–1865)

The number of German immigrants increased during the 19th century. Unlike those arriving in the United States during the 18th century, these immigrants—called 30ers (they arrived in the 1830s)—fled political repression stemming from religious and philosophical differences. Given their history in Germany, these immigrants favored active civic involvement in their new communities in America. This group worked for equal status of the German language with English—and not to the exclusion of English—in those states with strong German presence.

In 1850, Germans were the only important immigrant group in the United States. Of 900,000 immigrants in the United States, only 100,000 claimed English as a native language, and 584,000 were from Germany. In 1880, half a million of the 3.9 million population claimed English as a native language. Two million of the remaining 3.4 million were from Germany. In 1850, 15% of foreign-born people in the United States spoke German; in 1880, 60% of foreign-born people spoke German.

Because German immigrants settled in relatively unpopulated frontier areas of the country where land

was readily available and inexpensive (i.e., Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa, and Missouri), and they were concentrated in those areas, the German presence went relatively unnoticed elsewhere. German immigrants were in the majority in the regions they inhabited, and many of the frontier areas they settled achieved statehood after their arrival. German immigrants were already a strong presence in rural and urban Texas before 1845, when Texas was an independent republic. In both the upper Midwest frontier and the Lone Star Republic, German immigrant children learned in bilingual schools. Their English-speaking counterparts were the minority population, giving the German element a unique political and social advantage.

In these rural areas, Germans initially had no teachers familiar with English, and there was little need for English language proficiency in this environment during the early years of settlement. The question of language of instruction was rarely raised, and when it was raised, the “30ers” brought political pressure to bear in preserving German by using it as the language of instruction.

The Germans in Ohio, for example, who had first settled the region more than 25 years before Ohio achieved statehood, supported the Democrats in the 1836 election. Charging not only that they had paid taxes for public school support but also that the Democratic party owed them some recognition, the Germans sought to influence the course of study in the public schools in the state. They did not want English to be excluded, but they asked that German be taught as well. In response, the Ohio legislature passed a law by which the German language could be taught in the public schools in districts with large German populations. In the elections of 1839, pledges were taken from the candidates that the wording of the law would be changed to prevent any loopholes. Accordingly, the law was revised in 1840—the date of the introduction of German-English public schools in Ohio. Ohio became the first state to adopt a bilingual education law that authorized German-English instruction at the request of parents.

In Pennsylvania, a law was passed in 1837 permitting German schools to be acknowledged on equal basis with English language schools. Pennsylvania was the only state where such language equality in the public school system was asked for or obtained. In one Wisconsin district, one third of the textbook funds

were specified to be spent for German textbooks; in others, school boards could hire only German-speaking teachers, and local school district records were often maintained in German. In Wisconsin, whenever a newly created school district contained a large German population, it was not unusual that instruction was conducted either exclusively in German or in both German and English.

The patriotism Germans demonstrated during the 19th century helped create a receptive climate for bilingual education in the schools. Beginning with the War of 1812 and ending with the Spanish War, Germans were represented in large numbers in the American armies. However, a rise in anti-Catholic sentiment against Irish Catholics in Massachusetts, Maryland, and Connecticut resulted in English literacy tests designed to disenfranchise Irish Catholics; these circumstances also threatened the status of Germans, because many of them were also Roman Catholic. The Civil War broke up the politically powerful Know-Nothing movement that nourished this wave of religious bigotry, thus sparing German immigrants. Unfortunately, this was followed by the formation of the American Protective Association (APA), which marked the end of leniency for the German community.

Post-Civil War to Mid-20th Century (1865–1950)

The teaching of German in the public schools came under attack in the 1880s, and the use of German was discontinued in St. Louis, Missouri; Louisville, Kentucky; St. Paul, Minnesota; and San Francisco, California. Restriction of non-English language instruction was not rationalized on technical and educational grounds. Instead, language restrictionist measures were based on political and economic considerations that caused German immigrants to be regarded as a threat.

The remedy developed by the Germans to preserve the German language on par with English was the use of private and parochial schools for instruction in German because legislation against German-language instruction was limited to public schools. In many districts, Lutheran or Roman Catholic parochial schools displaced the public schools as schools of choice for German immigrants. The remedy was not well received by its opponents. Legislation was proposed in 1889 to force the use of English-only instruction in

private and parochial schools. Germans were opposed to the laws on the basis of language and because they regarded these laws as attacks on their religion, culture, and personal liberty.

Perhaps the most heated controversy about the use of English in private and parochial schools took place in the German-populated states of Illinois and Wisconsin. The Edwards Law in Illinois and the Bennett Law in Wisconsin, passed in 1889, required that parochial as well as public schools teach elementary subjects in the English language. These laws were opposed by both Roman Catholic and Lutheran Germans as a violation of freedom of conscience. Other Protestant denominations did not oppose these laws. The Edwards and Bennett laws were repealed in 1893. They were replaced with compulsory attendance laws that did not specify preferences in language of instruction.

Enrollment surveys at the turn of the 20th century reported at least 600,000 primary school students (public and parochial) were receiving part or all of their instruction in German. This number represented approximately 4% of all American children in elementary grades, a larger proportion than is currently involved in bilingual education. As late as 1940, persons of German heritage in the United States were a strong political force by virtue of their relatively large numbers. Of the nearly 5 million persons of German heritage in the United States in 1940, 32.1% were foreign-born; 49.2% were American-born of one or more foreign-born parents; 18.7% were American-born of American-born parents.

The political winds for German immigrants and Americans of German descent shifted during the World War I era. Fears about the loyalty of non-English speakers in general, and of German Americans in particular, prompted many states to enact English-only instruction laws designed to “Americanize” these groups. Some went as far as to ban the study of foreign languages in the elementary grades altogether. This ban was struck down as unconstitutional in 1923, although anti-German laws remained on the books for decades. As late as 1972, Hispanic advocates for bilingual education in Texas had to rescind the Texas version of this law before they could enact legislation to support Spanish-English bilingual education.

At the onset of World War I, state officials maintained the right of private schools to conduct instruction in German provided that this did not violate laws or interfere with war efforts. As anti-German feelings

grew, efforts to prohibit the use of German in public and private also grew. For example, the Victoria County Council of Defense in Texas urged the abandonment of the use of German in 1918. In Findlay, Ohio, the town council levied a fine of \$25 for the use of the German language in public. At the beginning of the 20th century, legal provisions for using the German language in public and private were permissive, but by 1923, such provisions had turned against German. By 1923, the statutorily required language of instruction in Ohio and other states was English.

The Ohio and similar laws against German-language instruction were subsequently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court because these prohibitions were a violation of due process. Importantly, the Court also declared that statutory requirements of English instruction in public and private schools were permitted.

After World War I, Ohio, Nebraska, and Iowa passed statutes inhibiting the teaching of languages other than English, even as a subject, before the eighth grade. German Lutherans contested the statute, which was declared unconstitutional in the *Bohning v. Ohio*, *Meyer v. Nebraska*, and *Bartels v. Iowa* cases in 1923. Though the Court opinion acknowledged the importance of a common tongue among all people in the United States, it also pointed out that the Constitution prohibited laws that single out a particular language. In theory, although perhaps not in practice, this decision placed the United States far ahead of most countries in the New World. The decision permitted immigrant groups to cultivate their languages as a school subject in private elementary schools. No single nationality was put into a lesser or greater position through preferential treatment of its language.

Anti-German activity was harsh, and the road back was slow after World War I. World War II further complicated efforts to encourage the study of German in schools, both in bilingual education and foreign-language programs.

German Bilingual Education Since 1950

Although German foreign-language enrollments expanded during the 1950s and early 1960s as a result of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, it appears that bilingual education in German and English may now be a thing of the past in the United States, except for a few schools scattered

across the country. Contemporary examples of private bilingual schools are the Deutsche Schule New York, located in White Plains, which was founded in 1980, and the German International School of Boston, founded in 2001. In these two instances, the curriculum complies with local educational standards for state accreditation, and students can earn a diploma recognized by the state. In addition, the curriculum includes components originating in Germany so that students have the option of earning a German diploma as well. The private schools normally rely on partnerships with German corporate, cultural, and government entities for support, including local German Consulate offices. The students include German nationals and U.S. residents interested in developing German/English bilingualism and biliteracy in their children.

Two public bilingual schools are the German Immersion School in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the Twin Cities German Immersion School in Minnesota. The Milwaukee German Immersion School is a magnet elementary school that was founded in 1977, and the Twin Cities German Immersion School is a charter elementary school that began operation in September 2005. The Milwaukee German Immersion School articulates its program with Milwaukee's School of Languages, affording students the opportunity to continue the immersion experience through high school. These public language immersion schools rely on partnerships with local universities for program research and development efforts and also partner with various German cultural, corporate, and government institutions. Today's student pool is predominantly students with no prior background experience with the German language. In the early grades, instruction is totally in German, and English is introduced later, normally in the second or third grade. English instruction is gradually increased during the later elementary grades. Students in these schools must comply with local graduation requirements as well as those of the state.

Similarities exist in the historical trajectory of German bilingual education and the current situation of other language groups. In German bilingual education, public policy and educational practice was a product of the educational, economic, and political circumstances of the time. German speakers negotiated bilingual education for their children through the political process and were successful in their efforts when their patriotism was recognized. When Germans

were perceived to be a potential threat to U.S. security, as was the case during World War I, German lost its status as an important language in education. It has never recovered that status. More recent efforts to promote bilingualism in German and English have tended to adopt an international focus in contrast to the previous focus on language and cultural preservation.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Americanization by Schooling; Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s; German Language in U.S. History;

Further Readings

- Bartels v. Iowa, 262 U.S. 404 (1923).
- Blanton, C. K. (2004). Tejanos, Germans, and Czechs in the making of the bilingual tradition, 1850–1900. In C. K. Blanton (Ed.), *The strange career of bilingual education in Texas, 1836–1981* (pp. 24–41). College Station: Texas A & M University Press.
- Bohning v. Ohio, 262 U.S. 404 (1923).
- Kloss, H. (1997/1977). *American bilingual tradition*. McHenry, IL: Delta Systems.
- Leibowitz, A. H. (1978). Language policy in the United States. In H. Lafontaine, B. Persky, & L. Golubchick (Eds.), *Educación bilingüe* (pp. 3–13). Wayne, NJ: Avery.
- Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).
- National Association for Bilingual Education. (1998, Spring). History of bilingual education. *Rethinking schools*, 12(3). Retrieved from http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/12_03/langhst.shtml
- Toth, C. R. (1990). *German-English bilingual schools in America: The Cincinnati tradition in historical context*. New York: Lang.
- Wiley, T. (1998). The imposition of World War I era English-only policies and the fate of German in North America. In T. Ricento and B. Burnaby (Eds.), *Language and politics in the United States and Canada* (pp. 211–241). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

GERMAN LANGUAGE IN U.S. HISTORY

The strong presence of a single language other than English in the United States is hardly a new phenomenon. In the 18th and 19th centuries, German speakers were numerous and influential in the political

process in ways similar to today's Spanish speakers. Legend has it that German would have become the official language of the land, were it not for a tie-breaking, dissenting vote. This entry attempts to set the record straight about the legend of German as the official language in the United States, a legend that has roots at two levels of government—the federal level and at the state level in Pennsylvania.

Karl Arndt traced the earliest written account about the status of German to an 1813 article by the Rev. Justus H. C. Helmuth of Philadelphia, who had also been trustee and a professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania. This account predates Franz von Löhner's 1847 report that is the generally accepted, definitive source on German language policy in early U.S. history. Helmuth reported on recommendations to handle court cases of German speakers in German and to publish the laws of the land in German in places where there were many German-speaking people. Helmuth's vision was for German to be a natural official language in a number of states, but not to be imposed on all states, and certainly not to supplant English. Some aspects of his vision were never realized.

Helmuth also reported on a 1794 petition to the House of Representatives by several Germans who lived in Virginia. The petitioners outlined the language-related obstacles to civic engagement to which German-speakers were subjected; they requested that U.S. laws be made available in German in places where there were many German speakers. The petition was referred to a committee consisting of Francis Preston of Virginia, Daniel Heister of Pennsylvania, and Peter Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania, who was also brother of then Speaker of the House Friedrich A. C. Muhlenberg. In April 1794, the committee passed the bill, but it was never brought to the floor because of political pressures on the speaker of the House, a German American who did not want to appear to be pro-German in an English-dominant political environment. The bill was sidetracked or tabled repeatedly in 1794 and 1795. Though official records include much of the debate on this issue, no official record exists of speeches made by Peter Muhlenberg or Heister in favor of printing U.S. laws in German. Arndt claims that some pro-German comments or speeches were deliberately suppressed to prevent German speakers from pushing for even greater recognition of their language. Thus, it appears that from its beginnings, the United States has been a

markedly pro-English nation where there has been little room for other languages in the political arena.

At the state level, specifically in Pennsylvania, Arndt refers to an 1828 article published anonymously in Stuttgart that was corroborated by several other articles in circulation in Europe and the United States at the time. The article reported that German nearly achieved official status in Pennsylvania because of the unified efforts of German speakers in that state. A second article, *Mittheilungen aus Nordamerika* [Reports from North America] by Dr. Ernst Ludwig Brauns, appeared in Braunschweig in 1829. Brauns affirmed Helmuth and repeated the call for German to be coequal with English in places in the United States where there were large numbers of German speakers. Brauns also referred to a motion made in Pennsylvania to elevate German to coequal status with English that failed by one vote.

In a little-known 1817 letter, Thomas Jefferson declared it a government policy to discourage foreigners from settling together in large masses, citing the poor track record of the Germans to assimilate quickly. Though on the surface, this letter may appear tangential, it does provide additional insight into the political context of the time. One can assume in this context that the policy was to ensure that similar language “problems” would not be repeated in the future.

Arndt could not verify claims that German failed to achieve official status by one vote with the bills and resolutions reported and printed for the Pennsylvania House and Senate. He did not accept that lack of verification implied untrue claims. Instead, he argued for unproven claims because of gaps in the official records of the Pennsylvania State Library and the Pennsylvania Legislative Reference Bureau for the period in question. Where records could be found, Arndt found references to bills and resolutions pertaining to the printing of laws in German, but he found none proposing to make German either *the* or *an* official language in the state of Pennsylvania.

Arndt summed up the evidence as follows: (a) At the federal level, German American citizens from Virginia did present a petition to the Third Congress to have the laws of the United States printed in German. One committee in the first session and another in the second session recommended that the petition be granted, but the proposal was defeated through parliamentary chicanery. (b) In the state of Pennsylvania, reports were circulated stating that a proposal to make German an official language of Pennsylvania was

defeated by one vote. The official records of Pennsylvania neither prove nor disprove this claim.

Although it may appear that we are left with little certainty with regard to whether German missed official status by one vote, perhaps we miss the real point if we dwell on this disputed factoid. The story of German as an official language resonates with those of many others who have arrived in the United States since then. Each generation of speakers of languages other than English has encountered similar obstacles and used different avenues to turn obstacles into opportunity in their adopted homeland, to encourage civic participation in the United States using a language other than English. No historical evidence indicates that any of these groups attempted to substitute another language for English. Consistently, English speakers have blocked these attempts, no matter what their motivation is. Subsequent attempts at translating policy into practice were contentious for late 18th- and 19th-century German speakers, just as subsequent attempts by other groups in similar efforts have also met with strong obstacles. The decision to use English or German was not only a controversy for the English-speaking U.S. and state governments; it was also a bone of contention within the German-speaking community itself, just as it is among today’s Spanish speakers in the United States, for example. Comparative approaches to investigating language policy problems may illuminate not only contemporary language policy but also improve our understanding of the past.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy;

Ethnocentrism; Language Policy and Social Control; Languages and Power; Languages in Colonial Schools, Eastern; Official Language Designation

Further Readings

- Arndt, K. J. R. (1976). German as the official language of the United States of America? *Monatshefte*, 68(2), 129–150.
- Brauns, E. L. (1829). *Mittheilungen aus Nordamerika, die höheren Lehranstalten und die Englisirung der dortigen Deutschen betreffend* [Reports from North America, higher education institutions and the Anglicization of Germans in North America]. Braunschweig.
- Hagedorn, R. (1942). German, the national language. *American Notes and Queries*, 2, 23.
- Helmuth, J. H. C. (1813). Zurufe an die Deutschen in Amerika [Acclamations to the Germans in America].

Evangelisches Magazin, 2, 175–176 (published in Philadelphia).

Lohr, O. (1931). Deutsch als “Landessprache” der Vereinigten Staaten [German as “official language” of the United States]. *Mitteilungen der deutschen Akademie [Reports of the German academy]*, 4, 283–290.

Löhrer, F. (1847). *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika [History and circumstances of the Germans in America]*. Cincinnati, OH: Verlag von Eggers und Wulkop and Leipzig: K. F. Kohler.

Werner, W. L. (1942). The “official German Language” legend. *American Speech*, 17, 246.

GIFTED AND TALENTED BILINGUALS

Although it is widely accepted that levels of intelligence and aptitude vary among individuals, giftedness is still somewhat controversial in the field of education and educational research. Despite this, there is still a small but growing body of research about giftedness and bilingualism. Generally, a verbally gifted person has an aptitude for both learning languages and learning about languages; however, verbal giftedness does not necessarily lead to bilingualism and being bilingual is not an automatic indication of verbal giftedness. As with most types of intelligence, verbal intelligence is usually determined by a standardized assessment, such as the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) or the Scholastic Aptitude Test—Verbal (SAT-V), reflecting a focus on academic skills. Standardized assessments are not catchalls and generally do not adequately identify culturally and linguistically diverse children who are gifted. Additionally, verbally gifted bilinguals may not display their talents in traditionally expected ways, thus highlighting the need to find alternate forms of assessment and identification. Finally, gifted bilingual and English language learner (ELL) students are generally underrepresented in all types of gifted education programs, regardless of what area these children excel in.

Generally, although *verbal intelligence*, *verbal giftedness*, and *linguistic intelligence* may be used interchangeably, *verbal aptitude* refers to the potential for giftedness or intelligence. Also, some researchers distinguish between verbal intelligence/giftedness and linguistic intelligence. For these researchers, verbal intelligence and verbal giftedness may include verbal reasoning skills or literacy skills, whereas linguistic intelligence suggests knowledge of and about languages.

This entry discusses linguistic intelligence, identifying and testing for verbal giftedness, and language minority children and giftedness.

Linguistic Intelligence

Currently, giftedness is defined as high capability in one or more of the following areas: general or specific intellectual ability, creativity, leadership, visual and performing arts, and psychomotor ability. Children who are verbally gifted excel in their language ability, though linguistic intelligence is also highly correlated with general intelligence. Howard Gardner was one of the first people to study linguistic intelligence, and his theory of multiple intelligences was one of the first to separate linguistic intelligence from general intelligence. Gardner’s research has shown that linguistic intelligence can exist relatively independently of other intelligences; however, multiple intelligences, such as logical intelligence and interpersonal intelligence, may be needed in addition to linguistic intelligence to become proficient in other languages or excel in a language arts curriculum. Additionally, it has been shown through ACT scores that a person may be verbally gifted, but only average in other areas.

Characteristics of Verbally Gifted Children

Most of what is known about linguistic intelligence in school-aged children is based on studies of verbally precocious youth enrolled in talent search programs throughout the country. These programs, administered by a number of U.S. universities, are designed to identify, educate, counsel, and study verbally precocious and mathematically precocious youth. Through these programs, it has been possible to better understand and characterize linguistic intelligence.

Children who have high levels of linguistic intelligence have extraordinary verbal ability. For instance, roughly one third of the sixth and seventh graders in the talent search programs score as well or better than the average college-bound senior on the SAT, and their vocabulary and knowledge of written English surpasses that of many college students. Additionally, verbally gifted children have a better memory for words, and those words are more compactly represented in their memories. Verbally gifted children often start reading early and continue to read well, although being an early reader is not an absolute indication of linguistic intelligence. Generally, verbally

gifted children also utter their first words between 8 and 10 months of age, much earlier than the typical 12-month milestone, and produce sentences at an earlier age. However, some verbally gifted children start word and sentence production much later than other children, but they rapidly surpass the abilities of children their age once they do start speaking.

Current Research

Oddly, most research in verbal giftedness has been done in monolingual educational settings, and few studies have looked at the relationship between giftedness and bilingualism. For instance, there have been few studies of verbally precocious students in foreign-language classes, but researchers have found that verbally gifted middle school students participating in accelerated German or Latin classes can learn the complete grammar of an introductory course in two-thirds the time that it takes for college students to learn the same material. This indicates that verbally gifted students learn languages well in a classroom setting, but the focus of most previous research has been on monolingual, English-speaking children, ignoring the experiences of verbally gifted bilingual and ELL children both in and out of the classroom.

Identification and Testing of Verbal Giftedness and Aptitude

In understanding how gifted children are tested and identified, it is important to revisit the distinction between *giftedness/intelligence* and *aptitude*. Giftedness and intelligence refer to abilities that already exist, and assessment of verbal giftedness will focus on abilities such as reading comprehension, vocabulary, and analogies. Aptitude differs from giftedness and intelligence in that it encompasses the probability for high ability. Measures of verbal aptitude are generally predictive and include perceiving and learning new sounds, relating sounds to symbols such as letters and words, and identifying patterns in sentences. Although there is much overlap in language aptitude and general ability, language aptitude and verbal giftedness assessments often focus on academic skills, as seen in the assessment items mentioned. This focus means that those children who have higher academic abilities demonstrate higher verbal aptitude on standardized assessments and are generally more readily identified as gifted. These assessments also focus on

vocabulary and grammar, and are not designed to assess language abilities acquired outside of the classroom, nor do they look at communicative ability. For these reasons, parents and teachers are much more reliable for identifying gifted language minority children than are standardized assessments.

Language Minority Children and Giftedness

As mentioned earlier, little is known about an entire category of linguistically gifted youth, bilingual and ELL children. These students are often overlooked by schools and talent search programs, because despite their bilingualism or rapid acquisition of English, they may not be identified by tests of verbal ability that are normed for native English speakers. This is a reflection of the broadly accepted assumption in the U.S. education system that English monolingualism is normal and that speaking a language other than English is a deficiency that should be overcome.

Similarly, the length of time required to learn English has been repeatedly distorted by educational legislation. For instance, Arizona's Proposition 203 suggests that 1 year is sufficient for learning English, despite a large body of research that indicates it takes much longer. This type of policy could be devastating for the verbally gifted ELL student who does learn English within one academic year. Instead of standing out for identification as gifted, the child is seen as "normal" under the requirements of Proposition 203, and is reclassified as English proficient rather than gifted.

Additionally, bilingual children may not display classroom characteristics of verbal intelligence, especially if they are still learning English. Verbally gifted children typically have large vocabularies, although this may not be evident in a bilingual child, especially if they are assessed in the language they are learning rather than in both languages. The same follows for the high reading, writing, and speaking abilities usually associated with verbally gifted children in the classroom. Furthermore, English language ability may hinder identification of gifted bilinguals and ELL students because English is the medium of assessment and the tests are generally normed for monolingual native English speakers.

A handful of researchers in bilingual education have pushed for further research in understanding the relationship between giftedness and bilingualism.

Guadalupe Valdés has argued for expanding giftedness to include children who interpret for their parents and community. These bilingual, school-aged children are called *language brokers*, and generally have no training in interpreting. Despite their lack of training, language brokers are able to understand and relay information beyond what they learn in school, concerning, for instance, medical and dental problems, school issues, utility bills, and so on. Similarly, language brokers are frequently asked to assume the role of the teacher in classrooms and to instruct other monolingual students. Language brokers understand how to relay this variety of information and are able to assume adult-like roles in conversation, indicating that they know how adults speak in different situations. Furthermore, interpreting requires more than just the ability to speak two languages; interpreters must also have an increased speed of comprehension and production, increased memory capacity, a high learning curve, broad general knowledge, and the ability to foresee and prevent misunderstandings. Given current definitions of giftedness, Valdés argues, these children should also be identified as gifted.

Furthermore, bilingual and ELL children may be gifted in other areas and not at all in language. Ernesto Bernal has been one of the few researchers to focus specifically on bilingual children in gifted education, noting that bilingual and ELL children are underrepresented in gifted education programs. He lists several factors that contribute to this, including a reliance on standardized testing and delaying gifted education until after the student has become fully proficient in English. As mentioned, standardized testing often shortchanges gifted bilingual and ELL students because the tests are administered in English, which may be the student's weaker language, and are normed for monolingual English students. More pervasive, though, is the notion that a student needs to be proficient in English before he or she can benefit from gifted education. This notion is rooted in a deficit-based understanding of bilingualism. Bernal argues that gifted bilingual children benefit the most from early identification and access to a rigorous bilingual gifted education program. Finally, minority teachers are also underrepresented in gifted education, and Bernal suggests that increasing the number of minority gifted education teachers will help increase identification and enrollment of minority students in gifted education programs.

Lastly, a person does not have to be verbally gifted to become bilingual or multilingual. Most of the world's population speaks more than one language, and the standards of normal distribution tell us that it is not possible for all of those bilingual people to be verbally gifted. Many factors affect language acquisition and bilingualism, such as motivation, age, and community. Verbal aptitude and intelligence are also not the only cognitive factors associated with language acquisition. What distinguishes the verbally gifted learner from the average language learner is the speed of acquisition. Verbally gifted learners seem to pick up languages effortlessly, both in formal classroom contexts and out in the street, but an average person may take many years to become proficient or near-proficient.

Kara T. McAlister

See also Bilingual Special Education; Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism; Deficit-Based Education Theory; English, How Long to Learn; First-Language Acquisition; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing Requirements; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (Eds.). (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bernal, E. (1994, April). *Finding and cultivating minority gifted/talented students*. Paper presented at the National Conference on Alternative Teacher Certification, Washington, DC.
- García, E. E., & Flores, B. (Eds.) (1986). *Language and literacy research in bilingual education*. Tempe: Center for Bilingual Education, Arizona State University.
- Gardner, H. (1983). *Frames of mind: The theory of multiple intelligences*. New York: Basic Books.
- Olszewski-Kubilius, P., & Whalen, S. P. (2001). The education and development of verbally talented students. In K. Heller, F. Monks, & R. Subotnik (Eds.), *International handbook of giftedness and talent*. London: Pergamon.
- Thompson, M. C., & Thompson, M. B. (1996). Reflections on foreign language study of highly able learners. In J. VanTassel-Baska, D. Johnson, & L. Boyce (Eds.), *Developing verbal talent: Ideas and strategies for teachers of elementary and middle school students* (pp. 174–188). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Valdés, G. (2003). *Expanding definitions of giftedness: The case of young interpreters from immigrant communities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

GÓMEZ, JOEL (1945–)

Joel Gómez was born on February 24, 1945, in a rural area of the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. The oldest of five children, Gómez was guided as a child by his grandmother. He was a helpful son who assisted his father at an early age on the family farm. As a non-English-speaking student of Mexican descent, Gómez's primary education began in Catholic school, learning the idiosyncrasies of the English language, later graduating from Brownsville, Texas, public schools in 1963. His pastimes included playing football, participating in Boy Scouts of America, spelunking in Mexico, and other activities, all while keeping up with farm chores. Following high school graduation, he attended the local community college and later transferred to the University of Texas at Austin, earning a BA in Spanish and history and an MA in Latin American studies. This entry describes his career.

Gómez's educational career began in South Texas public schools, teaching sixth grade in a self-contained elementary classroom. He later worked as a teaching assistant at the University of Texas at Austin and served as a lecturer at the Department of Romance Languages at Pan American College in Edinburg, Texas (now University of Texas, Pan American). These experiences allowed Gómez to build on, use, and apply in new contexts the knowledge and skills gained over the years.

Before assuming the directorship of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, Gómez was hired by Education Service Center, Region XIII (ESC, XIII) in Austin, Texas. He worked on various projects during his tenure at ESC, XIII, developing the leadership and managerial skills that served him in future positions. One of these projects included coordinating a regional Spanish-language materials pilot-test project in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico for the Spanish Curriculum Development Center (SCDC), administered from Miami, Florida. Reading materials tested by Gómez and other colleagues across the nation paved the way for the development of Spanish-language textbooks used in U.S. bilingual education programs. Other projects during his tenure included directing the Regional Technical Assistance Center, the National Dissemination and Assessment Center, and the Bilingual/Migrant Education Project. While in Austin, Gómez spearheaded the development of a test

for use with migrant students for the Texas Education Agency and completed doctoral coursework in Applied Linguistics/Foreign Language Studies at the University of Texas. He also completed an EdD in Higher Education Administration from George Washington University in Washington, D.C.

With varied experiences and numerous accomplishments to his credit within the bilingual education community, Gómez is recognized for being the first director of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) from 1977 to 1984 and from 1990 to 2000, and for successfully operating the Clearinghouse with funding totaling more than \$24 million, under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

As NCBE director, Gómez was instrumental in introducing the bilingual education community to the technological changes the educational field now takes for granted. In this way, it was possible to meet the information needs of teachers and administrators serving the educational requirements of English language learners (ELLs) across the nation in the most expeditious manner. His enthusiastic style and high energy guided an initial staff of five in Roslyn, Virginia, during the first year of the Clearinghouse, with little more than unbridled enthusiasm and an 800 telephone number. Gómez is responsible for taking a start-up project with minimal funding, turning it into a highly recognized, comprehensive, and respected repository of information on the education of non-English-speaking students, and establishing an information delivery system on which millions of people in the United States and other countries rely on a daily basis.

Throughout his career, Gómez has maintained an interest and experienced success in competing for federal funds; working with and on an international education project; publishing; serving on local, national, and international advisory boards and commissions; presenting at conferences and meetings; consulting; and providing technical assistance in his areas of expertise. In all of these positions, Gómez has commanded respect from his colleagues and is frequently recognized publicly by George Washington University for his abilities in procuring a number of federally sponsored projects. The NCBE is housed at the George Washington University, now the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA).

Gómez, the father of two daughters and one son, now serves as interim associate dean for research in the Graduate School for Education and Human Development at George Washington University, where he is also an associate professor of Educational Leadership, director of the Institute for Education Studies, and principal investigator and coprincipal investigator for numerous and varied projects, including the NCELA.

Minerva Gorena

See also National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education

Further Readings

Futrell, M. H., Gómez, J., & Bedden, D. (2003). Teaching the children of a new America: The challenge of diversity.

Phi Delta Kappan, 84(5), 381–385.

Gómez, J. (1998). *An analysis of federally funded bilingual education personnel preparation programs: The perception of higher education administrators on the ability of faculty to prepare teachers to work with language minority students*. Unpublished paper, George Washington University, Washington DC.

Web Sites

National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs:
<http://www.ncele.gwu.edu>

GÓMEZ, SEVERO (1924–2006)

Severo Gómez, a descendant of Plácido Benavides, the “Paul Revere” of the Texas War for Independence, was born on January 18, 1924, the seventh of nine children, to Severo and Paula Hinojosa Gómez in Woodsboro, Refugio County, Texas.

The younger Severo Gómez had a long history in education in Texas. He graduated as salutatorian in the class of 1942 at Woodsboro High School and entered the school of education at Texas College of Arts and Industries (Texas A & I) in Kingsville (now Texas A & M University) the fall of that year. His college education was interrupted by World War II when he entered the army. He served from 1943 to 1946 in the European Theater. Upon discharge, he returned to Texas A&I

and graduated in 1948 with a bachelor of science degree in chemistry and mathematics. In 1955, he completed a master of science degree. He taught science and math in the Benavides and Rio Grande City High Schools in Texas from 1948 until 1959. This entry describes his career.

In 1960, Gómez began an administrative career at the Texas Education Agency (TEA) in Austin and enrolled at the University of Texas at Austin, earning a PhD in educational administration in 1963. His tenure at the state department of education included serving as a consultant, assistant director of guidance and supervision, program director for science, director of the Division of Program Approvals, and state coordinator for International Education, and culminated with his 1967 appointment as the first Mexican American assistant commissioner of education, and the first head of the International and Bilingual Education department, until his retirement in 1975.

As a member of the Committee on Latin American Affairs of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Gómez traveled extensively in Latin America, conducting programs in bilingual/binational schools in Brazil, Ecuador, Chile, Mexico, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Colombia, and Guatemala.

An advocate for bilingual education internationally, Gómez was largely responsible for planning, organizing, and serving as executive director of the first National Conference on Bilingual Education, held April 14 and 15, 1972, at the University of Texas at Austin. The conference, to the goal of which was the implementation and continued development of bilingual programs throughout the nation, was sponsored by the TEA, in cooperation with Education Service Center, Region XIII, and the U.S. Department of Education. The conference’s closing remarks by Gómez gave a succinct summary of the state of understanding of the concept of bilingual education at that early point in its history. Gómez noted that several components mentioned during the conference should become the foundation for bilingual education programs. These included initiating children into school with instruction in their home language, providing language development and instruction of subject matter in their first and second languages, and paying attention to children forming a positive identity with respect to their cultural background. These components, as Gómez called them, served, with only minor modification, as the underpinnings of transitional bilingual education for many years to come.

Gómez's professional association memberships included the National Science Teachers Association, National Educational Association, Texas Academy of Science, Texas State Teachers Association, Phi Delta Kappa, and the International Good Neighbor Council. He was also a member of the Knights of Columbus and volunteered as a Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) teacher of Catholic teens and counselor to the Columbian Squires, the youth arm of the Knights of Columbus. He died on October 17, 2006, in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and is buried in the Texas State Cemetery in Austin.

Minerva Gorena

See also National Education Association Tucson Symposium

Further Readings

Texas Education Agency, Education Service Center Region XIII, & U.S. Office of Education. (1972). *Proceedings of the National Conference on Bilingual Education, April 14–15, 1972*. Austin, TX: Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education—BE#001310

Web Sites

National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs:
<http://www.ncele.gwu.edu>

GONZÁLEZ, HENRY B. (1916–2000)

Congressman Henry Barbosa González was a larger-than-life personality and Democratic Representative from the state of Texas who became the unofficial, and controversial, spokesperson for Mexican Americans in Texas during a pivotal period for that population in American history. González's tenure as a public servant was marked by a passionate, and sometimes tumultuous, advocacy for the rights of minorities and the downtrodden, as described in this entry.

Born in San Antonio, Texas, to recent Mexican immigrants on May 3, 1916, Henry González attended public schools in his hometown, eventually attending both the University of Texas at Austin and San Antonio College during his undergraduate years. He

later earned a law degree at St. Mary's University School of Law. Following graduation, González taught English to immigrant workers, developed a Spanish-English translation service with his father, served as a public relations officer for an insurance company, and worked as a civilian cable and radio censor for military intelligence during World War II. From 1946 to 1950, González worked as a probation officer, rising to chief officer of the Bexar County Juvenile Court by the end of his tenure.

In 1950, González entered the political arena and ran for a seat in the Texas House of Representatives. He narrowly lost the election, but won a seat on the San Antonio City Council 3 years later. During his time on the council, González proposed and passed an ordinance ending segregation in the city's public facilities. In 1956, he left for a seat in the Texas state senate, the first Mexican American elected to that body since the mid-1800s. In the senate, González gained notoriety as an outspoken opponent of racist legislation and an ardent supporter of minority rights and the poor. González also began to solidify his reputation as a sometimes irascible and obstinate legislator, and was among the most popular political figures in Texas. Perhaps a sign of things to come, in 1957 González, along with Senator Abraham Kazen, attracted national attention by leading the longest filibuster in Texas senate history, 35 hours, to defeat several racist segregation bills aimed at circumventing *Brown v. Board of Education*.

González continued his political journey in 1961, winning a special election to fill the U.S. House of Representatives vacancy caused by the resignation of Paul J. Kilday (D-Tex.), thereby becoming the first Mexican American from Texas ever to be elected to a national office. González overwhelmingly won all subsequent elections to the House, sometimes receiving as much as 90% of the votes cast or running unopposed.

Like his tenure in the Texas legislature, González's time in Washington was noted for his efforts on behalf of the rights of the disadvantaged. As a member of several committees and subcommittees—including the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development, the Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance, and the House Small Business Committee, González sponsored and supported numerous bills targeting equal economic opportunities, improved education and public housing programs, higher minimum wages, protection of benefits for workers, and

expanded industry for San Antonio. He was also a member, and after 1988 chairman, of the House Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs Committee, a position he used to impose tighter controls over the savings and loan industry, increase accessibility to credit to small businesses, strengthen anti-money-laundering laws, and make the Federal Reserve more publicly accountable.

Though he never ran on a Hispanic platform, González was actively involved in many Hispanic causes. He was national cochairman of the Viva Kennedy Clubs in 1960 and took an active role in the Viva Johnson movement 4 years later. In 1964, he helped end the Mexican *bracero* program, an agricultural guest worker program, believing it held down U.S. agricultural wages and created poor working conditions. He attended the annual Mexico–U.S. Interparliamentary Conference and served as special liaison representative on Latin American affairs on the House Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs Committee. González also supported legislation that led to the 1968 Bilingual Education Act and its subsequent reauthorizations, though he urged for expansion of the act to provide for children whose native language was not Spanish. He also helped form the Congressional Hispanic Caucus in 1976, but later dropped out because he did not want to be identified solely by his ethnicity.

Representative González was no stranger to controversy while in Congress. He sometimes took to the House floor for lengthy harangues on abuses by the federal government, sought the impeachments of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush, and feuded with Reagan administration Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Samuel R. Pierce Jr. over increasing low-cost housing. González also abruptly resigned his chairmanship of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, complaining its work was tied to organized crime. But though he was a hero to many Mexican Americans, González also was criticized during the Chicano Movement in the 1960s and 1970s by groups—particularly the Mexican American Youth Organization in Texas and its offspring, La Raza Unida Party—that thought he had rejected his heritage and was too conservative for their interests.

In 1988, González, age 82, retired from the U.S. House of Representatives for health reasons. Not the typical congressman—González avoided the social scene and eschewed the usual Washington garb for polyester suits and florid ties—his remarkable 37-year career in Congress is remembered for his

colorful disposition, inexorable legislating, and ardent defending of equal rights for the disadvantaged. “Henry B” as he was known to friend and foe alike died on November 29, 2000.

Gregory Pearson

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Latino Civil Rights Movement; Appendix D

Further Readings

- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Library of Congress, *Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1822–1995: Henry B. González*. Retrieved from <http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/congress/gonzalez.html>
- Marquis, C. (2000, November 29). Henry González, 84; Served 37 years in House. *New York Times*, p. A33.
- Meier, M. S., & Gutiérrez, M. (2003). *The Mexican American experience: An encyclopedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Meier, M. S., Serri, C. F., & García, R. A. (1997). *Notable Latino Americans: A biographical dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- U.S. Government Printing Office. (1967). *Hearings before the special subcommittee on bilingual education of the committee on labor and public welfare, ninetieth congress, first session on s.428, part 2*. Washington, DC: Author.

GONZÁLEZ, JOSUÉ M. (1941–)

Josué M. González was born in a small town in the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, where his family had been established for several generations. As he put it:



We were never immigrants; it was the border that moved over to make us Americans. We've been here so long I even had a great-grandfather who fought for the Union Army during the Civil War. But the accent marks are still on my name.

There are interesting parallels between the professional career of Josué M. González and bilingual education. He earned his BA degree from Texas A&I

(now A&M) University in 1963, just about the time the first bilingual education program was starting in Dade County, Florida. In 1967, he was being awarded his master's degree from the same institution at about the time the Senate hearings leading to the Bilingual Education Act were being held. In May 1974, shortly after the *Lau v. Nichols* decision was announced, he received his EdD in educational leadership from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Today, after more than 40 years in education, González is the general editor of this encyclopedia and professor of educational leadership and policy studies at Arizona State University.

Bilingual education has figured prominently in González's life and career, as described in this entry. Born and raised within walking distance of the Mexican border, he claims that as a child he always assumed bilingualism was the norm, rather than the exception. He learned to read in Spanish before he entered first grade. As a consequence, he was allowed to skip "Primary," an extra year that was automatically added to the school career of most Latinos in Texas at the time. Long before bilingual education became the core content for his career in education, he had the privilege of having Spanish-speaking teachers and principals in his nearly all-Hispanic hometown in South Texas.

González started his formal career as a high school teacher of French, English, and Spanish, but he taught only a few years before heading off to help develop and promote bilingual education. "Every program was a new battle," he recalls, "but the continuing litany of obstacles we faced only helped to cement ever more firmly the sense that we were doing the right thing." In 1969, when most of the Mexican American high school students in Crystal City, Texas, walked out of school in early December because of discriminatory practices by teachers, González mobilized friends and colleagues in San Antonio to spend their holidays in Crystal City tutoring youngsters who were concerned about missing school. "We taught classes that the high school didn't even have," he remembers, "like using the slide rule, which is now a museum piece, but at that time a slide rule swinging from your belt and a trigonometry book under your arm meant you were on your way to becoming an engineer, and many Chicano youngsters wanted to do that. I think we helped them see that this was possible even though their school had no trigonometry teacher at the time."

As the student walkout drew to a close in January, the school board was adamant that the students could not return to school without losing a letter grade for the semester. Outraged, the students produced a list of the courses and instructors they had worked with during the break, including distinguished professors in several fields. The school board relented. "It was a spiritual experience," recalls González. "The families knew they were doing something important and so did the volunteer teachers. It was a Christmas like none I have experienced before or since."

The Crystal City walkout and the role of the visiting teachers from around the area were a watershed in Texas education. In the spring of 1970, the all-White school board was voted out of office and young Chicanos, led by José Angel Gutiérrez, assumed control of their local schools. The students who had participated in the walkout went on to college in unprecedented numbers. Most chose careers in education, social work, and politics. Although the Texas walkout did not receive as much national attention as the Los Angeles walkout, its impact was enormous. The Crystal City schools soon hired a dynamic Chicano superintendent, and bilingual education became a permanent part of the curriculum. Inspired by the Crystal City example, many communities followed suit, assuming greater control over school boards throughout the state. Today, Texas has more Latino school board members than any other state, and bilingual education flourishes.

González was the first Mexican American teacher ever hired in the first school district in which he taught. Later, he became the first Chicano professor ever tenured at Southern Methodist University. When the U.S. Department of Education was organized by President Jimmy Carter, González became the first director of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA). From this experience, he recalls,

Arguments with fellow bureaucrats over the purposes of bilingual education helped to sharpen my argumentation skills. They would insist that its purpose was to teach English and nothing more. I would counter that to ignore the child's home language and not nurture it creates unnecessary barriers between those children and their parents and grandparents. I argued that government had no business doing that to its people. I guess I was advocating for dual-language immersion programs even before we invented a name for them.

During his tenure at OBEMLA, González is especially proud of having created the Deans' Grant Program, a program through which universities could hire tenure-track young professors and get funding support from Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) with which to help them do it. "We were creating leadership people," he claims, "many of whom are still around today." Among the leadership positions he has held in his career of more than 40 years, he has been president of the National Association for Bilingual Education and has served on several advisory committees and commissions. He has received numerous awards and recognitions for this work. After his Washington experience, he served as associate superintendent of schools for the Chicago Public Schools, and subsequently, as vice chancellor for Planning, Development and Research for the City Colleges of Chicago, the city's community college system. In addition to teaching appointments at Southern Methodist University in Dallas and Chicago State University, he has taught at Teachers College, Columbia University in New York City. González was one of the founders of the Mexican and American Solidarity Foundation, a binational operating foundation.

González currently teaches at Arizona State University, where he directs the Southwest Center for Education Equity and Language Diversity. He is active in a number of binational education projects between the United States and Mexico. "Ten percent of all Mexicans now live in the United States," he says. "It makes no sense to leave that country out of the equation when it comes to finding educational opportunities for Mexican youngsters. Binational people are a new phenomenon, and they differ from traditional immigrants. No country can afford to ignore the 10% of their population with the best education and the greatest economic power. We need to work with Mexican institutions to create optimum ways of helping them adjust to living in two countries."

Coni Batlle

See also Hispanic Population Growth; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs; Transnational Students

Further Readings

- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
 González, J. M. (1993). School meanings and cultural bias. *Education and Urban Society*, 25(3), 254–269.

- González, J. M. (1994). Bilingual education: A review of policy and ideologies. In R. Rodríguez, N. J. Ramos, & J. A. Ruiz-Escalante (Eds.), *Compendium of readings in bilingual education: Issues and practices* (pp. 3–13). San Antonio: Texas Association for Bilingual Education.
- González, J. M. (1994). Spanish as a second language: Adding language to the discourse of multicultural education. In F. Rivera (Ed.), *Reinventing urban education: Multiculturalism and the social context of schooling* (pp. 257–277). New York: Institute for Urban and Minority Education.
- González, J. M. (2006). Urge educar a los mexicanos que se van, no sólo a los que se quedan [It is urgent to educate Mexicans who leave, not only those who stay]. In D. González-Casanova (Ed.), *Los mexicanos de aquí y allá: Problemas comunes. Memoria del Segundo Foro de Reflexión Binacional* [Mexicans from here and there: Common issues. Proceedings of the Second Forum of Binational Reflection] (Vol. 1, pp. 125–135). México: Senado de la República, Fundación Solidaridad Mexicano-Americana.
- González, J. M., & Darling-Hammond, L. (1997). *New concepts for new challenges: Professional development for teachers of immigrant youth*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

GRAMMAR-TRANSLATION METHOD

The grammar-translation method is a language teaching method developed during the 18th and 19th centuries in Germany. It is sometimes called the *classical method* because its basic framework was adopted from the traditional method for teaching the classical languages, Latin and Greek. Generally, the classical languages were taught by reading and translating texts extracted from classical literature, and the grammar-translation method was not much different from that, notwithstanding some unique features discussed later in this entry.

For centuries, Latin was a dominant language in many areas such as religion, education, commerce, and so on; thus, it was widely studied. Even after modern European languages such as French, Italian, and English replaced Latin in those areas and Latin ceased to be spoken, learning Latin and Greek was still considered valuable and prestigious, with the justification that the analysis of its grammar and rhetoric was beneficial to mental discipline and intellectual development. The grammar-translation method was used to teach these classical languages, and it was later

extended to include modern languages as well. This entry describes the grammar-translation method's development, approaches, and use in the classroom

Origin and Development

According to Anthony Howatt, the grammar-translation method was developed to teach classical languages to secondary schoolchildren at Prussian *Gymnasien*, in Germany, or, more accurately, in Prussia; hence, *Prussian method* is another name for this methodology. The classical method was not considered appropriate for young children because it was a scholastic approach to language learning for highly educated individuals who were trained to read foreign-language texts by applying grammar rules to their reading. However, because people were familiar with this traditional method, it became the basic framework of the grammar-translation method, with some slight modifications. One such modification is that the literature texts used in teaching classical languages were replaced with sentences containing grammar rules that were the focus of each lesson. Inevitably, some sentences were made up artificially and became less meaningful, which became one of the drawbacks of the method.

In England, a change in the educational system enhanced the distribution of the grammar-translation Method. In the mid-19th century, a public examination system was created and justified as a way to maintain the educational standards of the middle class and the universities that controlled the system. As local schools introduced modern European languages into their curriculum, they had to demonstrate that learning those languages was as demanding and mentally beneficial as learning Latin or Greek. This pressure forced language teachers and textbook writers to follow the methods for the classical languages, and this meant that the grammar rules became thoroughly listed; accuracy in the rules of grammar was emphasized, and oral skills were not a focus in the teaching of a foreign language.

Howatt explained that the earliest textbook of the grammar-translation method was a French series for German speakers, written by Johann Valentin Meidinger, whose work became a model for the foreign-language textbooks published during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Some characteristics of this book were the inclusion of several exercises at the sentence level, translating into and out of the foreign language. Sample sentences with grammar rules were

presented, and it was thought that the language learners understood the grammar rules in a clearer way in this format. Also, the grammar points were presented one by one, in a sequential, systematic order. Although Meidinger's framework was altered by successive textbook writers for teaching various languages, the general framework of those books in the grammar-translation method were the following: (a) one or two grammar rules per lesson, (b) an explicit explanation of the rules, (c) a vocabulary list from the sentences used in the lessons, and (d) phrases and sentences for practicing translation by applying the grammar rules in the lesson.

New Approaches to Language Learning

During the 19th century, new developments in transportation allowed closer access to European countries, and people were able to travel from one continent to another with greater ease. For example, many Europeans migrated to the United States. This created a demand for learning languages for the purpose of communicating rather than for reading and appreciating literary texts. In addition, during the late 19th century, industrialization created a new class of language learners who did not have academic training for language learning, but had a need for oral proficiency in languages other than their own. The grammar-translation method was not an effective tool for meeting their needs. In the mid- and late 19th century, as the grammar-translation method was questioned and rejected, textbook writers and language teachers had to look for new approaches to language teaching. Some of the new ideas about how to teach a language were the following:

- Spoken language should be primary; listening and speaking should come earlier than reading and writing.
- Grammar can be taught better through an inductive approach, which means that students should practice the grammar rules in context before the teacher explains it explicitly.
- Translating the text from the target language to the native language should not be encouraged because students learn a language better when they associate new meanings within the target language.

These ideas led to the development of naturalistic approaches to language learning. Learning a foreign language was considered the same as acquiring a first

language, and the natural method and the direct method developed out of that principle.

Grammar-Translation Method in Language Classrooms

In a language classroom setting, the following steps would be taken using a grammar-translation methodology. First, the chapter or lesson begins with the presentation of grammatical points. Then a text is read, in which some sentences contain the grammar rules of the lesson focus. After every paragraph or each page of the text, simple comprehensive questions are listed to determine whether students understand the text. The teacher may ask a student to read the text aloud and either the student or the teacher translates the text as they read it. New words or phrases from the reading are listed with their equivalent in the students' native language next to or below the text. Accurate pronunciation and intonation are not important. Students are supposed to memorize and be able to explain the grammar rules of the target language. Many of the sentences used for exercises where students apply the grammar rules of the lesson can be so artificial that native speakers of the target language would never produce those sentences. The native language is used mostly for instruction. Usually only some activities such as reading the text aloud, reading vocabulary lists, or dictation time will ask students to use the spoken target language.

The grammar-translation method places a heavy bias on written work and excludes oral production. It includes little or no spoken communication or listening comprehension. This method emphasizes the rote memorization of vocabulary words and study of the explicit rules of grammar. According to Jack Richards and Theodore Rodgers, it is a method without a theory in areas such as linguistics, psychology, or education. However, the method is still used in many parts of the world today, with a greater or lesser modification from that of the 19th century, particularly in contexts where understanding the literary texts is deemed more important than speaking and listening in the target language, and where people do not have much contact with the speakers of the target language. Richards and Rodgers also attribute its popularity to the fact that the grammar-translation method does not require great skill by teachers. Despite the emergence and use of new methodologies, the historical foundations of the grammar-translation method provide valuable

insights to situate and understand current practices in language instruction.

Hye Jong Kim

See also Audio-Lingual Method; Natural Approach; Whole Language

Further Readings

- Howatt, A. P. R. (1984). *A history of English language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Kelly, L. (1969). *25 Centuries of language teaching*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. (1986). *Techniques and principles of language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Richards, J., & Rodgers, T. (2001). *Approaches and methods in language teaching* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rivers, W. M. (1981). *Teaching foreign-language skills* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

GUERRERO, ADALBERTO (1929–)

Adalberto “Beto” Guerrero was a member of a small group of educators in Tucson, Arizona, in the 1950s and 1960s who have been called “pioneers of bilingual education” because of their influence on the passage of the federal Bilingual Education Act in 1968. Other members of the group were Paul Allen, Rosita Cota, Martina García Durán-Cerda, Henry “Hank” Oyama, Paul Streif, and María Urquides. Guerrero’s life and career are described in this entry.

Guerrero was born on December 11, 1929, in Bisbee, Arizona, one of seven children of Ramón Quiñones Guerrero and Guadalupe Méndez Guerrero. Ramón Guerrero was an underground miner who survived the Depression by augmenting his income from sporadic mining work by selling scrap metals, bricklaying, grave digging, selling door to door, and storekeeping. When war threatened in Europe in the 1930s, full-time underground employment was ensured. Subsequently, because of persistent inequities and racial discrimination, he became deeply involved in the union movement, a legacy of which Beto Guerrero is extremely proud. Guadalupe and Ramón instilled in their seven children a love of reading through her graphic narrations of stories and novels, fairy and folk tales, historical anecdotes, riddles, and games, as Beto Guerrero later recalled.

Guerrero dropped out of high school in 1944, his freshman year, to work at Fort Huachuca. He returned in 1945 but quit for good after completing one year, to follow “the only life for a real man, working underground.” He married his wife, Ana, in November 1950, and was inducted into the army in January 1951. After his discharge in 1953, he returned to mining. At the urging of his father and his wife, Guerrero applied for and was granted admission to the University of Arizona without a high school diploma. Working nights at Hughes Aircraft, and studying days, like many other married University of Arizona students, Guerrero received a bachelor’s degree in education in 1957 and began teaching at Pueblo High School in 1958.

At the time, Pueblo had only one additional full-time Spanish teacher who became a mentor and friend to the novice teacher. Although approximately 50% of the school’s students were native speakers of Spanish, they were systematically placed, with disastrous results, Guerrero recalled, in classes designed for students learning Spanish as a second language. Consequently, with the encouragement and guidance of his mentor, Guerrero initiated a 4-year program of Spanish for Spanish speakers. He believed that if he could instill in the students pride about their linguistic and cultural origins, they would visualize themselves as succeeding in other subjects as well.

As a young man in Bisbee, Guerrero had noticed that the most fulfilled and successful people were those who were aware of and comfortable with their Mexican cultural and linguistic roots. In contrast, those who were embarrassed about being Mexican and speaking Spanish, and who had abandoned their culture and language to assimilate, ironically, were still rejected by the Anglo-Saxon work world, as Patricia Preciado Martin explains in her historical account of bilingual education in Tucson. Guerrero felt that his own cultural identity was strengthened through the academic study of Spanish, Mexican, and Latin American literature. He wanted to give his Pueblo High School students the same feeling of security by studying and learning the cultures and languages of Mexico and the United States.

The new program at Pueblo was so successful that enrollment by Spanish speakers increased dramatically. Indeed, Guerrero and his colleagues at the high school soon saw that the graduates of the Spanish Honors classes were excelling in their other classes as well, including English and history.

In 1962, because of his success at Pueblo High School, Guerrero was asked to teach a methods course for teachers of advanced Spanish at the University of Arizona National Defense Education Act (NDEA) Summer Institute in Guadalajara, Mexico. In 1963, he was invited to teach full time at the university, dividing his time between the Romance Languages Department and the College of Education. He maintained his connections to Pueblo, however, and continued to develop the curriculum for the Spanish for Spanish speakers course at the school. He left Pueblo High in 1969.

In 1965, several coincidental events set in motion a national dialogue about the need for federal bilingual education funds. First, the Pueblo High School course was used as the model for the first NDEA Bilingual Education Institute for teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL), and for teachers of Spanish to native speakers. Second, Pueblo received the “Pace Maker” Award from the National Education Association’s (NEA) *Parade Magazine* because of the academic success of many of its minority students. Finally, Monroe Sweetland, NEA’s West Coast legislative consultant, learned about the Spanish classes from Urquides and suggested forming a group to explore and publicize other innovative programs for Spanish-speaking students in the Southwest. As a result, the Tucson-NEA Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-speaking was created. The group’s goal was to search out successful programs such as the one at Pueblo; the group divided into teams and began to visit exemplary programs in the five southwestern states that combined special instruction in Spanish and English. Initial contacts for the visits had been made that summer in the University of Arizona’s first Institute for Bilingual Education, in which some of the Tucson teachers had participated. Consequently, the Tucson-NEA Survey educators began to visit the programs of colleagues they had met at the institute.

Although the team visited programs similar to the Spanish Honors program at Pueblo High School, it soon became clear that there were successful bilingual programs for much younger learners in which instruction was in Spanish, with English introduced gradually. Team members realized they needed to publicize these programs as well. When the group members reassembled, they wrote an account of their visits. Their report, published in June 1966, was called *The Invisible Minority*. All of the survey members—Guerrero, Urquides, Oyama, Cota, Durán-Cerda, and Streif—contributed equally to the report.

Shortly thereafter, Sweetland asked Urquides to represent the group at a press conference called by the NEA in Washington, D.C., for the release of the report. Urquides insisted that Guerrero attend in her place because she wanted him to be exposed to experiences such as she had enjoyed. The press event lasted almost 2 hours, during which more than 20 reporters asked questions about Mexican American students. Guerrero recalled that most of the reporters seemed unaware that Native Americans were not the only minority group in the western United States.

Because of the severe lack of information that most people—including congressional officials—had about Mexican Americans, a national symposium was organized in October of that year. The symposium focused on the educational condition of Spanish-speaking students in the Southwest, and potential solutions to academic underachievement. Teachers from schools the group had visited throughout the Southwest came to Tucson. The strong consensus emerging from the symposium was the need for bilingual education programs for this population.

Also attending the Tucson Symposium were Senators Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.) and Joseph Montoya (D-N.M.) and Congressman Morris Udall (D-Ariz.). In 1967, largely as a result of having attended the conference in Tucson, Yarborough sponsored Congressional hearings on the need for federal attention to Mexican American students; Guerrero testified before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education in support of Senate Bill 428, which became Title VII or The Bilingual Education Act, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The bill became law on January 4, 1968.

Although many people participated and were active in the passage of the bill, Guerrero credits Sweetland as the individual most responsible for the enactment of the Bilingual Education Act. Sweetland's immensely important role was finally recognized in 2004 at the National Association for Bilingual Education annual conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico. In 1970, Guerrero received the NEA's Human Rights Award for his work at Pueblo High School, his contribution to the NEA-Tucson Survey, and his Congressional testimony (delivered partly in Spanish). After a brief period at Pima Community College where he helped develop the bilingual education program, he returned to the University of Arizona to continue teaching. From 1973 to 1975, Guerrero served as the first Chicano assistant

dean of students, a critical time when university attitudes were changing about minority students in general and Spanish-speaking students in particular. At the time, the relationship between the Tucson Chicano community and the university was often contentious, but Guerrero's work as assistant dean of students established the foundations for the current University of Arizona Office of Chicano/Hispano Student Affairs.

For the next 2 years, Guerrero served as chair of the Mexican American Studies Committee, which evolved into the Mexican American Studies and Research Center. He resigned in 1977, citing inadequate support and funding from the university administration. He returned to the Romance Languages Department to resume his teaching career as a lecturer, a position he held until his retirement in 1994.

Guerrero has been the recipient of many awards throughout his long career, including the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Award in 1975, Outstanding Faculty Contributor to Minority Student Education (University of Arizona) in 1986, and the National Association for Bilingual Education Pioneer Award in 1990. Guerrero was further honored in 2002 when the Adalberto Guerrero Middle School, in Tucson, was named after him. He remains active at the Guerrero School, and in the Tucson community at large. In addition to his contributions to the Bilingual Education Act, he is proud of the Spanish for Native Speakers courses he established at Pueblo High School and the Spanish for bilingual educators and Children's literature in Spanish courses at the University of Arizona.

Mary Carol Combs

See also National Education Association Tucson Symposium; Oyama, Henry; Title VII Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967 Senate Hearings; Urquides, María

Further Readings

Guerrero, A., Oyama, H., & Urquides, M. (n.d.). *Letter of endorsement for the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) comprehensive plan for alternate language*. Retrieved from <http://tusdstats.tusd.k12.az.us/planning/biled/biledplan.htm>

Guerrero, A., Saldade, M., & Baldanegro, S. (1999). Chicano: The term and its meanings. *Arizona Association of*

- Chicanos for Higher Education Conference Newsletter*. Retrieved from <http://www.aache.org/news0999.htm>
- Jones, M. (2000, November 3). UA student affairs groups argues against Prop. 203. *Arizona Daily Wildcat*. Retrieved from <http://wc.arizona.edu/papers/94/54>
- National Education Association. (1966). *The invisible minority . . . pero no vencibles*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Preciado Martin, P. (1995). *Con mucho corazón: An oral history of 25 years of nurturing bilingual/multicultural education in TUSD*. Tucson, AZ: Tucson Unified School District.
- Smith, P. H. (2001). Community language resources in dual language schooling. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25(3), 375–405.
- Smith, P. H. (2002). “Ni a pocha va a llegar”: Minority language loss and dual language schooling in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 21, 165–183.

H

HAKUTA, KENJI (1952–)

Kenji Hakuta, an experimental psycholinguist, is a scholar recognized internationally for his work in the areas of psycholinguistics, bilingualism, and English language acquisition by immigrant populations. This entry describes his research contributions to these fields.



Hakuta was born in Kamakura (Kanagawa Prefecture), Japan, on December 19, 1952. He received a bachelor of arts, magna cum laude in psychology and social relations, and earned his doctorate in experimental psychology, both from Harvard University. He has held academic positions at Yale University, the University of California at Santa Cruz, and Stanford University. He was the Founding Dean of the School of Sciences, Humanities and Arts at University of California, erced, from 2003 to 2006, and is currently a professor of education at Stanford University. He has received more than 21 grants to fund his areas of research from 1979 to the present.

Hakuta has concentrated much of his research in the areas of bilingualism, bilingual education policy, and second-language acquisition, and currently focuses on affirmative action in higher education. In his book *Mirror of Language*, he explores the history of bilingualism and on the process of obtaining a second language on both the child and adult levels. Though the book was written 20 years ago, Hakuta

sheds light on the real, literal meaning of bilingualism: how the bilingual mind works in the context of thinking, speaking, and learning with a bilingual brain. He posits that strong appropriate bilingual programs can aid students in developing fluency in their own home or native language and master a second language as well.

Another worthy contribution to the literature of second-language acquisition is the book he coauthored with Bialystok, *In Other Words: The Science and Psychology of Second Language Acquisition*, in 1994. Hakuta and Bialystok examine the process of second-language acquisition with a particular focus on why it may be easier for some individuals to learn a second language, but others find it more difficult. The authors present a thorough review of the theoretical literature, from which they identify five aspects that influence second-language acquisition: brain, language, mind, self, and culture. The aspect of culture is addressed from the standpoint of language diversity in the schools and the implications it has for instruction, curriculum development, and policy making.

Hakuta's most recent interest is affirmative action and university access. In 2003, he coedited *Compelling Interest: Examining the Evidence on Racial Dynamics in Colleges and Universities*, with Mitchell J. Chang, Daria Witt, and James Jones. *Compelling Interest* was cited in the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), a case regarding issues of race in admissions policy at the University of Michigan Law School. The text examines the complex issues involved in university access

and presents stimulating discourse for the support and protection of affirmative action in university admissions. The authors posit that supporting inclusive admissions practices results in building diverse student populations in institutions of learning.

Hakuta's commitment to the education of language minorities is reflected in his research and advocacy activities for this student population. He served as an expert witness in court cases such as *Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District* (1989), on behalf of the plaintiffs and the Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy, Inc. He also led the creation of the Stanford Working Group on Federal Education Programs for Limited English Proficient Students, along with Diane August in 1992. Goals of this group included the incorporation of up-to-date research in bilingual education in educational reform.

Throughout his career, Hakuta's work has been recognized with multiple honors and awards. He was named Distinguished Scholar by the Committee on the Role and Status of Minorities in Education Research and Development of the American Educational Research Association in 1993. He has been a member of the National Academy of Education since 1996, and served in the Spencer Postdoctoral Fellow Selection Committee from 1996–1999.

Nancy Sebastian Maldonado

See also Critical Period Hypothesis; Second-Language Acquisition; Stanford Working Group

Further Readings

- August, D., & Hakuta, K. (1997). *Improving schooling for language-minority children*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Bialystok, E., & Hakuta, K. (1994). *In other words: The science and psychology of second language acquisition*. New York: Basic Books.
- Grutter v. Bollinger, 539 U.S. 306 (2003).
- Hakuta, K. (1986). *Mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hakuta, K. (1990). Language and cognition in bilingual children. In A. Padilla, C. Valdez, & H. Fairchild (Eds.), *Bilingual education: Issues and strategies* (pp. 47–59). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Hakuta, K. (1993). Second-language acquisition, bilingual education, and prospects for a language-rich nation. In Council of Chief State School Officers (Eds.),

Restructuring learning: 1990 summer institute papers and recommendations (pp. 123–131). Washington, DC: Council of Chief State School Officers.

- Hakuta, K. (1995). Language minority students: Challenges and promises. In M. Higginbotham (Ed.), *What governors need to know about education reform*. Washington, DC: National Governors' Association.
- Hakuta, K. (2001). A critical period for second language acquisition? In D. Bailey, J. Bruer, F. Symons, & J. Lichtman (Eds.), *Critical thinking about critical periods* (pp. 193–205). Baltimore: Paul Brookes.
- Hakuta, K., Bialystok, E., & Wiley, E. (2003). Critical evidence: A test of the critical period hypothesis for second language acquisition. *Psychological Science*, *14*, 31–38.
- Hakuta, K., Chang, M., Witt, D., & Jones, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Compelling interest: Examining the evidence on racial dynamics in Colleges and Universities*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hakuta, K., & Feldman Mostafapour, E. (1996). Perspectives from the history and politics of bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States. In I. Parasnis (Ed.), *Cultural and language diversity and the deaf experience* (pp. 38–50). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hakuta, K., Ferdman, B. M., & Díaz, R. M. (1987). Bilingualism and cognitive development: Three perspectives. In S. Rosenberg (Ed.), *Advances in applied psycholinguistics, Vol. 2: Reading, writing, and language learning* (pp. 284–319). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District*, 724 F. Supp. 698, 713 (N.D. Cal. 1989).

HAUGEN, EINAR (1906–1994)

Einar Ingvald Haugen was born in Sioux City, Iowa, April 19, 1906, to parents who had emigrated from Oppdal, South Trondelag, Norway, in 1899. Later, Haugen attended Morningside College in Sioux City, Iowa, for 3 years, then transferred to St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, in 1928, where he received his BA degree. In 1931, he received his PhD from the University of Illinois. A bilingual himself, he was one of the earliest scholars of bilingualism in the United States. Haugen might have taught the first known course on bilingualism in the United States at the 1949 Linguistic Institute in Ann Arbor, Michigan. There, a graduate student, Uriel Weinreich, contacted him to ask for a copy of his bibliography. The two of

them, Haugen and Weinreich, can be credited with developing the academic field of bilingualism and language contact in the United States. This entry describes Haugen's research.

In 1953, Haugen published *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior*, the same year as Weinreich published *Languages in Contact*. Haugen's attention to Norwegian in the United States, an immigrant language, led him to study bilingualism more broadly. Haugen's 1956 work, *Bilingualism in the Americas*, established him as the reigning expert on U.S. bilingualism. The book was a survey research guide for bilingual study and included works on education, politics, psychology, and sociology in North and South America to 1970. In this book, he included a section on the education of bilingual children in the United States. His sources were mostly from the American Southwest, and the literature he surveyed focused mostly on education strategies to overcome the "language handicap" of bilingual children. Haugen, however, provided other explanations for the bilingual children's failure, including their low socioeconomic status, the inadequate schools they attended, and the shortcomings of their teachers. In this work, Haugen also supported the use of mother-tongue instruction in teaching immigrant children.

As a linguist, Haugen did much to develop the field of *language contact*, where linguistic items of one language are used in the context of another. Basing his observations on those of Leonard Bloomfield, Haugen describes different kinds of borrowings and distinguishes between *loan words*, where both the form and the meaning of the word is borrowed, as in U.S. Spanish *bildin* (for *edificio* in Spanish, "building" in English), and *loanshifts*, where only the meaning is borrowed, for example; the word *registrar* in Spanish used with the meaning of "to register," although its Spanish meaning is "to search."

Haugen's interest in the bilingual community, beyond the bilingual individual, led him to pioneer two fields that are highly relevant for bilingual education in the 21st century: that of language planning and policy, and that of ecolinguistics. The term *language planning* is usually attributed to Haugen in describing the organized efforts to prepare a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary that could be used as a guide for people writing and speaking in a heterogeneous speech community. His 1966 book *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian*, described the organized efforts to provide

a single officially authorized language norm for Norway. In 1983, Haugen proposed an overall model of the language planning process that is still useful today. Bilingual education clearly has a role in language planning, for its use in school raises the status of a language, and results in an increase in its number of users. This has been the case of, for example, the Basque Autonomous Community, where bilingual education has clearly helped stabilize Euskara (Basque) in relationship to Spanish.

In 1972, *The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen* was published. In this work, Haugen underlines the need to study a language in its environment, in its speech community, and in its ecological context. Consequently, Haugen can be credited with pioneering a new field later called ecolinguistics. According to this view, language diversity is essential for a healthy ecosystem because local variations in languages encode local ecological knowledge. This view has supported efforts by educators to revitalize languages that are threatened. This is the case, for example, of the growing language nest schools, an example of which is the *Kohanga Reo* for Māori revitalization in New Zealand.

Haugen never focused on bilingual education itself, but his theoretical contributions to language contact, language planning, and language ecology have deeply influenced how educators think about bilingualism of children in classrooms, plan their bilingualism in teaching, and project their bilingualism in the linguistic ecosystem that surrounds them. His constructs have also helped U.S. scholars frame issues and research agendas in this field.

Ofelia García

See also Bilingualism Stages; Cognates, True and False; Continua of Biliteracy; Language Revival and Renewal; Native American Languages, Legal Support for; Social Bilingualism; Spanish Loan Words in U.S. English

Further Readings

- Harris, J., Simon, E., Watkins, C., & Mitchell, S. (2001, May 24). Einar Haugen: Faculty of Arts and Sciences: Memorial Minute. *Harvard University Gazette*. Retrieved from <http://www.news.harvard.edu/gazette/2001/05.24/16-haugen.html>
- Haugen, E. (1953). *The Norwegian language in America: A study in bilingual behavior*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Haugen, E. (1956). *Bilingualism in the Americas: A bibliography and research guide*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Haugen, E. (1966). *Language conflict and language planning: The case of modern Norwegian*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Haugen, E. (1972). *The ecology of language: Essays by Einar Haugen*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in contact: Findings and problems*. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.

HAYAKAWA, S. I. (1906–1992)

Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa was a professor of English semantics who was elected to the U.S. Senate for the state of California in 1976. He is known for having written the first amendment proposing the establishment of English as the official language of the United States. This entry describes Hayakawa's life and career.



Hayakawa was born on July 18, 1906, in Vancouver, Canada. His parents were Japanese immigrants who eventually returned to Japan. By his own admission, Hayakawa did not speak Japanese. Hayakawa completed a bachelor's degree at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg in 1927. He later pursued a master's degree in English literature at McGill University in Montreal, which he obtained in 1928. Awarded a graduate fellowship for doctoral studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, he moved to the United States in 1929 and received his PhD in American literature in 1935. Upon graduation, he was hired as a full-time instructor by the University of Wisconsin.

In 1939, Hayakawa and his wife, Margedant Peters, moved to Chicago, where he worked as an associate professor of English at the Illinois Institute of Technology. In Chicago, he became acquainted with Alfred Korzybski, founder of the Institute of General Semantics. Hayakawa attended Korzybski's seminars and regarded Korzybski as an important influence in his own career. Hayakawa wrote a textbook with the purpose of making Korzybski's ideas accessible to the general public: *Language in Action* was first published in 1941, and

it became the Book-of-the-Month Club selection. He published a revised edition in 1949, *Language in Thought and Action*. One of the key points in his work was the emphasis on the role of a common language in the unification of a society for conducting shared work and common goals. His career as a semanticist also included a position as the first editor of the journal *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*.

In 1952, Hayakawa was granted U.S. citizenship. Shortly after, he was invited to teach at San Francisco State College. He moved with his family to California in 1955, and later became president of the college in 1968, in the midst of student strikes with demands of equity for minority groups. He attracted public attention in this position, where he established a reputation for strict leadership and a determined attitude.

After he retired from the presidency of San Francisco State in 1973, Hayakawa joined the Republican party. In 1976, he was elected to the U.S. Senate from California at the age of 70. He sponsored the first version of the English Language Amendment in 1981, which stated that English should become the official language of the United States. Although his proposed amendment never passed, in his speeches and publications Hayakawa made a case for his belief in the dangers of multilingualism for national unity. As he had stated in his publications as a semanticist, he strongly believed in the power of language to bind together individuals from different countries. He cited as alarming the cases of countries like Sri Lanka, India, and Belgium, nations divided owing to what he regarded as language riots, cultural differences unable to be resolved because individuals could not understand each other. He also tapped on the case of his native country, Canada, in the province of Québec, where the French-speaking majority was still in conflict with the English-speaking minority. He argued that unless the mastery of one common language was achieved by all groups in the society, common understanding and agreement could not be possible.

Hayakawa also addressed the role of bilingual education. He asserted that instruction in a child's native language was acceptable as long as it was transitional and geared toward the full mastery of English. It was the taxpayer's sole responsibility, he claimed, to contribute to the education of

children exclusively in English, regardless of their origin. Bilingualism could lead to “binationalism,” which in his view, was to be prevented at all cost. He believed it was insulting and deleterious for minority groups to be prevented from learning English.

Following the end of his term in the Senate, in 1983, Hayakawa founded the U.S. English organization, in which he served as honorary chairman. This organization continues to seek the passing of legislation making English the only official language of the United States.

Hayakawa retired to his home in Mill Valley, San Francisco, and continued writing in the field of semantics—he cowrote the fifth edition of *Language in Thought and Action* with his son, Alan. He died on February 27, 1992.

Silvia Noguero

See also Assimilation; Early Immigrants and English Language Learning; English for the Children Campaign; English-Only Organizations; Melting-Pot Theory; Official English Legislation, Favored; Official English Legislation, Position of English Teachers on; Appendix E

Further Readings

- Crawford, J. (Ed.). (1992). *Language loyalties*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fox, R. (1991). A conversation with the Hayakawas. *English Journal*, 80(2), 36–40.
- Hayakawa, S. I. (1949). *Language in thought and action*. New York: Harcourt.
- Hayakawa, S. I. (1987). Make English official: One common language makes our nation work. *Executive Educator*, 9(1), 29, 36.
- Hayakawa, S. I. (1987). Why the English language amendment? *English Journal*, 76(8), 14–16.
- Hayakawa, S. I., & Hayakawa, A. R. (1990). *Language in thought and action* (5th ed.). San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Heron, D. (1998). Hayakawa, Samuel Ichiye. In K. T. Jackson, K. Markoe, & A. Markoe (Eds.), *The Scribner encyclopedia of American lives* (Vol. 3, pp. 250–252). New York: Scribner's.
- U.S. English. (2006). *Legislative history: Sen. Hayakawa's speech*. Retrieved from <http://www.usenglish.org/inc/legislation/history/speech.asp>

HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION

In the political and educational spheres, heritage language education has emerged during the past decade as an important component of language education formats in the United States. Better said, the concept has reemerged, for it has been present in American education for a long time under other names. This new attention to heritage language education reflects a series of developments in society at large, as well as within the education profession itself. Driving this reappearance are important demographic shifts in the United States, especially the rising proportion of students in the K–12 system who speak languages other than English or who come from homes with such languages in active use. The social and linguistic needs of these students, both with respect to acquiring English and maintaining their home language, have led to a reassessment of long-held assumptions about the process of second-language acquisition and best practices in teaching language. This entry reviews, in a general way, the basic elements of the concept of heritage language education and its place among other aspects of language teaching and learning.

Immigrant families with access to voice over Internet protocol telephony (VOIP), the Internet, Univision, *Al Jazeera*, and other international media no longer feel the need to abandon ancestral languages to become “good Americans.” Finally, a range of scholars and government analysts, discussed further later, has begun to focus on the uses of heritage languages and their speakers as resources for promoting U.S. economic, diplomatic, and defense interests around the world.

Within the field of bilingual education, the focus on heritage languages offers a critical opportunity to break through the fossilized debate between the extremes of bilingual education versus English-only programming, Hispanic versus Anglo, and immigrant versus native-born. The discourse of heritage languages presents gentler, less abrasive positions than those that have characterized that debate. Despite—or perhaps because of—the renewed attention currently paid to heritage language education from such disparate academic and practitioner communities, important differences have emerged: They range from fundamental definitions to the issues that should drive a research agenda that can advance heritage language education in the nation.

Definitions and Debates

Debates about heritage language education in the United States and the potential it represents begin with the name of the field. Terrence Wiley cites the specific concern that Colin Baker and Sylvia Prys Jones voiced regarding the term *heritage*: This term may be too focused on the past, on ancient and remote cultures and traditions, rather than recognizing the contemporary use and future growth of modern languages in the United States. Wiley prefers the term *community language*, the analogous term used in Europe and Australia. He argues it is a more appropriate way to designate and understand the vast linguistic resources in the United States today. Ofelia García underscores the point by quoting a 17-year old Dominican student living in New York City: “¿Lengua de mi herencia? . . . Como algo viejo, mi bisabuela.” A rough translation: “My heritage language? . . . that sounds like something really old . . . like my great grandmother.” García stresses that, in most instances, what is referred to with the term *heritage language* are living, thriving community languages.

Although no consensus has been reached regarding the most appropriate terminology, researchers widely agree that the concept of heritage languages incorporates indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages in the United States. Spanish represents a useful case with which to elaborate this typology. Spanish was first introduced to the Americas as the colonial language of the Spanish empire. As the United States expanded, fought wars, and bought and annexed territories, Spanish-speaking citizens of Mexico suddenly found themselves living on land that now belonged to the United States. Half a century later, Puerto Rico, another Spanish-speaking country, was also annexed as booty of the Spanish American War. In this sense, then, Spanish is also an indigenous language in the United States, as speakers of the language predate the annexation of their territory to this country. More recently, of course, Spanish has become the largest immigrant language in the United States, in addition to becoming one of the three contenders for the designation of “world language,” a distinction shared with Chinese and English. Josué M. González, a language policy analyst, believes that given its ranking as the fourth largest Spanish-speaking nation in the Western Hemisphere, the United States could rightly be considered a Latin American nation.

Because of the number of speakers, Spanish is a unique case. Researchers widely recognize that the term *heritage language* cannot apply in a “one-size-fits-all” way, given that the educational and linguistic needs of each of the language types, discussed earlier, vary greatly. For instance, as many indigenous languages succumb to generations of English-only policies, and in some cases face extinction, the resources and efforts needed for their revitalization are quite distinct from the maintenance needs of such languages as Spanish or Mandarin, languages that are better positioned to resist the pressures of English with increased immigration. Both of these language scenarios are different still from the educational and linguistic challenges presented by what are known as Truly Less Commonly Taught Languages, such as Armenian or Pashto, with far fewer heritage language speakers and a limited tradition of instruction in U.S. educational institutions.

Another important distinction in the field of heritage language education concerns who counts as a heritage language speaker. The question as framed by works edited by Joy Kreeft Peyton, Donald Ranard, and Scott McGinnis is largely around whether greater importance lies with one’s affiliation to a particular ethnolinguistic group, or whether one has some level of proficiency in the heritage language itself. A common example used to tease out the distinction is that of African American students studying the language of their ancestors from western Africa. Even though the direct connection to the ancestral language is long past, does the students’ membership and identity in this specific ethnolinguistic group qualify them as heritage language students?

The importance of this question is not just one of identity, ethnic consciousness, or pride. Guadalupe Valdés argues that the central question here is one of language acquisition. Although a student may be a member of a given ethnolinguistic group, without any knowledge of the heritage language, the student’s process of learning the language will closely mirror that of any other monolingual student learning the same language. Valdés would limit the definition of “heritage speaker” to a student who is raised in a home where a language other than English is spoken and who therefore is bilingual to some degree in the heritage language and English. Including proficiency in the definition of heritage speaker is important in acknowledging that heritage speakers acquire (or reacquire) the language differently than do their monolingual peers in the land that was formerly the homeland

of both. This position is supported by linguists such as Stephen Krashen, who argue that the first language is *acquired* whereas subsequent languages are *learned*, and that the processes involved differ markedly.

Scope of the Field

The increasing awareness of heritage language learners and their specific social and linguistic needs is leading the field of language education to a fundamental rethinking of many assumptions we have held about how people learn multiple languages. Two scholars in particular have taken the lead in elaborating a research agenda on the language acquisition process of heritage language speakers. Lourdes Ortega argues for applying an “ethical lens” to our research to ensure that it is socially useful and that it foregrounds the social and linguistic needs of heritage language communities on whose behalf the research is conducted. Valdés has outlined a thorough research agenda that reflects the immense diversity of social and linguistic circumstances in which heritage language speakers find themselves in the United States. Central to this research scheme is recognizing that the traditional model of second-language acquisition (i.e., of monolingual speakers) engaging in a “foreign” language) does not apply to heritage language speakers, who have some level of receptive language skills in the heritage language. Additionally, Valdés’s research program challenges many of the language related ideas of traditional foreign-language curricula in privileging an idealized standard variety of the target language. Against this tradition, Valdés reminds us that many heritage language speakers are often proficient in stigmatized varieties of the heritage language (for example, urban varieties of Spanish spoken in Latin American countries versus rural varieties or Castilian Spanish from Spain). She insists that future research on heritage language acquisition must examine how heritage speakers (re-)acquire various dialects and registers of the target language, as well as considering which varieties of the heritage language are the most appropriate for instruction under what circumstances.

In addition to greater knowledge of how heritage speakers acquire and maintain their language, a second major strand of research on heritage language education concerns the programs and policies that are most effective. Wiley reminds us that language education policies that neither include nor foreground the needs of the affected community are rarely successful. One

indicator of this is the long-standing mismatch between “foreign” languages taught in school and the actual languages spoken in the country. Additionally, many heritage language programs in the United States have historically existed outside the formal K–12 education system, based instead in community schools, religious institutions, or private organizations. Much of that could easily be considered part of the heritage language agenda. Therefore, researchers and practitioners intent on expanding heritage language education in this country need to begin with the community members themselves, how they use the heritage language, and how they envision the maintenance or expansion of their language.

Richard Brecht and William Rivers recount the 60-year history of federal policies promoting language instruction at the higher education level. They argue that such policies (e.g., Title VI of the Higher Education Act and the Fulbright-Hays Act) have been instrumental in ensuring the existence of programs in less commonly taught languages. More recently, the National Security Language Initiative continues that mode of dealing with less common heritage languages. Although they call for greater funding of such programs, including expansion into the K–12 system, Brecht and Rivers base their advocacy on perceived national language needs rather than on the social and language needs of the heritage language communities themselves.

Finally, heritage language education is intimately entangled in powerful ideological debates about language and language learning in the United States. The debate about the merits of bilingual education has increasingly been overwhelmed by English-only campaigns, such as Propositions 227 in California and 203 in Arizona. These highly racialized efforts at the electoral and ideological level have painted bilingual education as a threat to national unity and to academic success for language minority students, charges that remain unsubstantiated in the research literature. Many advocates of heritage language education—for example, those who have contributed to the works edited by Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis; Heidi Byrnes; and most recently Robert Blake and Claire Kramersch—see an opportunity to harness heritage language issues to counter such campaigns by recognizing the rich linguistic diversity that exists (and has always existed) in the nation, and by framing this diversity as a question of resource conservation and management.

The second ideological aspect to heritage language education defines this resource, however, in specific ways. In the wake of the events of September 11, 2001, some scholars, such as Brecht and Rivers, and government analysts, including Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings and President George W. Bush, have defined heritage languages, and to a lesser degree their speakers, as vital resources to the United States in meeting its political, economic, and defense needs. A series of new federal policies has emerged, ranging from the recently enacted National Security Language Initiative, which appropriated \$114 million for the study of “critical” languages such as Mandarin and Arabic across the K–16 spectrum, to the proposed 21st Century National Defense Education Act and the National Security Education Act. Scholars acknowledge that federal monies are needed to help expand heritage language education, but recent writings reflect growing concerns in the language education community about the consequences of narrowing the definition of linguistic resource solely to the rubric of national security.

Despite these ideological challenges, the renewed attention paid to heritage language education represents a vital opportunity to recognize, honor, and expand the vast linguistic diversity in the United States and simultaneously rethink the scope and process of language education to help develop a more deeply multilingual society.

Donald Jeffrey Bale

See also Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Chinese in the United States; Indigenous Language Revitalization; Japanese Language in Hawai‘i; Language Revival and Renewal; Spanish, the Second National Language

Further Readings

- Brecht, R. D., & Rivers, W. P. (2001). *Language and national security: The federal role in building language capacity in the U.S.* National Foreign Language Center, University of Maryland.
- Blake, R., & Kramersch, C. (2007). Guest editors' introduction. *Modern Language Journal*, 91, 247–249.
- Byrnes, H. (2005). Perspectives. *Modern Language Journal*, 89, 583–585.
- Crawford, J. (1999). Heritage languages in America: Tapping a “hidden” resource. Retrieved from <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jwcrawford/hl.htm>
- García, O. (2005). Positioning heritage languages in the United States. *Modern Language Journal*, 89, 601–605.
- González, J. M. (1994). Spanish as a second school language: Adding language to the discourse of multicultural education. In F. Rivera-Batiz (Ed.), *Reinventing urban education* (pp. 257–275). New York: Institute for Urban and Minority Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Joint National Committee for Languages & the National Council for Languages and International Studies. (n.d.). Language legislation. Retrieved from <http://languagepolicy.org/legislation/index.html>
- Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practices of language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Ortega, L. (2005). For what and for whom is our research? The ethical as transformative lens in instructed SLA. *Modern Language Journal*, 89, 427–443.
- Peyton, J. K., Ranard, D. A., & McGinnis, S. (Eds.). *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Schmidt, R. (2007, April). *SLA and U.S. national foreign language education policy*. Paper presented at the American Association for Applied Linguistics 2007 Annual Conference, Costa Mesa, CA.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2006, November 21). *Education news parents can use* [Television broadcast]. Washington, DC: Author.
- Valdés, G. (2005). Bilingualism, heritage language learners, and SLA research: Opportunities lost or seized? *Modern Language Journal* 89(3), 410–426.
- Valdés, G., Fishman, J. A., Chávez, R., & Pérez, W. (2006). *Developing minority language resources: The case of Spanish in California*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Valdés, G., & Wiley, T. G. (2000). Editors' introduction. Heritage language instruction in the United States: A time for renewal. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), i–v.
- Wiley, T. G. (2005). The reemergence of heritage and community language policy in the U.S. national spotlight. *Modern Language Journal*, 89, 594–601.
- Wiley, T. G. (2007). The foreign language “crisis” in the U.S.: Are heritage and community languages the remedy? *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 4(2–3), 179–205.

HERITAGE LANGUAGES IN FAMILIES

Strong families are a vital element for healthy individuals and societies. For millions of immigrant families, intergenerational tensions and cultural conflicts often pose problems between the children, who are quickly

embracing the new linguistic and cultural ways of the host country, and their parents, who tend to retain their native ways longer. These tensions can be exacerbated by other communication barriers for dominant heritage language-speaking parents and their English-dominant children. An often overlooked resource is the home or *heritage* language, which can be a wonderful support and bridge between such families as they navigate acculturation in different ways and at different rates, as described in this entry.

A review of research on the characteristics of healthy families conducted by W. Robert Beavers in 1977 and Ted Bowman in 1983 reveals that strong families share the following nine important traits: caring and appreciation, time together, encouragement, commitment, communication, ability to cope with change, spirituality, community and family ties, and clear roles. Individuals from strong families also have greater family pride, supporting the development of self-identity, self-esteem, and self-confidence. Importantly, all the factors that contribute to the formation and support of a strong family are in one way or another related with the ability to communicate. According to Michal Tannenbaum and Pauline Howie, three language patterns emerge among immigrant families in the United States: (1) Both parents and children speak English, (2) the parents speak the heritage language and the children speak in English, or (3) both parents and children speak the heritage language. Although the second is the more frequently observed pattern among immigrant families, Lily Wong Fillmore has found that it leads to great limitations in the range and depth of communication between parents and their children. The third pattern is the ideal for immigrant parents and children to develop to strengthen and reinforce strong resilient families.

The use of heritage languages serves a critical role in enabling family communication and enhancing the quality of family relationships and support for children. Proficiency in the heritage language among children of immigrants sustains and enhances communication with parents and with grandparents, who may be the primary caregivers while the parents work. When children do not have the heritage language skills to adequately communicate with their parents, they often experience a sense of frustration and are less likely to seek parental advice. This frustration and emotional distance tend to increase as children reach adolescence and develop a greater need for parental guidance. Without the ability to communicate with

their parents, children do not have a means to gain guidance on issues of sex and career trajectories, for example. A lack of home support can result in increased teenage pregnancies and participation in youth gangs as young people seek acceptance outside the family circle.

When family members do not talk to each other beyond routine daily matters, the parent's guiding role can be minimized and even lost. The child-parent relationship may be reversed, and the parental authority may dwindle, all leading to the widening of the generation gap and an increase in family conflict. On the other hand, when grandparents/parents and children continue to speak the heritage language together, they are likely to spend more time together. Studies by Tannenbaum and Marina Berkovich show that time together creates opportunities for sharing meaningful experiences, fashioning family relationships and forming emotional bonds between grandparents/parents and children. By communicating together in the heritage language, parents and children engage in questioning, answering, negotiation, problem solving, exchanging information, showing love and affection, coming together in times of crisis, developing trust, and lending support. These processes are central for opening channels of communication between parents and children to discuss academic, moral, and social issues.

Wong Fillmore emphasizes that when teachers encourage immigrant parents to use English at home to facilitate English language development for their children, they may be doing a disservice to immigrant families. She explains that the limited range of interactions that are possible for immigrant parents and children with limited English skills can negatively affect their cognitive development, and deny access to the rich cultural resources available at home. Thus, it is essential that children use the heritage language in the home and continue to enhance their heritage language skills.

Heritage language maintenance also nurtures family pride. Families who share spiritual and cultural values and discuss family history pave the way for children to develop a better understanding and appreciation for who they are, that is, their group identity. Inquiries by Jean Phinney, Irma Romero, Monica Nava, and David Huang show a strong relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem, and academic achievement; Phinney and colleagues found that positive ethnic identity is a significant

predictor for high self-esteem and greater academic performance. This makes sense because the more pride and comfort one has about one's origins and family background, the stronger basis exists for social and academic achievement. According to Rubén Rumbaut, immigrant children often experience feelings of embarrassment toward their culture, parents, and home language during adolescence because they symbolize markers that prevent them from being able to fully assimilate with their mainstream peers. Thus, if left unattended, embarrassment in one's family is likely to lead to a distancing from their family and their home culture. Jean Mills points out that limited use of the heritage language can cause parents to be seen as irrelevant or invisible in their children's lives, whereas continued use of the heritage language in the home contributes to a child's sense of family belonging, cultural identity, and ethnic pride. According to Joshua A. Fishman, the encouragement of ethnic pride, which is intricately tied to one's attitudes toward the heritage language, is a critical element in the lives of children of immigrants.

Finally, heritage language and its maintenance are significant for strengthening family cohesion and community ties, which also contribute to the development of healthy family life. Research by Phinney, Anthony Ong, and Tanya Madden has shown that the loss of the child's heritage language skills and the concomitant emphasis on English-only use is detrimental to a family's cohesion. Shioh-Huey Luo and Richard Wiseman found that in families where parents do not have strong English language proficiency, limited use of the heritage language between parents and children, or the absence of the heritage language, creates fragile families, who are more likely to experience emotional distance, tenuous relationships, and greater intergenerational conflict. The heritage language enables families to share cultural and spiritual values and beliefs and thus, create stronger familial ties. The sharing of the heritage language supports the learning in the home.

Many immigrant families are nested within heritage communities and social networks. The strengthening of families also depends on how well an individual is able to and willing to interact and accept the values of the community. Further studies by Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler specify that the heritage language is critical for participation in ethnic communities. For example, many immigrant families attend ethnic religious institutions

where the knowledge of the heritage language is necessary to participate in the religious services. Because of a lack of heritage language proficiency, children are often forced to attend separate services conducted in English, creating a divide between the community elders and the youth groups. Such divides limit access for the younger generation to access the social and cultural capital that is available through the family and ethnic networks. According to Grace Cho, without the heritage language, studies have found that individuals experience cultural isolation from the ethnic community that limits their access to the social and cultural capital of the family. Much can be gained in cultural and social resources through home and community interactions. Such connections between the child, parent, and community help encourage ethnic pride, develop a more stable sense of identity, counteract a one-dimensional view of parents, preserve respect for parents, and reinforce family values.

Researchers such as David López and Ricardo D. Stanton-Salazar have shown that a stable and supportive family environment is a necessary component for academic, personal, and social success, but children from dysfunctional families experience greater economic and social difficulties in adulthood. Furthermore, studies by Alejandro Portes and Lingxin Hao show that increased familial problems were found in families where parents and children speak only English together, as well as in families where children used English while their parents were dominant in a language other than English, but not in families where the child is bilingual. The evidence suggests that fluent bilingualism is preferable to either English monolingualism or limited bilingualism.

The positive relationship between heritage language use and strong families is clear. But the benefits will only hold over time if the child's language skills grow along with his or her emotional and intellectual growth and maturity. In sum, heritage languages strengthen families by creating the possibilities for a solid foundation in the home and a close parent-child relationship. This can only lead to greater well-being for children, families, and the society in which they live.

Jin Sook Lee and Debra Suárez

See also Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Heritage Language Education; Home Language and Self-Esteem; Home/School Relations

Further Readings

- Beavers, W. R. (1977). *Psychotherapy and growth: A family systems perspective*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.
- Bowman, T. W. (1983). Promoting family wellness: Implications and issues. In D. Mace (Ed.), *Prevention in family service approaches to family wellness* (pp. 39–48). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Cho, G. (2000). The role of heritage language in social interactions and relationships: Reflections from a language minority. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), 369–384.
- Fishman, J. A. (Ed.). (1999). *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- López, D., & Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2001). Mexican Americans: A second generation at risk. In R. G. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America* (pp. 57–90). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Luo, S.-H., & Wiseman, R. L. (2000). Ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 307–324.
- Mills, J. (2001). Being bilingual: Perspective of third generation Asian children. *International Journal of Bilingual Education*, 4(6), 383–402.
- Phinney, J., Ong, A., & Madden, T. (2000). Cultural values and intergenerational value discrepancies in immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Child Development*, 71, 528–539.
- Phinney, J., Romero, I., Nava, M., & Huang, D. (2001). The role of language, parents, and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30, 135–153.
- Portes, A., & Hao, L. (2002). The price of uniformity: language, family and personality adjustment in the immigrant second generation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(6), 889–912.
- Portes, A., & Schauflyer, R. (1994). Language and the second generation: Bilingualism yesterday and today. *International Migration Review*, 28(4), 640–661.
- Rumbaut, R. (2005). Children of immigrants and their achievement: The role of family acculturation, social class, gender, ethnicity, and school contexts. In R. D. Taylor (Ed.), *Addressing the achievement gap: Findings and applications* (pp. 23–59). Greenwich, CT: IAP-Information Age.
- Tannenbaum, M., & Berkovich, M. (2005). Family relations and language maintenance: Implications for language educational policies. *Language Policy*, 4(3), 287–309.
- Tannenbaum, M., & Howie, P. (2002). The association between language maintenance and family relations: Chinese immigrant children in Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23(5), 408–424.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (2000). Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory into Practice*, 39(4), 203–210.

HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Depending on the level of analysis used, several factors mediate the interactions between English-speaking school personnel and students who enter their classrooms speaking another language. Some of these factors are as obvious as the linguistic mismatch between teacher and learner when the teacher does not speak the child's language, the prime focus of bilingual education. Others are more subtle and difficult to detect, and still others are almost totally overlooked by even the most well-meaning teacher or school leader. Arguably, the most important factors in the latter group are those associated with the hidden curriculum of the schools, the many things that schools teach but are almost always unspoken and unwritten, although they are present in most lessons and classrooms. Students of the hidden curriculum hold that schools do more than simply transmit knowledge, as contained in the official curriculum guides used by schools. By promoting a narrow view of what it means to be a serious student and demonstrate good behavior, schools “teach” important lessons that are rarely examined because they are so deeply engrained in the culture of schools and society. The hidden curriculum is as important as the proclaimed curriculum in defining what it means to teach.

The concept of a hidden curriculum has been addressed by scholars from several distinct points of view, which are summarized briefly in this entry.

The Hidden Curriculum and the Issue of Equity

The phrase *hidden curriculum* is often attributed to Phillip Jackson; in the mid-1960s, Jackson promoted the view that schooling (education) is part of the socialization process by which society recreates itself in the next generation. Benson Snyder used the same phrase to explain why college students often reject what formal education offers them. Snyder believes

that campus conflict and students' personal problems may be caused by a generalized but poorly understood angst created by ill-fitting academic and social norms that thwart the students' ability to develop independently or think creatively.

More recent thinking concerning the hidden curriculum has focused on the harmful effects that the unexamined impact of the hidden curriculum can have on minority youngsters, who are even less prepared to question what the schools demand of them. Scholars concerned with this particular set of issues believe that the hidden curriculum can inflict damage even when the schools do not intend to do so. Perhaps the first appearance of this issue before the general public occurred in 1954 in the U.S. Supreme Court finding in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. In its famous "Footnote 11," the Supreme Court relied on research presented by a pair of psychologists, Kenneth Clark and Mamie Clark. Their study showed that when given black and white dolls from which to choose during playtime, Black children disproportionately chose white dolls. The implication of this impressed the justices, who became convinced that a segregated education sent out to Black children the message that black skin was inferior to white even when the curriculum never said so explicitly. The message was part of the hidden curriculum.

Other research, by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, found that similar messages abound in the way schools are organized and how teachers teach. Competition is favored over cooperation, a fact that disadvantages cultures in which competition may be frowned upon by youngsters. In other cases, communication styles—passive versus active, boisterous versus calm, or volunteered versus withheld—are additional examples in which feelings of preferred versus unpopular styles are exhibited by teachers who favor one cultural way of communication over all others. In sum, it can be argued that the much flaunted "meritocracy" of which American schools are an integral part is, in effect, not culture-free or culture-fair. Children emerge from the meritocratic machine that is the schools as successful when the value system of their homes is synchronous with the beliefs in which meritocracy itself is embedded.

Anthropology and Critical Theory

Educational anthropologists and critical theorists began to analyze the hidden aspects of school curricula

through essays and descriptive studies attempting to assess the importance of power relations, especially asymmetrical power between schools and students, in the persistent lack of success of students from disenfranchised groups. Much of this early writing occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s as the broader values and tendencies of American society were also being questioned by its youth.

Internationally, the most influential of these writings were those of Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, and Paulo Freire. These authors focused on power relations in school settings where teachers belonged to high-power groups and students belonged to less powerful groups. These authors—chiefly Freire—also promoted the idea that education should be structured to function as a strong support for democracy. According to Freire, schooling that numbs the learner into being a passive recipient of cultural values, promoted by the schools, results in the mere transmission of societal norms and values rather than in helping to shape individuals who are interested in social justice and who question the way things are, rather than working toward things as they should be. In short, these students question the purpose of education and seek to change values and mores that have gone unquestioned in the past. When their efforts are ignored or frustrated, dissatisfaction and disengagement often result.

The Iconoclastic or Populist View

More recently, a more iconoclastic voice emerged, that of John Taylor Gatto, a New York City public schoolteacher whose acerbic critiques of school life, policies, and procedures stung education leaders. Gatto's populist views challenged the system of public education and "government schools" perhaps because his was the voice of a public schoolteacher who was highly critical of the schools in which he himself worked and which had bestowed on him important awards such as the New York City Teacher of the Year in 3 different years, and New York State Teacher of the Year. In 1991, Gatto resigned his teaching position in the New York City schools to devote himself entirely to writing and speaking out against the hidden curriculum and purposes of the schools. Gatto, whose critiques are somewhat jumbled and poorly organized in writing, are replete with harsh rhetoric. This may explain why his views have not received as much attention as they deserve from

mainstream education thinkers and researchers. His critique of what the schools teach and the harm they may inflict remain largely unexamined by education practitioners.

Gatto argues that the institutionalization of public education into cookie-cutter socializing centers that are excessively regimented and rules-driven is a disservice to society, if not a crime. He argues that American public education is a system of governmental institutions designed, from the outset, to be instruments for the management and control of a large population. According to this view, schools are intended to produce through the application of formulae, formulaic human beings whose behavior can be predicted and controlled. This is facilitated by compulsory attendance laws that force young people to attend these schools from ages 5 to 16 in most states. This form of education, according to Gatto, deprives young people of the freewheeling methods of inquiry that lead children and youth to explore ideas and fresh, self-created frames for a useful, ordered, and creative life that is well lived and enjoyed even when it is lived outside the predominant patterns of society. This option tends to be available only to students who attend expensive private schools.

A view similar to Gatto's view that regards the schools as sorting machines to organize and manage the populace was advanced by Bowles and Gintis in their seminal book, *Schooling in Capitalist America*. These authors advanced the idea that the purpose of American education was to sort and organize men and women and prepare them both in knowledge and orientation, for their predestined roles in life. This theory is still widely debated, even though the book that presented it was first published in 1976.

Language in the Hidden Curriculum

In discussing bilingual education, perhaps the most germane aspect is the effect of the hidden curriculum on the role and status of English in American schools. In this and other respects, the schools reflect the society's valuing of the English language to the exclusion of most others. It is part of our accumulated professional wisdom that a comprehensive and powerful command of the English language is needed and must be demonstrated by children and youth at various points in their journey through the schools. In this view, English is a school subject that is deemed most important. Accordingly, the schools' role in promoting

and teaching it is primordial. Until the Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols*, many people believed that the teaching and learning of English was primarily a family issue that was the primary responsibility of parents rather than the schools. *Lau* put that issue to rest at least from a legal perspective. But the vital nature of English and the zeal with which it must be taught has led many schools and even the federal government to give a high precedence to English, even if it means pushing other school subjects off the curriculum for lack of time and space. Attitudes concerning the importance of mastering the English language—and specifically, a standard variety of English—may not be emphasized daily in classrooms, but indeed transmitted to students, who learn to recognize which language variety is valuable in schools, and which are not.

Josué M. González

See also Critical Literacy; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Social Class and School Success

Further Readings

- Bourdieu, P. (1977). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In J. Karabel & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Power and ideology in education* (pp. 487–511). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reforms and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Foucault, M. (1981). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings*. New York: Pantheon.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury.
- Gatto, J. T. (1992). *Dumbing us down: The hidden curriculum of compulsory schooling*. Philadelphia: New Society.
- Gatto, J. T. (2001). *The underground history of American education: An intimate investigation into the prison of modern schooling*. New York: Oxford Village Press.
- González, J. M. (1993). School meanings and cultural bias. *Education and Urban Society*, 25(3), 254–269.
- Jackson, P. (1968). *Life in classrooms*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- John Taylor Gatto Biography. (2003). Retrieved from <http://www.johntaylorgatto.com/aboutus/john.htm>
- Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Snyder, B. (1970). *The hidden curriculum*. New York: Knopf.

HIGH-STAKES TESTING

Around the world, a single test score is often used to make a wide range of decisions, from determining citizenship status to grade promotion and graduation in school. When a test is attached to serious consequences in this way, it is considered to be high stakes. This sort of testing usually serves a gatekeeping role and can offer a door to opportunities or bar access to advancement. Language minority students in the United States typically live in households where a language other than English is spoken. Language minority students in need of language support services to succeed in English-medium classrooms are referred to as English language learners (ELLs) among practitioners, and as limited-English-proficient students (LEP) among many policymakers. These students have historically been particularly vulnerable to high-stakes testing, a pattern from the past being repeated in U.S. public schools today.

The primary issue with the use of high-stakes testing for ELLs is that the tests used are often the same ones administered to native-English speakers. They are given in the students' second language, English, even when the test takers do not enjoy a high command of the language. ELLs are often required by school or government authorities to take high-stakes tests, and historically this has happened without sufficient recognition for the effect that language and culture will have on the scores an ELL receives. ELLs typically do not perform as well as native-English speakers and, when the stakes of the test are high, the students are punished for not passing. When ELLs must take high-stakes tests, the students and their teachers are under great pressure to prepare, which results in many changes to teaching and learning. This entry explores the effects of high-stakes testing on immigrant students in school, especially those who speak a language other than English at home.

Historical Perspective

The testing movement originated in the United States with a focus on mental measurement in the form of intelligence quotient (IQ) testing, and has spread globally since World War I. This movement has historically been associated with immigrants and language minorities, as IQ testing began at the turn of the 20th century when immigration to the United States

was dramatically increasing. Psychologist Alfred Binet is credited with establishing the IQ test in 1904, at the request of the French government, for identifying children who were learning delayed to be placed into special education programs. The IQ test was then translated into English in 1917 and used to test immigrants to the United States who arrived through Ellis Island. At that time, Henry H. Goddard concluded that 25 of 30 Jews tested were unintelligent; such findings have since been recognized as dubious because of the failure to acknowledge the role of cultural differences and language proficiency in test performance among an immigrant population.

IQ tests were similarly employed by Carl Brigham to two million World War I draftees in the United States as a tool to understand why recent immigrants did not perform as well as those who had been in the United States for 20 years or more. Brigham found that Blacks were inferior to Whites; and within the other racial strands he used—"Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean races"—that the Nordic race outperformed all the others. IQ tests were also used in schools with high stakes because they determined student placement; thus, IQ tests became a means of justifying school segregation by race in the 20th century. All these findings have subsequently been proven to be false and the result of biases in the tests or an inability of the test takers to read them.

Brigham later founded the Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT), which was and continues to be used to determine qualification for college entrance. Brigham is believed to have influenced Congress to pass an act restricting immigration by "non-Nordics." English literacy thereby became a way to deny immigrants entrance to the United States and to keep African Americans from voting, and in this way the early years of the testing movement were prejudicial on the basis of race and language proficiency. Although tests are presented as scientific, neutral, and unbiased, from the beginning they have disproportionately penalized poor and minority students, and language minorities in particular.

Current Context

More immigrants arrived in the United States in the 1990s than in any previous decade, and during this time, the population of language minority speakers increased by 40%. In 2001, the U.S. Congress passed the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), legislation

characterized by an increase in the federal role in education through a greater emphasis on accountability. The law mandates that ELLs participate in English language proficiency and academic content assessments to ensure that these students are making “adequate yearly progress.” Most states have interpreted the federal legislation by implementing statewide standardized tests that are used both to meet the requirements of NCLB and to determine high school graduation, grade promotion, or placement into tracked programs. Since NCLB, tests have become increasingly high stakes.

A major issue that has arisen in the implementation of high-stakes testing with immigrant student populations is that, as in the past, most of the tests being used are in English. Even a test of math will be greatly affected by the student’s level of English language proficiency if it is only given in English, especially if it involves written explanations or word problems, as modern tests usually do. In this way, the tests are primarily measures of language proficiency rather than content knowledge. In addition to being linguistically complex, test items are also culturally complex in ways that interfere with valid and reliable measurement. One example is a state exam that was implemented in a New York City classroom with students who had recently arrived from West Africa. The test referred to “shopping malls” and the game “Twister” in test items. However, the students did not know these terms because shopping malls are uncommon in their countries as well as in New York City, and because Twister is an American game they had neither heard of nor played. Challenges such as these have yet to be addressed when using the tests for high-stakes decision making.

In addition, ELLs are now frequently being required to pass the same English language-arts exams that native-English speakers take to determine readiness for high school graduation or grade promotion. For instance, 20 states used high school exit exams in 2006 to meet the high school requirements of NCLB as well, and it is predicted that nationally 87% of English language learners will have to pass high school exit exams in coming years.

Researchers are challenging the validity, reliability, and fairness of such practices. The problem is that ELLs typically perform worse than other students on standardized tests of language arts as well as an academic content, and this has serious consequences for them. As of 2006, a wide achievement gap exists

between ELLs and other students on statewide assessments, ranging from 20 to 40 percentage points.

Although many states use test accommodations or modifications to lessen the interference of language, few of these successfully reduce the achievement gap between ELLs and non-ELLs, and states are least likely to permit the usage of those that do. For example, an accommodation that most states permit is extended time for ELLs to complete the test. However, if an ELL who has just arrived from China is required to read a passage from the Gettysburg Address and write an essay, or answer a word problem on a math exam about a car and a truck going up an incline at different speeds, extra time may help somewhat, but it will not be sufficient to make this student’s test score equivalent to that attained by a native-English speaker—even if this child is extremely knowledgeable in the areas of U.S. history and math. The same test translated into Chinese might be more helpful to measure the student’s content knowledge, but translations are rarely permitted. Despite these problems, most states and school districts continue to make major educational decisions for individual students on the basis of a single test score. In this way, we are repeating what happened more than a century ago with the use of IQ tests to evaluate immigrants, without regard for the harsh consequences of the scores they received.

Effects of High-Stakes Testing on ELLs

Opponents note a number of negative consequences of high-stakes testing for ELLs, such as the placement of these students into low-track remedial education programs, increased grade retention and drop-out rates, and higher rates of youths taking the Graduate Equivalency Diploma (GED) exams instead of pursuing a traditional diploma. In addition, opponents find that efforts to improve schoolwide performance on high-stakes tests have resulted in low-performing students being encouraged to leave school by officials, being retained in grade before pivotal testing years, and being suspended or expelled before testing days. Some find that testing reduces the quality of education offered, and a major critique of test-based accountability systems increasingly visible in the literature is that the tests fail poor and minority students and serve as an effective sorting mechanism to ensure that they remain at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Several scholars have criticized the practice of using high school exit exams as the single criterion for deciding high school graduation because of how it negatively affects ELLs. For example, ELLs fail some of the more demanding statewide graduation tests at a rate of 60 to 90%, and these rates would likely be higher if the students who had already dropped out were included in these tests. These findings further the claim that high-stakes tests result in “disparate impact” on ELLs, disproportionately penalizing this student population in comparison with other groups, and thereby contributing to the reproduction of educational inequalities. In addition, high-stakes testing creates a disincentive for schools to serve low-performing students because schools are pressured to have high overall passing rates, and these students become a downward drag on schoolwide scores.

On the other side of the testing debate, however, supporters of high-stakes testing state that NCLB is critical for doing exactly the opposite and is actually closing the achievement gap among students according to race, class, and ethnicity. Educators talk about the progress they are seeing as a result of the new accountability, by ensuring that students from low-income families, racial minorities, and immigrant students are expected to be taught to high levels. Supporters argue that the law has brought the needs of low-performing students into the public spotlight, causing greater attention to be paid to these students than before. The rationale is that highlighting the wide achievement gap will improve the quality of education these students receive.

Effects of High-Stakes Testing on Instruction and Language Policy

High-stakes testing has a significant effect on teaching and learning, and research indicates that the higher the stakes of tests, the more likely teachers are to report effects on their instruction and curriculum. These effects include pressure to have their students do well, emphasis on test preparation, and time devoted to test content.

There exists a body of literature in what is called testing “washback,” which refers to the effects of tests on language teaching and learning. Researchers in this area argue that testing can and should influence teaching and learning, though they often find that the actual effects are unintended. For example, many researchers report “teaching to the test” as a primary washback

effect, whereby exams drive education, and curriculum is narrowed to the subjects on the test. Researchers report finding less focus on subjects that are not tested, such as art, music, and social studies. Studies in the United States in the past decade are finding widespread instances of teachers limiting instruction to only those things that are sure to be tested, emphasizing rote memorization of facts, and drilling students on test-taking strategies.

Language policy in education is policy that determines which language(s) will be taught and learned in school. Analyzing the effects of high-stakes testing on teaching and learning, researchers have recently begun to explore the connections between testing and language policy, finding that testing policy strongly affects language policy. Several researchers have argued that embedded within NCLB is implicit English-only policy, and that English-only testing creates an incidental English-only policy. It becomes difficult for educators, even teachers in bilingual education programs, to use a language other than English in instruction when the sole measure of accountability is performance on a state test that is offered only in English. This is particularly evident in those states that have passed antibilingual education legislation. For example, although bilingual teachers in California continued native-language instruction immediately after the passage of Proposition 227 (an English-only law passed in 1998) in that state, teachers report feeling compelled to teach more English because of the English-only state assessments. In states with high-stakes tests provided only in English, bilingual teachers are increasing the amount of English they use, even in dual-language programs in which instruction is meant to be equally in English and another language.

Conclusion

Both testing opponents and supporters alike have recommended that policymakers recognize the role language plays in test performance, and that they avoid those policies that have the most deleterious consequences. Particularly criticized has been the recent policy to use a single test score to determine grade retention, placement of students into low-track classes, and graduation. Instead, many promote the use of multiple measures of student progress as an alternative, such as portfolios that include class assignments and diverse samples of student work, grades in school, teacher assessment, and projects. Until new tests are

developed that manage to remove the impact of language and culture or until the stakes of testing are lowered, large numbers of English language learners will continue to be penalized in the next decade for failing high-stakes tests.

Kate Menken

See also Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; Language Policy and Social Control; Measuring Language Proficiency; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing Requirements; Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery; Proposition 227 (California)

Further Readings

- Abedi, J., Hofstetter, C., & Lord, C. (2004). Assessment accommodations for English language learners: Implications for policy-based empirical research. *Review of Educational Research, 74*(1), 1–28.
- Amrein, A., & Berliner, D. (2002). *An analysis of some unintended and negative consequences of high-stakes testing*. Tempe: Education Policy Research Unit, Arizona State University. Retrieved from http://www.asu.edu/educ/eps/EPRU/epru_2002_Research_Writing.htm
- Brigham, C. (1923). *A study of American intelligence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Cheng, L., & Watanabe, Y. (Eds.), with Curtis, A. (Ed.). (2004). *Washback in language testing: Research contexts and methods*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Clapham, C., & Corson, D. (Eds.). (1997). Language testing and assessment. In C. Clapham & D. Corson, *Encyclopedia of language and education, Vol. 7: Language testing and assessment*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Crawford, J. (2004). *No child left behind: Misguided approach to school accountability for English language learners*. Paper for the Forum on ideas to improve the NCLB accountability provisions for students with disabilities and English language learners. Washington, DC: Center on Education Policy & National Association for Bilingual Education.
- Evans, B., & Hornberger, N. H. (2005). No Child Left Behind: Repealing and unpeeling federal language education policy in the United States. *Language Policy, 4*, 87–106.
- Goddard, H. (1917). Mental tests and the immigrant. *Journal of Delinquency, 2*, 243–277.
- Hakuta, K. (1986). *The mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Heubert, J., & Hauser, R. (Eds.). (1999). *High stakes testing for tracking, promotion, and graduation*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Menken, K. (2005). *When the test is what counts: How high-stakes testing affects language policy and the education of English language learners in high school*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Menken, K. (2006). Teaching to the test: How standardized testing promoted by *No Child Left Behind* impacts language policy, curriculum, and instruction for English language learners. *Bilingual Research Journal, 30*(2), 521–546.
- Mensh, E., & Mensh, H. (1991). *The IQ mythology: Class, race, gender, and inequality*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Rivera, C., & Collum, E. (Eds.). (2006). *State assessment policy and practice for English language learners: A national perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Shohamy, E. (2001). *The power of tests: A critical perspective on the uses of language tests*. London: Longman/Pearson Education.
- Shohamy, E., & Hornberger, N. H. (Eds.). (2007). *Encyclopedia of language and education, Vol. 7: Language testing and assessment* (2nd ed.). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Spolsky, B. (1995). *Measured words: The development of objective language testing*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Sullivan, P., Yeager, M., Chudowsky, N., Kober, N., O'Brien, E., & Gayler, K. (2005). *State high school exit exams: States try harder, but gaps persist*. Washington, DC: Center on Education Policy.
- Valenzuela, A. (Ed.). (2005). *Leaving children behind: How "Texas-style" accountability fails Latino youth*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Wiley, T., & Wright, W. (2004). Against the undertow: Language-minority education policy and politics in the "age of accountability." *Educational Policy, 18*(1), 142–168.

HISPANIC POPULATION GROWTH

Pressures to adopt bilingual education occurred during a period in which the growth of the Latino or Hispanic population had begun to accelerate markedly. The growing influence of Latino political and civil rights leaders was influential both in the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968 and in subsequent reauthorizations of that legislation. Hispanic influence was also felt in the many state laws favoring bilingual education that were enacted in the 1970s. This entry traces the growth of the Latino population during this period and reviews the education challenges faced by this population.

In 1960, the first time the U.S. Census produced a credible count, the documented Hispanic population of the United States numbered approximately 3.8 million as explained by Herschel T. Manuel. In 2001, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that in 2000, 35,305,818 Hispanics (or Latinos) lived in the United States. According to more recent statistics from the Pew Hispanic Center from 2006, the Hispanic population of the United States increased from 8.5 million in 1966–1967 to 44.7 million in 2006.

Historical Background

During the past four decades, the Hispanic population has accounted for 36% of the 100 million people added to the population of the United States. This is the highest increase of any racial or ethnic group during this period. The rise of this unique linguistic community parallels, in great part, the rise of bilingual education in the country, along with strong demands for civil rights protection in education and other fields. Hispanic demographics deserve attention to understand how bilingual education and the American Hispanic community emerged and developed during the last quarter of the 20th century.

Major factors for expansion of the Hispanic population are immigration from Mexico and Latin America, and the high fertility rates of Latinas as reported by the Pew Hispanic Center in 2006. Before 1960, immigration by Hispanics (particularly from Mexico), to the United States was minuscule by today's standards. Manuel reported that in the decades since 1861, immigration from Mexico was as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Immigration to the United States from Mexico

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Decade</i>	<i>Number</i>
1861–1870	2,191	1921–1930	459,287
1871–1880	5,162	1931–1940	22,319
1881–1900	<i>Records incomplete</i>	1941–1950	60,589
1901–1910	49,642	1951–1960	299,811
1911–1920	219,001		

Source: Manuel, H. (1965). *Spanish-speaking children of the Southwest: their education and the public welfare*. Austin: University of Texas Press (p. 18).

The Hispanic population is the oldest White and mestizo population to have settled in the American Southwest. The earliest Latinos came primarily from Spain through Mexico and settled in Santa Fe, New Mexico, as early as 1609—fully 11 years before the founding of Plymouth Colony in 1620. By 1680, there were more than 2,500 Spanish-speaking settlers in New Mexico alone, as John Burma explains. Herschel Manuel reports that there were 23,000 Spanish-speaking people in the southwestern United States by 1790. These numbers remind us that the English- and German-speaking colonists of the East Coast were not alone in seeking a foothold in what is now the United States.

Not long after the 13 colonies gained their independence, English speakers began moving west into what was then Mexican land. Americans were primarily coming into central Texas. Initially anxious to see this territory settled, Mexico had invited English-speaking settlers to be a part of Mexico provided they learned Spanish and became Catholic. Texas was at the heart of the U.S.–Mexican disputes over land. As a way to justify their presence there, the U.S. government under President James Polk promoted the idea of a manifest destiny that gave the United States its conception of reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Concerned about the rising tide of U.S. settlers coming to Texas, Mexican president Antonio López de Santa Anna attempted to curtail the tide. He abolished slavery and enforced customs taxes on the new settlers. However, the new settlers quickly outnumbered the Mexican citizens and soon claimed their independence by revolting. Although the reasons for the Texas revolt were more complex, this revolution eventually led to Mexico losing approximately one half of its lands north of the new Texas border. California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, as well as parts of Wyoming and Nevada were also ceded to the United States as a result of the Mexican-American War that ended in 1848. These figures show the long-standing presence of Hispanics in the U.S. Southwest. Estimates of the number of Mexicans that became American by not immigrating—they lived in the ceded territories—vary from a low of 30,000 to more than 100,000.

Since Mexico lost its northern lands to the United States after the Mexican-American War, immigration has played a continuous role in the increase of the Hispanic population in the United States. During the

next hundred years, these increases in immigration were aided by significant occurrences in both the United States and Mexico. These included the agricultural development of the American Southwest, the building of the railroads and the subsequent need for labor, the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and the labor shortages caused by World War I and World War II in the United States, as explained by Richard Schaefer.

During the Depression of the 1930s, more than one-half million people were deported to Mexico when they could not prove their citizenship. Most of these were Chicanos or Mexican Americans, Schaefer explains. After the Depression, however, Mexican labor was once again in demand, and the two governments agreed to a new program known as the *bracero* program. Under this agreement, Mexican laborers were allowed to enter the United States legally to work in the agricultural fields as contracted guest laborers. This program lasted until 1964. Many of these immigrants remained in the United States after their work permits had expired, thus adding to the flow of immigrants from Mexico.

Between 14 million and 16 million immigrants entered the United States during the 1990s. In the 1980s, the immigrant rate was 10 million, and in the 1970s, it was 7 million as reported by Randy Capps and colleagues. Concern about unrestricted illegal immigration led the U.S. Congress to pass the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 that sanctioned U.S. employers who hired illegal aliens (as explained by Gordon Hanson and Antonio Spilimbergo). One of the provisions of this legislation was to provide legal amnesty to several million illegal workers already in the United States.

There has always been considerable debate about how to classify people of “Hispanic” origins. Many favor the term *Latino* whereas others prefer *Hispanic*. Still others prefer a method of disaggregating such data to show the kind of Hispanic or Latino a person is—Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Central American, Spanish, South American, and so on. According to Darryl Fears, the federal Ad Hoc Committee on Racial and Ethnic Definitions of 1975 was responsible for the term *Hispanic* being chosen to designate such individuals for the 1980 census. For the 2000 census, questions on race were changed from those asked on the 1990 census questionnaire. The federal government considered race and Hispanic origin to be two separate and distinct concepts; according to Roberto Ramírez,

Hispanic or Latino was defined in the Census 2000 as “a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race” (p. 1).

The American Community–Hispanic report for 2004 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007), reported 40,459,196 Hispanics or Latinos in the United States. This report also disaggregated the total to show that 64% were of Mexican background, 9.6% were of Puerto Rican descent, 3.6% were of Cuban background, with other Central and South American and Caribbean groups constituting the rest. These 40.5 million persons lived in all 50 states and for the first time were described as a heterogeneous aggregation rather than as a single group.

Furthermore, this report also concluded that the majority of Hispanics were born in the United States and that most of them spoke English. In 2004, the percentage of the overall Hispanic population that lived in California and Texas alone was just over 50%. Overall, approximately 80% of Hispanics live in nine states: California, Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, Arizona, New Jersey, Colorado, and New Mexico. This report also noted that Hispanics in 2004 had a larger proportion of a younger population, and less of an elder population, in comparison with the White, Non-Hispanic group.

Hispanic Student Population Growth

According to Sam Dillon’s report in the *New York Times*, in 1972 Hispanic students accounted for a mere 6% of the U.S. population of school-age children. By 2005, the number of Hispanic children attending U.S. schools rose to 20% of all students. During the same period, the White school-age population dropped from 78% in 1972 to 58% in 2005, Dillon explained. Richard Fry found that Hispanics accounted for 64% of the enrollment growth between 1993–1994 and 2002–2003, one of the most concentrated growth periods for American schools. The rapid rise in the number of Hispanic students has put pressure on schools across the country to attend to their language and culture needs.

In contrast to the immigration rates of the 1990s, births have overtaken immigration in ensuing decades as the largest source of Hispanic growth. These new census figures demonstrate that young people will dominate the Hispanic population (as described by

Ana M. Martínez Alemán). Half of this current population is younger than age 27. By comparison, half of non-Hispanic Whites are older than 40. Hispanics have the fastest growth rate among the nation's major racial and ethnic groups, as Martínez Alemán explains. In the 1990s, Hispanics accounted for almost 40% of the country's population increase. From 2000 to 2004, that figure grew to 49%, as D'Vera Cohn reported in the *Washington Post*.

In a study of limited-English-proficient (LEP) children in U.S. schools, Paul Hopstock and Todd Stephenson found that more than 350 languages were listed by school personnel as being spoken by children who could be considered LEP. Spanish was the native language of 76.9% of all LEP children. Hopstock and Stephenson also reported that no other language exceeded more than 3% of the LEP population. Even if many of these children were successful in school and were able to join the English-speaking mainstream, there would still be several million Hispanic children and adults who would retain their Spanish-speaking ability.

Challenges in the Education of Hispanic Students

One of the issues in the education of Hispanic children has historically centered on language. The failure of American educational systems to succeed with Hispanic children has often been referred to as educational neglect because of its persistence. The growth in numbers of Hispanic children since the 1960s has complicated efforts to educate them in the traditional sense. Hispanics grew at a rate of 55% during the 40-year period between 1966 and 2006, as reported by the Pew Hispanic Center in 2006. This growth was also reflected in the Hispanic school-age population. Perhaps no other area stands out among Hispanic demographics as much as that of their growth in the number of Hispanic school-age children during the past two decades.

The growing numbers of Hispanic children also affect the issue of immigrant children's education. Because many non-English-speaking children were being instructed through bilingual education programs, this method of teaching English language learners has recently come under fire by those who feel that English should be the only language used in public schools. California (Proposition 227 in 1998), Arizona (Proposition 203 in 2000), and Massachusetts

(Question 2 in 2002) all have state laws making bilingual instruction illegal in those states.

There were 5,119, 561 LEP students identified during the 2004–2005 school year (as reported by the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition in 2006). Hopstock and Stephenson identified nearly three million Hispanic students as LEP in 2001–2002. Although many of these Spanish-speaking English language learners are being served by a variety of programs such as bilingual education, English as a Second Language (ESL), dual-language programs, and sheltered immersion programs, the overall effect of the antibilingual measures has not yet been assessed. Educators worry that these antibilingual education laws will result in a large underclass of ill-prepared students who will not be proficient in the academic English necessary for success in the American school system. James Crawford explains that the English-only movement and laws are feared to also have a negative effect on the Hispanic population overall.

Another issue that becomes important in the growth of the U.S. Hispanic population is that of poverty. Because many Hispanic children come directly from Mexico and other Latin American countries, poverty often is a main reason for their parents' immigration from the home country. According to Martínez Alemán, Latinos are more likely to live in poverty than other groups. Thus, many Hispanic immigrants arrive in this country in a weak economic condition. In addition, many immigrant families have not had the benefit of a formal education in Spanish in their countries of origin, thus denying the children the added benefit of parental literacy. School—any school in any language—is a new and foreboding experience for such youngsters. Because the parents on average have lower incomes do than their U.S. counterparts, immigrant children have a higher rate of poverty (as reported by Jane Reardon-Anderson, Randy Capps, and Michael Fix). The Texas Education Agency (TEA) reported in 2006 that 55.6% of its school-age population could be considered economically disadvantaged. TEA further reported an overall “at-risk” population of 48.7%. Texas is a recent majority-minority state and many of these children are Hispanic, so it is not difficult to surmise that the poverty rate among many Hispanic children (and therefore, Hispanic families) is quite high.

Other issues that perhaps would be affected by large numbers of Hispanics in the U.S. population are

(a) voting and voting patterns, (b) their impact on the U.S. economy, and (c) the impact Hispanics would have on the overall social fabric of the United States. As mentioned earlier, Hispanics lived in all 50 states with more than 26 million concentrated in California, Texas, Florida, and New York as of 2004. Most of these people were born in the United States, so the potential voting power could be large.

How will these people with a non-English language and different cultures affect how the United States looks and acts in the future? This important question will be examined closely in the decades to come. Whereas the impact of Hispanics in American demographics has been well documented, it has not always been acknowledged or validated in our institutions or schools as well as our overall historical memory, as pointed out by Midobuche, Benavides, Marietta Espinosa-Herold, and Sonia Nieto. With the U.S. Hispanic population currently at greater than 44 million, and expected to reach 102.6 million by 2050—as projected by the U.S. Census Bureau, reported in the 2007 Hispanic Heritage month report—it will remain interesting to see if this will change the American landscape in any significant manner, especially the schools.

*Eva Midobuche and
Alfredo H. Benavides*

See also Dual-Language Programs; English for the Children Campaign; Latino Civil Rights Movement

Further Readings

- Burma, J. H. (Ed.). (1970). *Mexican Americans in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Capps, R., Fix, M., Murray, J., Ost, J., Passel, J., & Herwanto, S. (2005). *The new demography of America's schools: Immigration and the No Child Left Behind Act*. The Urban Institute. Available from http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/311230_new_demography.pdf
- Cohn, D. (2005). Hispanics growth surge fueled by births in the United States. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/08/AR2005060802381.html>
- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Dillon, S. (2007). U.S. data show rapid minority growth in school rolls. *New York Times*. Available from <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Espinosa, P. (1999). PBS, *The border: Struggle over Texan independence, text timeline*. Retrieved from <http://www.pbs.org/kpbs/theborder/history/index.html>
- Fears, D., (2003, October 15). The roots of "Hispanic." *Washington Post*. Available from http://azbilingualed.org/AABE%20Site/AABE%20NEWS%202003/roots_of.htm
- Fry, R. (2006). *The changing landscape of American public education: New students, new schools*. Pew Hispanic Center Research Report. Available from <http://www.ecs.org>
- Hanson, G., & Spilimbergo, A. (1999). Illegal immigration, border enforcement, and relative wages: Evidence from apprehensions at the U.S.–Mexico border. *American Economic Review*, 89(5), 1357–1378.
- Hopstock, P. J., & Stephenson, T. G. (2003, September 15). *Descriptive study of services to LEP students and LEP students with disabilities, special topic report #1, native languages of LEP students*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement and Academic Achievement of LEP Students (OELA). Available from http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/resabout/research/descriptivestudyfiles/native_languages1.pdf
- Manuel, H. T. (1965). *Spanish-speaking children of the Southwest: Their education and the public welfare*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Martínez Alemán, A. M. M. (2006). Latino demographics, democratic individuality, and educational accountability: A pragmatist's view. *Educational Researcher*, 35(7), 25–31.
- National Clearinghouse of English Language Acquisition. (2006). *The growing numbers of limited English proficient students: 1994/95—2004/05*. Washington, DC: Office of English Language Acquisition. Available from http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/policy/states/reports/statedata/2004LEP/GrowingLEP_0405_Nov06.pdf
- Pew Hispanic Center. (2006, October 10). *From 200 million to 300 million: The numbers behind population growth*. Available from <http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/25.pdf>
- Ramírez, R. (2004, December). *Census 2000 Special Reports: We the people: Hispanics in the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau. Available from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/censr-18.pdf>
- Reardon-Anderson, J., Capps, R., & Fix, M. (2002). The health and well-being of children in immigrant families. *Assessing the New Federalism Policy Brief B-52*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Schaefer, R. T. (1988). *Racial and ethnic groups*. Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman.

- Texas Education Agency. (2006). *AEIS Report*. Retrieved June 30, 2007, from <http://www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/2006/state.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2007, July 16). Hispanic heritage month: Sept. 15–Oct. 15. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/010327.html
- U.S. Census Bureau; U.S. Department of Commerce Economics and Statistics Administration. (2007, February). *The American community—Hispanics: 2004 American community survey reports*. Available from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2007pubs/acs-03.pdf>

HOGAN, TIMOTHY M. (1951–)

Timothy M. Hogan was born October 8, 1951. He received his undergraduate degree from Arizona State University and his law degree from the University of Notre Dame Law School. Before joining the Arizona Center for Law in the Public Interest, he was chief counsel for the Arizona Corporation Commission. He also served as Arizona's assistant attorney general in the Civil Rights and Financial Fraud Divisions, and as program director of the Phoenix Program at Community Legal Services. Hogan has argued cases before the Supreme Court of Arizona and the United States District Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. This entry discusses Hogan's advocacy efforts, and his work in the landmark court case *Flores v. State of Arizona*.

The impact of Hogan's legal advocacy on the education of English language learners may not be well known to many outside of the state of Arizona. But within the state, he is widely viewed as the most effective and dedicated legal advocate for the educational rights of English language learners in public schools. As executive director of the Arizona Center for Law in the Public Interest since 1991, Hogan is one of the leading civil rights attorneys in the state. He has been a consistent and tireless legal advocate for the educational rights of linguistic minority students. At the center, Hogan's work focuses primarily on issues relating to public school finance, especially, the ongoing and contentious battle with the Arizona state legislature for equitable school funding for the education of English language learners.

Hogan was cocounsel on the landmark federal court case known as *Flores v. State of Arizona*, filed in

1992 and decided in 2000, in which the state was ordered to increase the amount of funding it allocated to districts serving English language learners. The court also ordered the state to implement new procedures for the reassessment of English language learner (ELL) students and to monitor school district compliance with the law more stringently.

Despite the court order, the state legislature refused to comply, even after the state was charged with contempt for failing to meet its funding obligations. In one of Hogan's numerous court appearances since the case was decided, he asked a federal judge to withhold \$500 million in highway funds until the legislature fulfilled its mandate. This request was daring and politically unpopular, and Hogan was vilified by angry legislators in the press and in conservative opinion editorials. Nonetheless, the legislature's unwillingness to obey the *Flores* mandate for ELL funding resulted in an unprecedented court sanction against the state—fines of as much as two million dollars a day until the legislature lived up to its obligations.

The Republican-controlled Arizona state legislature addressed the accruing fines (\$21 million by April 2006) by submitting four ELL funding measures: The first three were vetoed by Democratic Governor Janet Napolitano as unacceptable. The fourth measure was ruled inadequate by the same judge who had imposed the fines because, among other problematic issues, the measure added only an additional \$76 to the state allocation of \$350 per English learner (the latter figure itself is inadequate, considering that in an earlier study to determine the cost of educating English language learners, the state arrived at a much higher figure).

The impact of Hogan's legal advocacy on the education of English language learners is widely acknowledged by detractors and supporters alike. The former view him as audacious, the latter as dedicated and courageous. Because of his vigilance in reminding the legislature of its responsibilities, he has been vilified in the press by angry legislators and in conservative opinion editorials. Nonetheless, Hogan persists. In January 2006, the National Association for Bilingual Education honored him with its Citizen of the Year Award.

Mary Carol Combs

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974; *Flores v. State of Arizona*

Further Readings

- Flores v. Arizona, 48 F. Supp. 2d 937 (D. Ariz. 1992).
 Flores v. Arizona, Order “WO,” December 15, 2005.
 Flores v. State of Arizona, 172 F. Supp. 2d 1225 (D. Ariz. 2000).

Web Sites

- Arizona Center for Law in the Public Interest:
<http://www.aclpi.org>

HOME LANGUAGE AND SELF-ESTEEM

During the past half century, researchers in the fields of psychology and education have repeatedly demonstrated the importance of self-esteem for learning. Self-esteem is generally defined as the personal judgments that humans make of their own worthiness, capability, significance, and performance. These judgments convey the individual’s attitude of approval or disapproval of the self, and may be expressed to others in either word or behavior.

Although such judgments are made by individuals themselves, individuals create their senses of self in society, and to a considerable extent, society shapes their psychological existence, as described in this entry. From the beginning, a child’s self-concept is built up bit by bit through interpersonal interaction. Because family and community culture provide the context, models, language, and values by which interactions and experiences can be understood, they play a vital role in a child’s self-development. Through their interactions with and around the child, family and immediate community members provide the basic components every individual needs for secure and competent functioning. These include a sense of belonging; an understanding of one’s social identity and origins; knowledge of one’s connectedness to self, family, and others; knowledge of how to get along with other individuals; and the means to manage adversity.

Self and Culture

Gradually, after children begin school, and through adolescence and adulthood, the predominant importance of family relationships is mitigated by the growing

influence of a wider group, which includes other community members, schoolteachers, and peers. When conflict inevitably arises amid these influences and the various forms of evaluative feedback received from each one of them, children will struggle within the self and without, to recreate and maintain a positive sense of self in view of the new challenges. Ideally, families and schools collaborate to guide and assist children and adolescents through the negotiation of a broadening and maturing sense of self.

As the selves of children are socialized through their home languages, children are also apprenticed to become users of those languages. Children develop competence in interpersonal interaction, and their general senses of self-esteem through their home languages. More than a mere communication tool, each language is an index of the culture of the people who use it. Within the grammatical and discourse features of the language of each community, information is encoded about the social organization, rules, expectations, and beliefs of the social group. In learning the home language, children learn to become competent child members of their own cultural communities. As such, children generally enter school with a sense of themselves as competent individuals.

Every child, arriving at school, is most primed and ready to learn in his home language. This is the language in which children are able to ask questions, understand responses, express opinions, indicate what they do not yet understand, and make connections between what they know and what they are learning. Children are able to indicate what they know for the purposes of assessment in their home languages. Schooling children in their home languages offers them the best opportunity to make use of their prior experiences, knowledge, and skills for learning in the new context. Children who achieve strong literacy and content development in their home language are most able to achieve strong literacy and content development in a second language.

Pervasive in pedagogical texts, teaching manuals, and teacher preparation is the underlying principle that students who believe in their self-worth and their abilities to complete tasks are much more likely to be successful. Research has shown that learners with high self-esteem exhibit greater motivation for learning and are more likely to put forth adequate effort, including persistence in the face of initial failure at a learning task. At a minimum, at all education levels—early childhood, elementary, and secondary—the research

shows that students' senses of self-worth and competence grow in school contexts in which they feel secure and accepted, where they feel supported in their learning, and where their participation is valued.

Education Policy and Student Self-Esteem

Teachers' individual efforts to support students' self-esteem at the microlevel of specific learning tasks or subjects are significant in their own right. Unfortunately, teachers' effectiveness is limited if macrolevel policy requirements about language of instruction, pedagogy, testing, and curricula prevent them from teaching in ways that support healthy student self-esteem.

Such policies are common in diverse societies in which one group sharing an ethnic and linguistic background is politically and economically dominant, and sets educational policy for the children of all other groups. Because children are prepared for school differently by the various cultural and ethnolinguistic groups from which they come, the degree to which they will function in school with positive self-esteem will depend on the manner in which schools respond to these differences.

Educational policies that place social value only on the achievement in the language of the dominant majority also implicitly ascribe higher value and status to that language, as well as to its speakers. Their language will match the expectations of the teachers, materials, performance standards, and assessment. Considering native language alone, children of the dominant majority, therefore, will tend to be treated as well-prepared for schooling when compared with other children. These children are most likely to feel secure, accepted, supported, and valued in such school environments.

No matter how proficient in their home languages, to the extent that children of other language groups lack native proficiency in the dominant language, children in schools controlled by these macrolevel policies will be viewed as lower status because of their language designation, and as unprepared for school by their parents. Instructed and assessed in a language they do not know well, these children will be designated as low-performing and linguistically deficient—at least for the 7 to 10 years that are required on average for students with little or no home language support to achieve competency in a majority

language. Regardless of teachers' microlevel efforts in the classroom to motivate or encourage language minority students in this situation, their self-esteem will suffer at the hands of such policies.

School programs offered to language minority speakers have not often incorporated significant use of the home language for instructional purposes. Rather, the usual educational goal has been to “subtract” or replace the home language as the language of learning. This may be accomplished by simply ignoring students' proficiency status, and placing them in mainstream classrooms to compete with native speakers of the majority language. In another approach known as structured immersion programs, language minority students may be grouped with others who are learning the majority language. In this approach, as in mainstream classrooms, all instruction and testing is conducted in the target language, however, and the home language is ignored.

In programs that view students' minority languages as “handicaps” rather than as educational, psychological, or social resources, students are urged, through subtle and unsubtle messages, to abandon their native languages. For the most part, students respond to these messages by learning the majority language as soon as possible. Socially constructed by the school program as “handicapped,” students' self-esteem suffers further assault, as they must struggle to learn and progress academically without adequate proficiency and grounding in the language of instruction. In the meantime, their ability to participate in age-appropriate forms of their home language atrophies as well.

In general, lowered self-esteem follows from negative distinctiveness, and in the school contexts described, many language minority students internalize the belief that their language group is negatively different and may seek to distance themselves from overt ties with their group. For example, they may abandon use of the home language, reject some teachings or practices of the family, withdraw from friendships with members of their own group, or even seek acceptance as a majority-language group member. The rejection of the home language and culture may create a crisis of parental authority and damage the relationships necessary for parents to guide children through adolescence.

Often, this rejection of one's group results in lowered self-esteem. Some students, however, accept the stereotypes of their group as low status, but enjoy positive self-esteem while maintaining the home language

and ties to their groups. Study of these groups of students has led researchers to distinguish between group self-esteem (the individual's evaluation of his or her ethnic group) and personal self-esteem (the individual's evaluation of self).

Not surprisingly, parents from ethnic or cultural groups that have been subjected to stigmatizing or discriminatory language policies and practices face difficult choices in raising their children and in deciding what the home language should be. The heritage language best connects children to their history and ancestors, and often to their grandparents and parents as well. Its transmission may provide the most secure and comfortable foundation for growing up in the home culture. However, in the sociopolitical context described earlier, the ability to speak a nonmajority language may subject children to discrimination and resentment, especially in school.

Despite strong ties to their heritage group, many minority language parents, hoping to protect their children, decide not to teach their home language to the children, or to teach it only in limited fashion. Other parents begin with the intention of raising children in the home language. Over time and as children become comfortable using the majority language, parents may find themselves unable or unwilling to insist that the heritage language be used in the home. The danger for parents, especially for those who themselves are not proficient in the majority language, is that they may not be fully able to share themselves and their guidance with their children through the majority language.

Children may certainly be raised successfully at home or in their communities in two languages. The key issue is for parents or primary adults in the child's life to use the language(s) in which they are fluent, and completely capable of raising a child. When language minority parents attempt to raise their children in a majority language that they have not mastered, children's language proficiency suffers in both languages; their school achievement suffers, as does the security of the attachment with the family. Each of these situations affects the child's self-esteem negatively.

Home language maintenance for language minority students can act as a buffer against academic failure. For example, young children whose families provide native-language home environments are more often high achievers at school, compared with children from language minority homes where parents

do not provide such an environment. Among high school language minority students, fluent bilinguals are much less likely to drop out of school than are those whose home language fluency is limited.

In some cases, school programs maintain and develop the home language before or alongside the majority language. Such bilingual programs are "additive" in approach because the goal is to develop and maintain children's literate command of the home language while adding and developing the majority language. Research has repeatedly shown that in late-exit or dual-immersion bilingual education programs—which provide continuous and significant home language literacy and content instruction for at least 5 years—language minority children achieve in the majority language at a comparable or higher level than majority language-speaking counterparts. Language minority children educated in these programs also exhibit high levels of self-esteem. Such high self-esteem appears to be socially as well as psychologically constructed. Children experience themselves as competent at school because they are successful and because their language and cultural knowledge is respected as an appropriate basis for learning.

Most bilingual education programs are of the "transitional" variety and do not seek to maintain or develop the home language. In these programs, instruction through the home language is offered only for the first 1 to 3 years of schooling. Children do not achieve strong literacy in their home languages and are moved into majority language instruction, though still functioning academically at relatively low levels in that language. Although this temporary home-language use may ease the transition between home and school, a premature shift into the majority language mainstream classroom brings lower performance and a decline in academic self-confidence. As with programs that make no use of the home language, transitional programs force children to leave their home languages aside, and continue their education in the majority language. This approach is in keeping with older approaches that deal with the home language, implicitly, as being of lower status. Transitional bilingual programs ultimately lead to children's decline in proficiency in that language.

Scholars generally agree that self-esteem has a key role in identity formation and language choices, and the understanding of its complexities has been deepened through its measure and incorporation in cross-disciplinary research. Yet, research also suggests that

important cultural differences exist in self-esteem formation, and additionally, that other psychological and contextual factors may also be important. These complexities, inherent in any psychological construct, must temper the confidence with which we view the results of efforts to ascertain the self-esteem of any individuals or groups.

Carol Evans

See also Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; Dual-Language Programs; English Immersion; Language and Identity; Language Educational Policy in Global Perspective; Languages and Power

Further Readings

- Bougie, E., Wright, S. C., & Taylor, D. M. (2003). Early heritage-language education and the abrupt shift to a dominant-language classroom: Impact on the personal and collective esteem of Inuit children in arctic Québec. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6(5), 349–373.
- Nieto, S. (2002). *Language, culture, and teaching: Critical perspectives for a new century*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Schieffelin, B., & Ochs, E. (1986). *Language socialization across cultures*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (2000). Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory into Practice*, 39(4), 203–210.
- Wright, S. C., & Taylor, D. M. (1995). Identity and the language in the classroom: Investigating the impact of heritage versus second-language instruction on personal and collective self-esteem. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 87, 241–252.

determine and document the child's home language. Its only function is to trigger further analysis by the school of the language commonly used in the child's family for everyday communication. This entry describes the uses of the home language survey.

Presumably, the home language survey is a culturally neutral nonpunitive identification measure for collecting minimal language information needed by the school to bring its programs into legal compliance. In school districts in states such as Arizona, California, Illinois, and New York, which experience some of the largest stream of immigrant students, administrators and educators rely on the home language survey to collect information that can help them evaluate each student's level of English proficiency.

Following federal guidelines, the parents or guardians of the newly enrolled children are asked to respond to a home language survey—a form that solicits information about language practices used at home and other related demographic data. To ensure that parents or legal guardians understand the content of the home language survey, education departments in the various states provide school districts with home language surveys in the parents' or guardians' native language. Some school districts, as in California, have provisions requiring parents or legal guardians to submit the completed home language survey 30 days after the student enrolls in a public school in the state.

Although the questions on the home language survey may vary from school district to school district or from state to state, they typically serve the same purpose: soliciting demographic data and information about language practices at home. For example, the California Department of Education provides four questions related to (1) the first language acquired by the child, (2) the language most frequently used by the child to communicate at home, (3) the language the parent uses most frequently to communicate with the child, and (4) the language used most frequently by adults in the home setting. In Massachusetts, home language surveys have often been expanded to include as many as 10 questions, reaching beyond the language used during parent-child interactions to include sibling and family communications, and even interactions with friends in the neighborhood. Seven of these questions focus explicitly on the child's language, whether it relates to a child's oral interactions with individuals in the immediate social surrounding or to the child's literacy skills.

HOME LANGUAGE SURVEY

The *home language survey*, also known as the *primary or home language other than English survey* (PHLOTE), is a federally sanctioned assessment and placement procedure. It has been adopted by most states as part of their processes for identifying incoming students who do not have sufficient proficiency in English to receive instruction solely in that language. The PHLOTE survey is usually a simple form used to

Regardless of the number of questions on each survey, if the parents or legal guardians report any language other than English in any of the questions, then the child is required to undergo further oral or written tests intended to evaluate that child's English proficiency. For example, Mary Ann Zehr has pointed out that if the parents of Navajo children report the use of an indigenous language by a grandparent, then it will be mandatory for their children's English proficiency to be further assessed. Even in cases where parents clearly indicate that neither they nor their child have any form of proficiency in that language, the child still has to undergo further testing. Children who do not perform as anticipated on the test are considered an English language learner, even though English might be their primary language.

Second-language teachers and administrators who support the use of a home language survey argue that it is a good first step in identifying a need for instructional interventions that consider the child's special language needs. The term *home* is crucial in this context. It allows education practitioners to inquire and obtain information about the language(s) children and parents use at home in their various exchanges with each other. Educators often argue that in the classroom setting, they can promote actual concrete learning only if they first identify the students' pragmatic linguistic needs (i.e., students' need to use language in various academic and in social contexts) and devise material and instructional techniques that will best meet those needs.

Despite the benefits the home language survey offers, concerns have been raised about its limitations as a decision-making tool. Mari B. Rasmussen, a critic of the PHLOTE survey, has argued that the home language survey is minimalist. It only informs educators about a child's native language(s) used at home, but the data does not provide much information on the child's actual proficiency in English or in the primary language(s). Teachers and school administrators still have to follow certain formal procedures to assess each student's English proficiency after the survey. Further, as Zehr has indicated, in the case of Navajo children in Arizona, parents are well aware that if they were to affirm that English is the primary language used at home, their children's English language proficiency would not be assessed, and hence, their children could not be considered for participation in programs that allow for the further development of their ancestral language. In addition, if children whose native language is

English reside with family members who are proficient in other languages or if children are bilingual, it does not necessarily mean that their level of proficiency in English is more limited than that of children raised in a monolingual English setting. Hence, critics say, these students' English proficiency should not be assessed just because they are exposed to, or speak, two or more languages at home.

Stella K. Hadjistassou

See also Affirmative Steps to English; Measuring Language Proficiency; Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education; Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery

Further Readings

- Burnett G. (1993). *The assessment and placement of language minority students*. ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, New York, NY. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED357131) Retrieved from <http://www.ericdigests.org/1993/placement.htm>
- Home Language Survey. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://multilingual.fresno.k12.ca.us/assmctr/HLS/lanindex.htm>
- Home Language Survey. (n.d.). Mississippi Department of Education. Retrieved from <http://www.mde.k12.ms.us/ACAD/ID/page4.html>
- Massachusetts Department of Education. (2004). How to identify new LEP students upon their enrollment in a School District. *Office of Language Acquisition and Academic Achievement (OLAAA)*. Retrieved from http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/sei/identify_lep.html
- Rossell, C. H. (2000). The federal bilingual education program. *Brookings Papers on Education Policy 2000*: 215–243. Available from http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/bookings_papers_on_education_policy/v2000/2000.1rossell.html
- Zehr, M. (2007). Learning the language: What is a home-language survey? *Edweek.org*. Retrieved from http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/learning-the-language/2007/02/whats_in_a_homelanguage_survey_1.html

HOME/SCHOOL RELATIONS

Parental involvement is well established as being correlated with student academic achievement. Five-year summaries of research in this area are available on the Web site of the National Network of Partnership Schools (NNPS), located at Johns Hopkins University.

These research studies corroborate that the involvement of family in a child's schooling contributes to positive results for students, including better school attendance, more responsible class preparation, more course credits earned, and higher achievement even through the high school years. As described in this entry, areas in which parental involvement is significant for student achievement are language development, homework, television supervision, and support to pursue a higher education.

Parent-guided children's visits to informal educational institutions in the community such as natural history museums, botanical gardens, zoos, and cultural institutions such as art museums and libraries can also support a child's education. For families with a single parent or two working parents, community-based organizations (CBOs) are important in helping continue the educational process after school. Organized programs may include the supervision of homework, the opportunity to learn other skills, and assisting with the development of talent in such areas as the arts, sports, and leadership.

For teachers and active parent associations who want to strengthen home/school relations, the NNPS is an established resource that provides materials to assist with parent involvement in schools. In addition, the NNPS Web site provides summaries of research studies on effective family involvement. Currently, more than 1,000 schools, 100 districts, and 17 state departments of education are working with NNPS to use research-based approaches to establish and strengthen their programs of school, family, and community partnerships. One study by NNPS reported a hierarchical linear modeling analysis showing that ongoing parental involvement in high school ameliorated low math achievement test scores of high school students in neighborhoods with high concentrations of poverty. This study also confirmed that it was not too late to initiate parent and community involvement programs, even at the high school level, as benefits accrued through 12th grade.

Research by Joyce Epstein found that the more specific and clear were the instructions for parents to help with homework, the greater the gain in student achievement. Her report also determined that the strongest results in student achievement occurred when the goals as well as the instructions were clear, and the homework help was well designed. Epstein documented that when teachers require parent-child interactions in completing math homework, and provide math materials

for families to take home, the percentage of students who achieved math proficiency increased from the previous year to the next. Similarly, an increase in student reading skills was obtained when teachers involved families in subject-specific interventions in reading and related language arts. In the area of science, NNPS studies found family involvement in homework led to significant results for homework completion and for the improvement of students' science report card grades.

Parental Support of Language Development

Programs in family literacy help parents acquire or strengthen their own literacy skills, thus making them better able to assist their children's development of literacy. The National Center for Family Literacy, headquartered in Louisville, Kentucky, is a leader in this effort. Techniques such as the use of recorded books allow adults and children to acquire reading skills together. Children are encouraged to read when they see their parents read and to have their parents read to them. Reading for fun encourages more reading.

The more interaction and communication children have with their parents, the more they learn. Children can learn the importance of language in expressing ideas, feelings, and requests when parents respond to them and validate their thoughts. Children need guidance in learning patterns of communication that will be necessary in the classroom, including how to make a request, ask a question, and respond to questions. Parents can encourage language development by taking time to talk with their children about activities they are doing together, such as having dinner or visiting with relatives. Parents can also model the kinds of communication patterns children use in school by asking them questions about how one activity relates to another, asking how they feel about the activity, or asking them to predict what may happen next while watching television together. By providing this interaction with their children, parents are encouraging language development and reinforcing their children's self-esteem.

Parents can further help their children by providing a home environment that is conducive to learning by designating a space for children to do homework, by supervising their homework, and by communicating the importance parents place on education. In addition, it is important for parents to limit the time their children spend watching television.

Parents are a child's first teachers; children learn language or languages from their parents. Parents and guardians are not always aware, however, of the ways in which they shape their children's language development and communication skills. Parents who are literate in a language other than English may not know that their children can benefit if they support the speaking and reading of their native language at home. Reading to a child in the home language tends to encourage reading for pleasure and helps children begin to make the connection between oral language and reading.

Reading to children at an early age in their native language can also clarify the purpose of reading because the words that can be pointed to on the page become familiar and comprehensible to children. Those who speak Spanish have an advantage in learning to read because they can sound out words in Spanish more readily and the sounds of the vowels is consistent. Parents who take their children to the library to borrow illustrated children's books, selected by their children, demonstrate to their children the importance of literacy.

Incorporating the Home Culture

Cross-culture research by Edward Hall and reported by Marietta Saravia-Shore and Steven Arvizu has shown that the influence of religious and cultural institutions in communities where children live can have enormous impact on how children's values, attitudes, dispositions, and skills develop. Because culture and learning are connected, the experiences and principles of a person's culture can affect the expectations of the learning process. The norms and values of the families' culture need to be respected; parents can work with teachers to help them understand the students' home and community culture to better comprehend those characteristics that may be different from mainstream U.S. culture. For example, some cultures have taboos about touching a student's head. In some cultures, students are taught to remain quiet and listen to the teacher. In other cultures, children are not expected to look directly at adults. These behaviors are not found in the prevailing culture in most U.S. middle and high school classrooms, where teachers encourage students to participate in discussions and expect them to maintain "eye contact." To learn about the culture of the children in their classroom, teachers can ask students to interview their parents

about their lives as children, their schooling, the stories they remember, favorite poems, and family recipes. The results of these interviews can be made into booklets and, subsequently, become reading materials for the entire class to help classmates understand the unique practices of their culture.

Teachers need to communicate with parents to understand the reasons for culturally based parent behavior and develop respect for the many different ways parents express concern about the education of their children. For example, Margaret Gibson reported that Punjabi immigrant parents in California often both work and do not attend school functions. They believe it is the teacher's duty to educate children and that parents should not be involved in what goes on at school. Punjabi parents therefore, support their children's education in other ways; for example, they require and supervise homework, ensure that their youngsters do not "hang out" with other American students, and ensure their children apply themselves to schoolwork. These parents also support their children in other ways; for instance, when necessary, parents will work two jobs to prevent their children from working outside the home so that their children have time for homework. As a result, Punjabi students as a group have higher rates of graduation and college acceptance than do other immigrant groups.

Teachers can act as "culture brokers" by interacting and talking with immigrant parents to (a) emphasize the key role parents play in their children's education, (b) clarify the expectations of the school, and (c) suggest ways in which parents might talk more often with their children to prepare them for communication in the classroom.

Students who learn to interact, respect, and work collaboratively with classmates from various cultures will be better prepared for the global world they will face in the 21st century. Teaching and learning strategies which draw on the social history and the everyday lives of students and their cultures assist the learning process. According to Roland Tharp and colleagues, teaching and learning are furthered when they are joint productive activities that involve both peers and teachers. Learning is enhanced when there are instructional conversations, that is, dialogues between teachers and learners about their common, shared learning activities. Teaching and learning are more effective when they are contextualized in the experiences, skills, and values of the community.

Community Resources

Teachers play an important role in referring parents to community resources such as museums and CBOs that can provide help with homework and other activities such as arts and sports programs. Referring parents to CBOs where their children will be safe in structured, supervised, after-school activities, as well as develop their talents furthers children's educational opportunities. Milbury McLaughlin and her colleagues have reported that adolescents who participate regularly in community-based youth development programs have better academic and social outcomes, as well as higher educational and career aspirations than do otherwise similar teens.

Extended families are also a resource. Being part of a social network of relatives enhances the opportunity for multiple alternatives for academic support. Students whose parents have not attended college can be helped by relatives who have attended college and can be guided by through the application procedures and the federal and state financial assistance application process.

Schools, Languages, and Parental Involvement

Communication between the school and parents is crucial. This is critical for parents who speak a language other than English; thus, the communication needs to be in the parents' native language. To reach parents who are not literate, some schools provide automated telephone messages in the languages of the community. These messages are updated week-to-week and inform parents about workshops and school events. To further reach parents, schools can post information to a Web site and send e-mail messages to grade listservs. Some schools, such as those in New York City, have paid full-time parent coordinators, who serve as advocates, answer parents' questions, and help refer parents to community resources. Some parent coordinators have "yellow pages" for parents that include local health, social service, and cultural and educational resources. Other parent coordinators hold or arrange workshops for parents on diverse issues such as parenting skills and school policies. Parents who attend these workshops can learn literacy skills and other activities that enhance their own abilities to support their children's learning of these skills. Some schools provide math, science, and other programs on DVDs

or videotapes so parents can view these with their children. These materials are more accessible because they are visual and spoken rather than written.

According to the Children's Defense Fund, in 2000, 7 of 10 children, ages 6 to 13, had either both parents working or lived in a single-parent household. To increase attendance at meetings, parent-teacher organizations can hold meetings after work hours for working parents and can provide translators for those who do not speak English. Teachers can use individual parent-teacher meetings as times to discuss students' progress and homework, and to discuss community resources. If space is available, a room in the school can be set aside for parents to meet and discuss issues concerning their children's education or the school community.

Parents who are welcomed in schools, in ways that are culturally appropriate, become more accessible both as resources and as learners. Music performances, plays, or cultural celebrations may be better attended by parents who work during the school day if they are held in the early evening or on weekends. Parents can be asked to volunteer to provide refreshments or contribute to a potluck lunch after a school production on a Saturday. This increases the opportunities for parents to meet each other and the teachers informally. When students see that the school respects their parents, there may be less conflict between home and school cultures that cause breakdowns of discipline within the family.

Community schools serve as great resources for families because they are open after hours and into the evening to provide space for CBOs that continue learning opportunities for students and families. Some organizations provide prekindergarten and day care facilities. Students can receive help with homework, later use the gym for sports, and use the classrooms for dramatics, art, or music. Parents may also attend evening classes in English language learning, prepare for the GED, or develop their computer skills. Some community schools have on-site clinics where students are treated for ongoing conditions and thus miss less school. Others have on-site dental clinics. Community schools can provide materials about community resources for families in multiple languages. When the schools partner with community organizations, families are able to access resources more easily.

When parents, teachers, and schools collaborate to meet students' educational needs, this leads to strong home/school relationships. These informal partnerships

give parents a voice in the education of their children, ensure that teachers create curricula that focuses on students' strengths, create positive school relationships for students and their parents, and provide an environment conducive to learning that contributes to the overall academic success of children. Bilingual education, because it makes use of the home language for instructional purposes, makes it much easier for immigrant parents to become involved in the education of their children.

Marietta Saravia-Shore

See also Heritage Languages in Families; Multicultural Education

Further Readings

- Epstein, J. L. (2005). *Developing and sustaining research-based programs of school, family and community partnerships: Summary of five years of NNPS research*. Available from <http://www.csos.jhu.edu/p2000/pdf/Research%20Summary.pdf>
- Gibson, M. A. (1983). *Home-school-community linkages: A study of educational opportunity for Punjabi youth*. Final Report. Stockton, CA: South Asian American Education Association.
- Hall, E. T. (1959). *The silent language*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- McLaughlin, M., Irby, M. A., & Langman, J. (1994). *Urban sanctuaries: Neighborhood organizations in the lives and futures of inner-city youth*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Olsen, G., & Fuller, M. L. (2007). *Home-school relations: Working successfully with parents and families* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Saravia-Shore, M., & Arvizu, S. F. (1992). *Cross-cultural literacy: Ethnographies of communication in multiethnic classrooms*. New York: Garland.
- Tharp, R. G., Estrada, P., Dalton, S. S., & Yamaguchi, L. (2000). *Teaching transformed: Achieving excellence, fairness, inclusion and harmony*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

HORNBERGER, NANCY (1951–)

Nancy Hornberger is a renowned professor and the director of the Educational Linguistics Program at the University of Pennsylvania. She was born in Kentfield, California, on December 1, 1951, and completed her undergraduate education at Harvard University. In 1973, she earned an MA in bilingual education from

New York University. Hornberger was awarded her doctorate in 1985 from the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where she studied the use of Quechua and Spanish in schools in areas in the Andes. This entry describes her research and career.

Hornberger has developed a substantial body of work that informs studies in bilingualism, biliteracy, language minority education, language policies, indigenous language revitalization, ethnographic research in education, sociolinguistics, and language teaching. Her meticulous research has earned her an international and national reputation. She has contributed greatly to the field of bilingual education in national and international landscapes through her extensive publications in her areas of expertise. From an ethnographic perspective, she explores the development of biliteracy in bilingual contexts and the implications for planning and implementing language policies.

Hornberger has written more than a hundred scholarly chapters, articles, and book reviews; she has also coedited an international book series on bilingualism and bilingual education. She is the general editor of a 10-volume *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, now in its second edition, and serves on several prestigious editorial boards including the Executive Committee of the American Association for Applied Linguistics, the Spindler Award Committee of the Council on Anthropology, the Education Committee of the American Anthropological Association, and as Division G program cochair of the American Educational Research Association, among others. Since 2000, Hornberger has served as the convener for the annual Ethnography Forum at the University of Pennsylvania. The forum invites a wide range of scholars, teachers, and administrators from urban areas and gives them an opportunity to examine learning, teaching, and administrative relationships between academic and public interests.

Hornberger's research studies draw from anthropology, sociolinguistics, language policies, and bilingualism. Her work provides a critical lens for schools and educators to better understand the complex nature of bilingualism, bilingual education, and language policies in multilingual societies. She examines the power relations between bilingual speakers of majority and minority languages and explores how language policies may influence the education of language minority populations.



Since 1989, she has studied the interrelationships between biliteracy in context, biliteracy in the individual, and biliteracy media. In the early work “Continua of Biliteracy,” published in the *Review of Educational Research*, she explains and defines the continua or the framework as relationships and intersecting variables that may influence the development of biliteracy by focusing on the role of the bilingual as an individual, classroom, community, or society. In 1992, she contrasted the “continua of biliterate contexts,” and the “continua of biliterate media,” studying Puerto Rican and Cambodian students in two programs in Philadelphia. In a later article, Hornberger and Ellen Skilton-Sylvester maintained that teaching biliteracy cannot occur without considering the relationship between the different aspects described in the continua model: for example, the intersection between languages and literacies with diverse linguistic structures, and different context influences at the micro or macro social levels. Hornberger has engaged other researchers and collaborators both in the United States and abroad to investigate the complexities of developing biliteracy.

A leading authority in the study of bilingualism, bilingual education, language policies, and language rights at the national and international levels, Hornberger is a significant voice for bilingual educators both in the United States and abroad.

Olga Gloria Rubio

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Continua of Biliteracy; Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; Language Policy and Social Control; Literacy and Biliteracy

Further Readings

- García, O., Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Torres-Guzmán, M. E. (Eds.). (2006). *Imagining multilingual schools: Languages in education and globalization*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hornberger, N. H. (1989). Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research* 59(3), 271–296.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2000). Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives. *Language and Education*, 14(2), 96–122.
- Hornberger, N. H. (Ed.). (2003). *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hornberger, N. H. (Ed.). (2008). *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, MA: Springer.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2003). Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings* (pp. 35–67). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Mercado, C. (2003). Biliteracy development among Latino youth in New York City communities: An unexplained potential. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings* (pp. 166–187). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, 8(2), 15–34.
- Torres-Guzmán, M. E. (2002). Dual language programs: Key features and results. *Directions in Language and Education*, 14, 1–16.

IMMIGRANT ELL EDUCATION

Historically, the experience of immigrating to the United States has varied greatly according to immigrants' countries of origin, ethnicity, gender, first language, educational and literacy levels, and other factors. In his 1990 book, *Coming to America*, Roger Daniels contends that one third of the American population (100 million) have ancestors who emigrated from various countries in southern and eastern Europe. These were the first wave of English language learners (ELLs), who entered the United States through Ellis Island from the late 1800s until the mid-20th century. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, European immigration to the United States nearly stopped, and the descendants of previous waves of eastern and southern European immigrants completed their assimilation into mainstream American society. A second wave, however, from the 1980s to the present, made up chiefly of Hispanic and Asian immigrants, has radically changed the face of America, with the introduction of multiple racial/ethnic and cultural/language backgrounds. This second wave of immigration has allowed a larger number of Americans to trace their ancestries to multiple non-Anglo-Saxon cultural/linguistic backgrounds. In addition, the current ease of mobility between countries has given this new wave of immigrants the flexibility to maintain their cultural heritage and language backgrounds.

Although immigrant groups from both earlier and more recent periods hold the experience of immigration in common, there are major differences in the socio-historical contexts within which those experiences occurred. This entry traces the historical similarities

and differences between the two waves of immigration and the socioeconomic changes that transformed U.S. society, with the shift from a largely industrial to a technology-based economy. This shift has lent urgency to the need for bilingual education for contemporary ELL immigrants. Research evidence suggests that bilingual education is capable of providing better educational opportunities for all ELL immigrant children.

Socioeconomic Historical Changes

Although Ellis Island and contemporary ELL immigrants shared similar demographic characteristics—such as being poor, illiterate, coming from rural backgrounds, and having little access to education—sociohistorical contexts made a difference in their social adaptation in America. Moreover, industrial society allowed Ellis Island descendants to use public schools as social institutions for upward mobility and integration into White mainstream America.

Ellis Island immigrants were capable of making a living as blue-collar workers in the manufacturing industry, without having first-language (L1) literacy skills or achieving English language proficiency. In addition, during the industrial period, society allowed immigrants to earn a living for two or three generations prior to entering middle-class America. In contrast, to enter middle-class America within a single generation, contemporary ELL immigrants need equal access to educational opportunities.

The current technological society, unlike the society of the industrial era, does not allow contemporary ELL immigrants two or three generations of adaptation prior to entering middle-class America. Wider economic gaps and high poverty levels among

contemporary ELL immigrants place them at high risk for a low-quality education, poor sociocultural adaptation, underachievement, and high drop-out rates. Presently, equal educational opportunities leading to upward socioeconomic mobility can be possible for ELL contemporary immigrants only if they have access to a high-quality K–12 program and an opportunity for a higher education.

The Ellis Island years ended during the 1950s, a decade that marked changes in the social value of a formal education. Throughout the 1950s until the 1970s, a high school diploma represented a value asset for finding a better job and career opportunity. James Banks points out that in contrast, during the 1980s and 1990s, the technological revolution changed the labor market's demands. Presently, to find a menial job and to have access to postsecondary training, young adults need a high school diploma, but competing for better jobs in global markets requires higher education. Adult immigrants who are illiterate in their L1 and do not speak English will be unable to enter the U.S. labor market. In addition, their children, both foreign- and U.S.-born, will be able to earn a living in the current technological society only if they do not drop out of school.

Recent Demographic Changes in America

A 1998 report prepared by the National Center for Education Statistics showed that from the early 1970s to the mid-1990s, national drop-out numbers for students of all races Grades 10 to 12 ranged between 10% to 17% for low-income families (i.e., families in the lowest 20% income distribution). The data also indicated that Hispanics were more likely than other ethnic groups to leave school. Jennifer Laird, Matthew DeBell, and Chris Chapman point out that the drop-out rate for Hispanic students born outside the United States and between the age of 16 and 24 was much higher than for the general population.

Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops report that although the U.S. population increased during the 1990s to 2000, minority groups grew at a higher rate than Whites due to immigration trends and higher fertility rates. During the 20th century, other minority groups had a higher average annual growth rate than Whites. Interestingly, the White population had a higher growth rate than most minority groups during the first half of the 20th century. In contrast, the White population grew more slowly than any other race in

the second half of the 20th century and for the century as a whole. According to Hobbs and Stoops, the minority population grew 11 times faster than the White, non-Hispanic population between 1980 and 2000. Contemporary immigration trends also dramatically increased the number of ELL students in U.S. public schools, hence affecting the demographics for culturally and linguistically diverse students.

Poverty Among Minority Groups

According to Bruce Webster and Alemayehu Bishaw, as of 1999, 13.8% of families of all races with children under 18 years of age had incomes below the poverty level. They also reported that this percentage was lower for White families but increased dramatically for minority families. According to the American Community Survey of 2005, 20.5% of Hispanic families were well below the poverty level compared with other minorities. In addition, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2005, most families below the poverty level for all races had households with members who had less than a high school education and more than five children in the home. In contrast, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that only 7.5% of White families were below the poverty level, even though White individuals made up 75.1% of the population in the year 2000.

The effects of poverty on the quality of children's home environments are complex, with an interaction of multiple external factors (e.g., quality of communities and public services, stressors, homelessness, use of illegal drugs, etc.) and internal factors (e.g., children's characteristics and developmental/maturational patterns). Mediating factors, such as a high-quality bilingual education, can prevent minority children from underachieving and dropping out of school, provide access to a higher education, and help students to attain middle-class status. Furthermore, partnerships between educators and minority communities and families are needed to develop and support ELL students' academic achievement. Educators need to become mentors and advocates of ELL students and their families and support their efforts to successfully negotiate and adapt the mainstream school culture to their socioeconomic and educational needs. In addition, the training models for teachers in higher education need to be modified; this is necessary in response to demographic changes in socioeconomic and educational needs of these students and their families.

Advantages of Bilingual Education Programs

The U.S. Census Bureau reported that in 2000, 17.9% of the population 5 years old and over spoke a language other than English at home. According to information provided by David Meyer, David Madden, and Daniel McGrath, the number of ELL students in public schools increased from approximately 2 million in the 1993–1994 school year to 3 million in the 1999–2000 school year. According to the National Center for Education Statistics in 2006, in the 2003–2004 school year, services to ELLs were provided to 3.8 million students, with California and Texas reporting the largest number of students. These figures indicate that the ethnic diversity of students within the public schools increased dramatically during the 1990s and will continue to increase during the first decade of the 21st century.

The education system is the product of socioeconomic factors, and, consequently, the academic achievement gap between mainstream and minority ELL students has been widening since the 1980s. Impoverished neighborhoods have public schools with fewer economic resources; in addition, poor communities expose children to home and environmental stressors. Offering a high-quality bilingual program becomes a key external factor for mediating the negative effects of poverty on children who are learning English. Pushing for high-stakes national standards and reducing the academic achievement gap between mainstream and ELL students can happen only if high-quality bilingual education accelerates their attainment of English proficiency and sociocultural adaptation. As a social institution, public schools can be used as an opportunity for upward mobility to children from minority and low-income families.

It has been shown that the use of a student's L1 as a method of instruction accelerates their English language acquisition, overall development, literacy skills, and steady progress in content areas. A series of research studies, cited by Virginia Collier and Wayne Thomas, have demonstrated that additive bilingualism, maintenance of the L1 while developing the L2, results in positive cognitive, socioemotional growth, such as transfer of skills from L1 to L2, and ultimately prevents dropping out and reduces psychological distance between mainstream and minority groups.

Bilingual education can help ELLs and at-risk immigrant children to finish high school and give them equal access to higher education and higher-socioeconomic

status. As advocates have pointed out, ethnically diverse children can enrich this nation and successfully adapt socially and culturally by maintaining their bicultural/bilingual and multicultural/multilingual heritage to move between two worlds. This approach supports *transculturation* as a successful sociocultural adaptation, in which ELL immigrants become English language proficient and socially adapt to mainstream America, while maintaining their L1 and cultural heritage as part of their identities.

Virginia Gonzalez

See also Americanization by Schooling; Hispanic Population Growth; Immigration and Language Policy

Further Readings

- Banks, J. A. (2008). *Introduction to multicultural education*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Collier, V., & Thomas, W. (2004). The astounding effectiveness of dual language education for all. *NABE Journal of Research & Practice*, 2(1), 1–19.
- Daniels, R. (1990). *Coming to America: A history of immigrants and ethnicity in American life*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Hobbs, F., & Stoops, N. (2002). *U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 special reports, demographic trends in the 20th century* (CENSR-4). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Hoffman, L., & Sable, J. (2006). *Public elementary and secondary students, staff, schools, and school districts: School year 2003–04* (NCES 2006–307). Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Laird, J., DeBell, M., & Chapman, C. (2006). *National assessment of educational progress* (NCES 2007024). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Meyer, D., Madden, D., & McGrath, D. (2004). *English language learner students in U.S. public schools: 1994 and 2000* (NCES 2004035). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (1998). *The condition of education: 1998* (NCES 98013). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=98013>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Census 2000 summary file 3, language, school enrollment, and educational attainment* (SF 3). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2005). *American community survey: Characteristics of people who speak a language other than English at home* (S1603). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

- U.S. Census Bureau. (2005). *American community survey: Poverty status in the past 12 months of families* (S1702). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Webster, B. H., & Bishaw, A. (2005). *Income, earnings, and poverty data from the 2005 American community survey* (ACS-02). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

IMMIGRATION AND LANGUAGE POLICY

The junctures between demographic shifts and formal social institutions are often characterized by tension and contradiction based on the policies and practices of a given society or government. This is because the psychology, culture, habits, and customs of newcomers do not always coincide with the psychology, culture, habits, and customs of those who maintain those social institutions, including formal organizations of government and public service. These frictions can be understood by evaluating institutional policies and the demographic characteristics of the population that institutions are intended to serve. This entry interprets the historical developments of language and bilingual education policy in the United States in the proportional representation of immigrants throughout the United States, from the 1880s until the present day.

During the past 140 years, language and bilingual education policies have been more restrictive when the proportional representation of immigrants in this country is relatively high and on the rise (see Figure 1). Although several grand theories have been presented to explain this scenario, there is no consensus that any one of these theories can account for the historical shifts in language ideology and policy within public schools. Given the rapid growth of immigration rates during the past few decades and a current emphasis on developing accountability systems to overcome achievement gaps (between racial and ethnic groups, children in poverty, special education students, and English language learners), the extent to which language policies will continue to restrain non-English native languages in public schools is uncertain.

The historical development of language policies in U.S. schools has been discussed by Colin Baker and Sylvia P. Jones in terms of four periods, each characterized by developing ideologies toward language diversity and changing demographic conditions in these schools. Carlos Ovando elaborated on these historical periods by identifying some of the changing

political, social, and economic forces that shaped and continue to shape language policies within each period, and discussed the shortcomings of several grand theories presented to account for changes in language ideologies and policies. The first period put forward by Baker and Jones—the permissive period (1700s–1880s)—is not treated here because it largely preceded the common school movement, which by 1870 provided some sort of free elementary schooling to much of the general population. Along with a brief chronology of language policies, social, economic, and political histories, these periods are discussed in terms of the proportional representation and other attributes of the foreign-born population—as well as the population of immigrant children (first and second generation) in schools from 1970 to 2000.

The Restrictive Period (1880s–1960s)

During a 30-year period, from 1880 until 1910, the United States experienced an 83% total population growth—from 50.2 to 92 million people. More than 16% of this growth was directly attributable to newcomers—first-generation immigrants. In 1910, the overall proportion of the foreign-born population was at its peak, 14.7%: the highest percentage since independence from Britain. Most of the immigrants arriving during this time were from Germany and Ireland, and many came from the United Kingdom, Italy, Canada, and Scandinavian countries. Some also arrived from China and other areas of Europe.

Several restrictive language policies emerged toward the end of the 19th century as the common school movement gained momentum. For Native Americans, restrictive language policies were instituted as a part of a comprehensive campaign toward assimilation. For German immigrants, who in 1880 represented nearly one third of all foreign-born individuals in the country, restrictive language policies were associated with growing religious tensions between Catholics and Protestants. In 1889, Illinois and Wisconsin embraced English-only laws, and in 1894, the Immigration Restriction League was founded to educate the population on the immigration system, to gain support for immigration restriction, and to lobby for restrictive legislation. The league remained active for nearly 20 years.

Following measures launched to limit immigration flows—such as the Naturalization Act of 1906, which

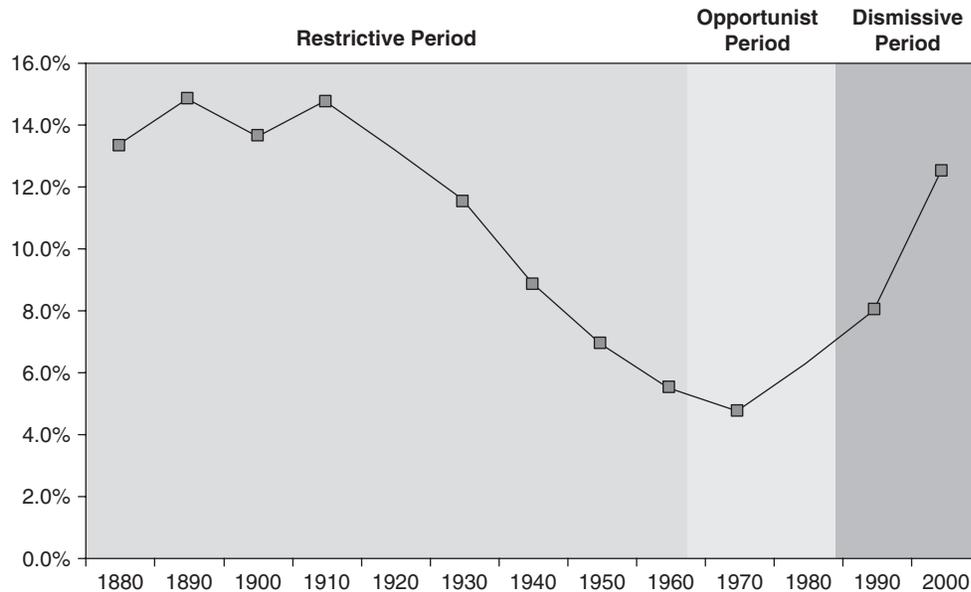


Figure 1 Foreign-Born Percentage of Total U.S. Population: 1880–2000

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2007).

required immigrants be able to speak English to become naturalized citizens, and the Dillingham Commission—the percentage of overall foreign-born in the United States began to decline. Early 20th-century initiatives were concerned about clashes among the various traditions and languages from Southern, Eastern, and Central Europe. Such initiatives intensified during and after World War I, which resulted in a push toward monolingualism and the elimination of German as part of the curriculum of many schools. Immediately after the war, the Bureau of Naturalization and the Bureau of Education sponsored bills to increase federal aid to teach English to nonnative speakers and to American Indians. By 1923, the legislatures of 34 states had imposed English-only instruction in all private and public schools. Soon thereafter, the ruling of *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923) allowed non-English instruction to continue in private schools, but had little effect on language of instruction in public schools.

Although the first half of the 20th century experienced a steady decrease in the overall percentage of foreign-born, the pool of newcomers from 1910 to 1960 was more diverse, representing more nations, cultures, languages, and traditions. By 1930, the immigrant landscape included more Latin American and Asian populations than before, even when

measures had been passed to contain flows of people arriving from Mexico, Japan, and China. However, 83% of immigrants were still European—mostly (in order of population size) from Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, Poland, the Soviet Union, Ireland, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia; 9% were from Canada. By 1960, of the roughly 10.5 million first-generation immigrants, 75% were from Europe, 5% from Asia, and 9% from Latin America and Canada, respectively. A growing portion also represented Africa and Oceania.

As the immigrant pool began to diversify (see Figure 2), the push for American homogenization continued, reflected in English-only policies and practices in schools. Many factors contributed to this phenomenon, including the infrastructural establishment of urban schools, the drive for unity following World War I and during World War II, and the devaluation of immigrant cultures and languages. Little pressure was placed on schools for the educational success of immigrant children, and, as such, the responsibility of making the necessary linguistic, cultural, and cognitive modifications to adjust was largely left to immigrant students and their families. Educators and policymakers, in general, blamed their failure to succeed in school on their lack of assimilation of linguistic and cultural practices.

The Opportunist Period (1960s–1980s)

Following the Soviet Union’s successful launch in 1957 of *Sputnik*, the world’s first artificial satellite, the United States began to seriously question federal policies associated with the country’s educational development. In particular, the National Defense Education Act was passed by Congress in 1958 to stimulate the advancement of education primarily in areas of science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. This also came at a time when the overall percentage of immigrants in the country was the lowest it had been since the mid-19th century. An increased investment in elementary and secondary education, coupled with a relatively low level of immigration, allowed for the expansion of foreign-language study in U.S. schools. However, this did not change the language of instruction for children of immigrants, who continued to be denied the opportunity to learn in their native languages.

During the 1940s and 1950s, immigration laws were passed to more closely monitor immigrants; in 1952, the modern-day U.S. immigration system was established. In the early 1960s, the immigration problem was seemingly contained. Annual quotas for the number of immigrants allowed in were met each year, and immigrant flows were under control. The advent of the civil rights movement and the Civil Rights Act

of 1964 gave new impetus to discussions regarding non-English native-language instruction in schools. In addition, a revocation of the national origin quota system allowed more Asians and Latin Americans to enter the country. This occurred while the Cuban exile community, which had fled the island after the Revolution of 1959, was establishing dual-language (Spanish-English) schools in Miami. These schools were supported by funding from the federal government’s Cuban Refugee Act, by Cuban parents, and the availability of several well-trained Cuban teachers.

By 1970, bilingual schools in South Florida were doing well, and the overall percentage of immigrants in the country was at the lowest point of the 20th century (4.7% foreign-born; see Figure 1). Because of an increased flow of Mexican immigrants and Cuban refugees, the number of newcomers of Latin American descent doubled from 1960 to 1970. Moreover, in the spirit of the civil rights movement and the federal government’s efforts to eradicate poverty, the Bilingual Education Act was passed by Congress in 1968 to help language minority students (particularly Hispanics) perform better in schools. Federal funds were used to support dual-language educational programs, train teachers, develop and distribute curricula, and encourage parental involvement. This represented a turning point in U.S. policy on several fronts. First, it placed a greater responsibility

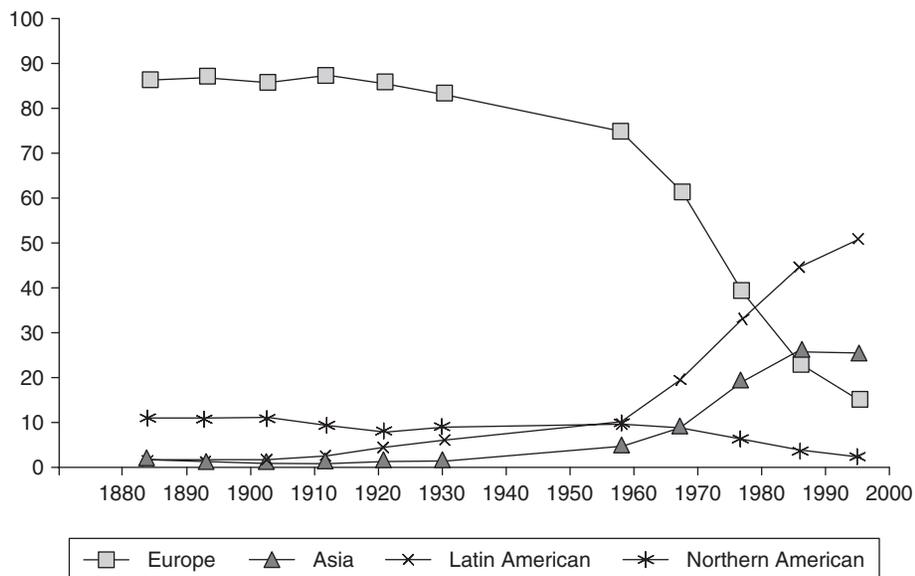


Figure 2 Immigrant Percentage of Total U.S. Foreign-Born, by Region: 1880–2000
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2007).

on schools for the educational success of immigrant children, moving away from the sink-or-swim ideology that had prevailed before. Second, it gave rise to a greater recognition and appreciation for diverse languages and cultures. Third, it began to undermine English-only policies that were then still current in many states. Finally, it gave rise to community activism, which led to an increase of bilingual instruction throughout the country, and litigations for the educational needs of language minority students who had been neglected. In one of the first of these cases, *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), a class-action lawsuit representing 1,800 Chinese students who alleged discrimination for not receiving adequate instruction in English, the Supreme Court concluded that equal treatment of students did not equate to equal educational opportunity.

By the mid-1970s, the overall proportion of foreign-born in the United States was on the rise for the first time since the turn of the century. Bilingual education had gained momentum, and the National Association for Bilingual Education was established in 1975. The Office of Civil Rights developed guidelines, known as the *Lau Remedies*, for schools that had at least 20 language minority students with the same linguistic background. The *Lau Remedies* included pedagogical strategies and professional standards for bilingual teachers, and were focused on developing biliterate students. Such guidelines served as an impetus for additional litigation. The ruling in *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981), for example, gave the public a three-step test for determining whether school districts were taking appropriate action to serve language minority students. Although these court rulings provided the opportunity for bilingual education programs to grow in number, the quality and types of programs that emerged varied greatly, and reputable research on best practices for these programs, in student outcomes, was limited.

The Dismissive Period (1980s–Present)

By 1980, the overall proportion of the foreign-born population was steadily rising, and the changing face of America's growing immigrant population could be sensed. In a matter of 20 years, the percentage of European immigrants within the foreign-born population fell from 75 to 39% while immigrants from Asia and Latin America increased from 5.1 to 19.3% and 9.4 to 33.1%, respectively (see Figure 2). In K–12 public schools, 1 in 10 children had at least one

parent who was born outside the country (Figure 3), and conflicts regarding language policy in schools were stirring within the federal government.

Through the 1980s, fewer federal dollars were devoted to bilingual programs, and the *Lau Remedies*, which were scheduled for publication in the Federal Register, were never published as official regulations. Beyond Washington, several English-only movements were brewing. These movements became widely visible by the early 1990s when the foreign-born population surpassed 8% of the total U.S. population and the population of children of immigrants in schools surpassed 14% of the total K–12 student enrollment (Figure 4). Policy initiatives to counter immigration and non-English languages were most visible in California, where in 1990 approximately one third of the nation's overall foreign-born population resided. In 1994, California voters approved Proposition 187, a ballot initiative intended to curtail illegal immigration by imposing restrictions on social and educational services. In 1998, as debates heated regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education programs, California voters passed Proposition 227, which stated English should be the primary means of instruction for language minority students. Other states later followed California's lead in adopting or attempting to adopt state laws similar to those of California.

By 2000, the overall percentage of immigrants in the United States was the highest it had been in more than 70 years. By then, more than 12% of the country's total population was born outside the country, and one in five school-aged children (5–17 years old) had an immigrant parent (see Figure 4). More than half of immigrants were from Latin America, and approximately 30% of all immigrants were of Mexican origin. Moreover, between 1990 and 2000, immigrants dispersed to areas of the country that previously had low percentages of foreign-born populations. The South experienced the most rapid growth rate (88%) from 1990 to 2000. North Carolina and Georgia witnessed increases in their immigrant populations of 274 and 233%, respectively. The arrival of the new millennium also brought about sweeping changes in federal education policy. With bipartisan support, the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was passed in 2001. This law called for higher academic standards and accountability, made government funding contingent upon student performance, and gave states the freedom to designate and implement the best methods (and language) of instruction to reach

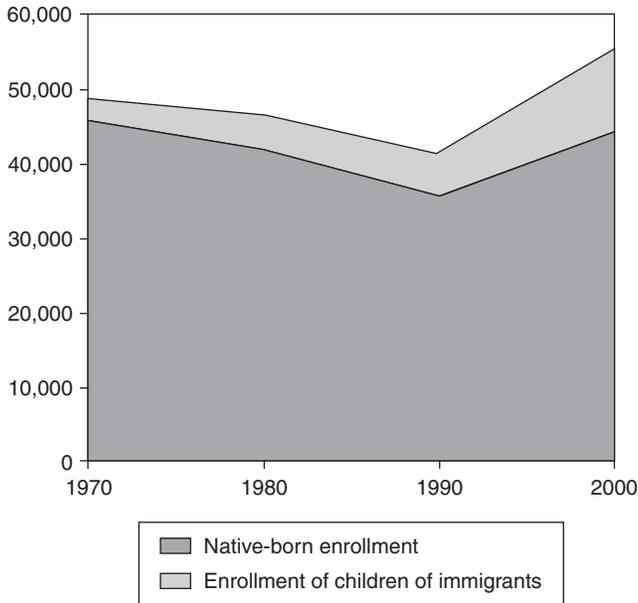


Figure 3 Enrollment of Native-Born and Children of Immigrant Enrollment in K-12 Public Schools: 1970-2000

Sources: Fix & Passel (2003); Van Hook & Fix (2000).

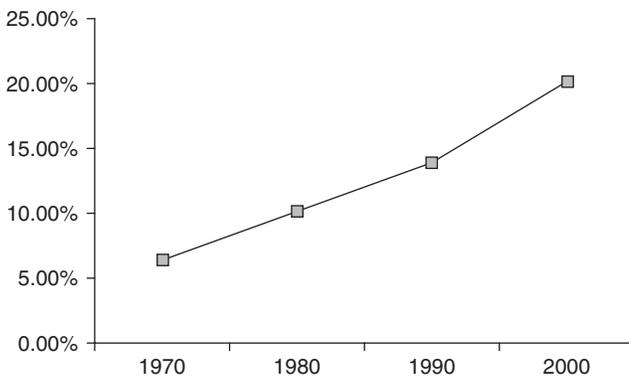


Figure 4 Overall Percentage of Children of Immigrants of the Total K-12 Student Population: 1970-2000

Sources: Fix & Passel (2003); Van Hook & Fix (2000).

student achievement goals. Although it did not stipulate, per se, the best program models for language minority students, NCLB eliminated the Bilingual Education Act, replacing it with “Title III, Language

Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students.” This new legislation emphasized English acquisition and achievement, rather than the development of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Demographers project that by 2010, the total foreign-born population in the United States will surpass 40 million, about 18% more than the total population of Canada. At least one in four school-aged children will have an immigrant parent. As research evidence continues to build, supporting the value of native-language instruction, especially during the early and elementary school years to optimize the achievement of language minority students, it is unclear how language and bilingual education policies will unfold. The Coachella Valley Unified School District, 10 school districts in Southern California (case number CPF-05-505334 filed in June 2005) are currently suing the State of California for failing to test English language learners in a valid and reliable manner. This lawsuit rests on an NCLB provision stating that student assessments should be “in the language and form most likely to yield accurate data.” This lawsuit highlights fundamental friction between federal laws demanding accurate evaluation and increased student achievement, and state laws restricting the language of instruction and assessment. The outcome of this case, akin to other California laws in the past, will likely influence language and education policies throughout the country.

Conclusion

Language ideologies and policies since the common school movement have been inconsistent and are characterized by contradiction. These laws have tended to be more restraining of non-English languages when the overall proportion of immigrants in the United States was and continues to be relatively high and rising. Several restrictive laws were passed before the beginning of the 20th century, mostly in reaction to the cultural and linguistic threat posed by the large corpus of German immigrants. As immigrant percentages decreased through the latter half of the 20th century, so did the polemics of the official status of English and immigration quotas. Following World War II, and an increased investment in public K-12 education, opportunities for bilingual education programs emerged. By the early 1980s, the percent of the foreign-born population was rising quickly. Federal support for bilingual education programs began to wane, and English-only initiatives were reemerging.

With California as their model, at the beginning of the 21st century, voters in Arizona, Colorado, Washington, and Massachusetts passed laws restricting non-English instruction in schools, and limiting public benefits for undocumented immigrants.

Although several grand theories have been proposed to explain historical shifts in language policy in the United States, no consensus exists. Many of the theories posit that shifts depend on certain characteristics of immigrant populations. Some conclude that language policies are based on immigrants' country of origin, meaning that policies have been less restraining of European languages. Others suggest that restrictive policies are race-based. That is, policies have become more restrictive as the pool of immigrants is increasingly non-White. Some suggest the language policies are class-based; the libertarian view conceives language policies as a function of the government's increasing control. Although each of these theories presents supportable arguments, they undermine the social, political, and economic contexts within which language policy has evolved. What can be said, however, is that these laws have tended to be more restraining of immigrants' languages when the overall proportion of the foreign-born in the United States was relatively high and still rising. Conflicts between state and federal policies in public education may challenge this trend.

Bryant T. Jensen

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Early Immigrants and English Language Learning; German Language Education; Language Policy and Social Control; Language Rights in Education; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Becomes Title III, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001

Further Readings

- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90-247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- Capps, R., Fix, M., Murray, J., Ost, J., Passel, J. S., & Herwanto, S. (2005). *The new demography of America's schools: Immigration and the No Child Left Behind Act*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, Pub. L. No. 88-352, 78 Stat. 241 (1964).

- Cuban Adjustment Act (CAA), Pub. L. 89-732 (1966).
- Fix, M., & Passel, J. (2003). *U.S. immigration: Trends and implications for schools*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Larsen, L. J. (2004). *The foreign-born population in the United States: 2003*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, U.S. Census Bureau.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).
- Naturalization Act of 1906, 34 Stat. [348 U.S. 528, 532] 596 (1906).
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107-110 (2002).
- Ovando, C. (2003). Bilingual education in the United States: Historical development and current issues. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 27(1), 1-24.
- Schimley, A. D. (2001). *Profile of the foreign-born population in the United States: 2000*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, U.S. Census Bureau.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2007). *United States foreign-born population*. Washington, DC: Author. Available from <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/foreign.html>
- Van Hook, J., & Fix, M. (2000). A profile of the immigrant student population. In J. R. DeVelasco, M. Fix, & T. Clewell (Eds.), *Overlooked and underserved: Immigrant children in U.S. secondary schools*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

IMPROVING AMERICA'S SCHOOLS ACT OF 1994

A Historical Essay

Editor's Note: *The last reauthorization of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (the Bilingual Education Act) occurred in 1994. For most of its legislative life, Title VII was beleaguered, and advocates found it difficult to maintain a consistent policy framework for the program. The political winds swayed the law in various directions beginning in 1968 and ending in 2001. Ostensibly, Title VII was merged into the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) at that point. The author was a lead player in the last reauthorization of Title VII, which was part of an omnibus bill known as Improving America's Schools Act, the predecessor to NCLB. This essay is an insider's view of the dynamics the author encountered in helping the U.S. Department of Education in this effort. In an important sense, the version of Title VII that emerged from this activity led into a darker period in the history of bilingual education, one in which antibilingual education sentiment was*

stronger than ever. Hence, this entry describes bilingual education legislation, arguably, at its best.

The author of this entry was invited to submit an article reflecting a mix of information and expert opinion. We acknowledge that parts of it could be disputed or given an alternative interpretation. In several instances, the editors found this approach helpful in more realistically portraying the history and current status of bilingual education in the United States.

The ethnic and linguistic diversity of U.S. schools has grown significantly in the past three decades. This diversity has provided distinct new challenges for schooling efforts. New policy and federal programs, particularly exemplified in Title VII of the 1994 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), attempted to address this challenge. This act called for integrated and comprehensive programming based on a new empirical and conceptual knowledge base, which had emerged over several decades. This essay addresses the demographic circumstances of student diversity, the emerging knowledge base, and the related federal educational reform policy changes that I worked on during the reauthorization of the ESEA in 1993–1994. That reauthorization was signed into law in fall 1994 under the legislative title Improving America's Schools Act, often referred to as the All Children Can Learn Act (the predecessor to the present No Child Left Behind Act of 2001).

The summons to change educational practices in the face of continued language minority student underachievement were not to be ignored, as I came to Washington in September of 1993 as director of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), a senior officer in the U.S. Department of Education. I was immediately called upon to translate such calls for educational improvement related to language minority and immigrant students into program features that might be helpful to policymakers, educators, and the general public. I was committed to this task for several reasons. I will address two of them here because they are important as context for the policy work that I entered into, as I took on this new facet of my career in education. The first rationale was put simply by my eldest daughter, Marisol, around a dinner table as I discussed, with my two daughters and my wife, the invitation to join the Clinton administration in the U.S. Department of Education: "You are always complaining about policy, why don't you go and do something about it?," she said. At the time, I was a full professor of education and psychology at the

University of California, Santa Cruz, and had been serving as dean of the College of Social Sciences at that university. I had built a solid professional career as a researcher and scholar, primarily investigating the early and later schooling of students like me, students who came to school speaking a primary language other than English. Much of that work did in fact provide a critique of educational practices related to these students. However, I had also spent time researching "effective schools"—schools that served these students well. I was concerned at the time that educational establishments were ignoring and even reluctant to utilize these findings, but I certainly did not see myself as a policymaker. Like anyone who has been trained to be primarily a researcher and academic, and has had some success at it, it was difficult to positively perceive a role change that would take me into the highly politicized policy making world, but as Marisol indicated, now supported by my wife and youngest daughter, "Why not give it a whirl?"

The second reason for this "new beginning" was equally personal, and it went hand in hand with my research and academic background related to trying to "make a difference." My sister told me a story when I was a teenager that made a deep impression on me, and on what I moved forward doing educationally and professionally. She tells of looking forward to a significant new beginning: her first day at school. Her older brothers and sisters reminded her that morning, as usual, that school was important even though they went to their farm work, while my mother accompanied her. It was a small, one-room schoolhouse, and the teacher was held in high esteem, by both the farm and ranch owners and laborers of the local rural Colorado community. Although her siblings had picked up some English in school, my mother—as all my family and my sister—spoke primarily Spanish. Our European and indigenous ancestors, dating back before the arrival of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, decided to stay in the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Spanish had been the language of this part of the country for many years—English was the language of the new arriving immigrants, largely undocumented, from other parts of the United States.

As teachers have asked and will continue to ask throughout time, the phrase "What is your name?" greeted my sister on her first day of school. "Ciprianita," she happily answered. The teacher tried to pronounce the name and then respectfully

requested, “Can I call you Elsie—it is my favorite name.” In that one instant, my sister’s linguistic and cultural heritage was politely and unintentionally challenged, and in my mother’s presence, her child’s “*raíces*” or “roots” were metaphorically severed. Ciprianita had developed her social and linguistic roots in her Spanish-speaking family. The teacher mostly likely meant no harm. Her intent was seemingly positive: to translate Ciprianita’s unfamiliar name to one with which the teacher felt comfortable and familiar. It probably did not seem like a significant incident to the teacher because such moments of replacing students’ home names were common then and common today. But still, my sister will never forget that first day of school—for to her it represented the moment when she was asked to leave her full self at home.

As the saying goes, “This is not the end of the story.” Two years later, as my cousin, Rícela, was heading off to her first day at school with her cousin (Ciprianita–now–Elsie) and her older brothers (Pedro–now–Pete and Leandro–now–Leo), she asked them what she should say to the teacher because she did not know much English. Her oldest brother Pete indicated that she would have to give the teacher a name. Leo immediately suggested she tell the teacher her name was “Katy”—it was Leo’s favorite name. And at that moment, Rícela became Katy. No longer was it necessary for the teacher to directly influence the ongoing linguistic and cultural identity of these children—the process had taken on a life of its own among those youngsters. By the way, much like Elsie, Pete, Leo, and Katy left school as soon as they could go to work full time in the fields. Such incidents represent an important school stance learned by her and other children who come to school not speaking the school language, English: One’s full home self, and in particular the non-English-speaking self at home, is to be checked at the door.

In the most positive interpretation of such ordinary translations by educators, changing students’ names, when they enter school, could signify the general educational philosophy that who you are—poor, rich, Anglo, Latino, and so on—does not matter in school. It could signify that despite the individual or group-based differences embodied in names, everyone will be treated as equals, and that changing a name really is not that important.

In the most negative interpretation, a change in a name may signal an unwillingness to respect a student’s cultural and linguistic background, and set the stage for

still other instructional and institutional practices that do the same—such as ignoring the child’s family history of immigration, or solely using literature with which students cannot identify. Lastly, it might also suggest to the student and the family that they themselves may not belong in the school—because the deepest marker of the home self, one’s given name, itself does not belong. Our family was left with a sense of uncertainty about responding, positively or negatively, to a new name thrust into our family.

As I have shared this story with immigrant family members in other regions of the country, heads begin to nod, suggesting, “That happened to me or my family members.” It is far too common a reaction. Although they are in many ways the same “under” their names, these children and families also live different lives, in many ways that demand educators’ attention and respect. Any overt signal of disrespect for one’s home life, from an individual in authority, indicates to those receiving the message that they are not wanted and do not belong in school in general. I entered the work of national policy believing that it need not be that way. Intended or not, the message of rejection or marginality comes through, and language carries the message.

Education Reform for Language Minority Children Through “Improving America’s Schools” Act

In the overall educational reform put forward by the U.S. Department of Education, it was important to highlight the distinct population comprising students who, because of particular circumstances in their homes before entering school, were not familiar with the culture of schooling in general. Many come to school with little formal education, few experiences of success in their families, and lack the necessary language and frame of reference required for successful learning in American schools. The term *language minority* is not a monolithic population. As one searches for a comprehensive definition of the language minority student, a continuum of possibilities unfolds. At one end of the continuum were general definitions such as “students who come from homes in which a language other than English is spoken.” At the other end of that continuum were highly operational definitions—“students who scored in the first quartile on a standardized test of English language proficiency.” Regardless of the definition

used, these students come in a variety of linguistic shapes and sizes.

The language minority population in the United States was, then, and continues to be linguistically heterogeneous. More than 140 distinct language groups have been identified in the United States today. Even in the largest language group, those from Spanish-speaking backgrounds, some are monolingual Spanish speakers whereas others are to some degree bilingual. Other non-English-speaking minority groups in the United States are similarly heterogeneous. Describing the “typical” language minority student was and continues to be highly problematic. However, one might agree that this student is one who (a) is characterized by substantive participation in a non-English-speaking social environment, (b) has acquired the normal communication abilities of that social environment, (c) is exposed to a substantive English-speaking environment, more than likely for the first time, during the schooling process, and (d) tests poorly on verbal English language tests.

Need for a New National Education Policy

From this broader context, what specific changes in policy did we address? Typical rationales for changes in national policy are often related to crisis intervention: There is a problem and it must be addressed quickly, usually with more political and philosophical rhetoric than action or new resources. The national policy for serving linguistically and culturally diverse students and their families was driven to a large extent by this “crisis” rationale. Accordingly, crisis policies in this arena have been shortsighted, inflexible, and minimally cohesive and integrated; they are not always informed by a strong knowledge base—conceptual, empirical, or related to the wisdom of practice. Title I and Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), both prime examples of the crisis-intervention approach (of a remedial-compensatory nature), have suffered from these disadvantages.

New policies that emerged under the reauthorization of ESEA during my service in Washington, although recognizing the acute need to serve this student population, also recognized the following factors in developing new policy:

1. The new knowledge base, both conceptual and empirical, must be central to any proposed changes.
2. Consultation with the field was critical to capitalize on the wisdom of existent policy, administration, curriculum, and instructional practice.
3. Policies and programs must be cohesive, to effectively integrate services that are to be provided—this cohesiveness reflecting the partnership between national, state, and local education policies and programs.
4. The demographic and budgetary realities that are present today and would be operative throughout this decade, and continuing to influence new directions, must be acknowledged.

New policy directions, primarily those related to Title VII (also known as the Bilingual Education Act), were implemented in line with these presuppositions.

Better Knowledge Base

Recent findings from research had redefined the nature of the educational vulnerability of linguistically and culturally diverse students. This research has destroyed common stereotypes and myths and laid a foundation on which to reconceptualize educational practices and launch new initiatives. This foundation recognized the homogeneity/heterogeneity within and between diverse student populations. No single set of descriptions or prescriptions will suffice. However, a set of commonalities deserved particular attention. The foundation that established these findings had documented effective educational practices related to linguistically and culturally diverse students throughout the United States. These descriptive studies identified specific schools and classrooms serving “minority” students that are academically successful. The case-study approach adopted by these studies included examinations of preschool, elementary, and high school classrooms. Teachers, principals, parents, and students were interviewed and specific classroom observations were conducted that assessed the “dynamics” of the instructional process.

The results of these studies provide important insights with regard to general instructional organization, literacy development, academic achievement in content areas (such as math and science), and the views of the students, teachers, administrators, and parents. Interviews with classroom teachers, principals, and parents revealed an interesting set of perspectives regarding the education of the students in these schools.

Classroom teachers who are highly committed to the educational success of their students; perceived themselves as instructional innovators using new learning theories and instructional philosophies to guide their practice; continued to be involved in professional development activities, including participation in small-group support networks; had a strong, demonstrated commitment to student-home communication (several teachers were using a weekly parent interaction format); and felt that they had the autonomy to create or change the instruction and curriculum in their classrooms, even if it did not meet exact district guidelines. They had high academic expectations for all their students (with comments such as "everyone will learn to read in my classroom") and served as advocates for their students. They rejected any conclusion that their students were intellectually or academically disadvantaged.

In summary, effective curriculum, instructional strategies, and teaching staffs recognized that academic learning had its roots in sharing expertise and experiences through multiple avenues of communication. Effective curricula provided abundant and diverse opportunities for speaking, listening, reading, and writing, along with scaffolding to help guide students through the learning process. Further, effective schools for diverse students encouraged them to take risks, construct meaning, and seek reinterpretations of knowledge within compatible social contexts. Under this knowledge-driven curriculum, skills are tools for acquiring knowledge, not ends in themselves. The curriculum recognized that any attempt to address the needs of these students in a deficit or "subtractive" mode was counterproductive. Instead, this new knowledge base recognized, conceptually, that educators must be "additive" in their approach to these students, that is, adding to the rich lore of intellectual, linguistic, academic, and cultural skills they bring to the classroom.

Wisdom of Practice

Too often in the heat of legislation and the political process, policy development is highly centralized in the domains of various interest groups and professional policymakers. In this reauthorization of Title VII, the policy initiatives were crafted in consultation with diverse constituencies. For linguistically and culturally diverse communities, the usual players were consulted. These included the National Association

for Bilingual Education (NABE), the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), which has made specific legislative recommendations of major proportion, and other educational groups, which have made recommendations related to their own interests and expertise. Of particular significance was the work of the Stanford Working Group. This group, funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, began almost 2 years before to consult widely with various individuals representing a broad spectrum of theoretical, practical, and policy significant expertise. In published reports and in various forums, they put forward a comprehensive analysis and articulated precise recommendations for policy and legislation related to linguistically and culturally diverse populations. Thus, new policy was shaped in consultation with others. To do otherwise would have negated the importance of shared wisdom from various established perspectives. Moreover, it was understood that any proposed changes, if they were to be effective, must be embraced by those individuals and organizations presently in the field.

Cohesiveness

The proposed policy directions also attempted to view the provision of services to students in a comprehensive and integrated manner. Through the introduction of new major legislation in Goals 2000: Educate America Act, the U.S. Department of Education had set the stage for the formal development and implementation of national goals and standards. Then, with the introduction of the Educate America Act and the reauthorization of the ESEA, an alignment of the goals and standards initiatives with specific resource-allocation policies were accomplished. This alignment recognized that integration of federal, state, and local agency efforts must occur to enhance effectiveness and efficiency. Moreover, the federal role must allow flexibility at the state and local levels while requiring that all children achieve at the highest levels.

The Title VII reauthorization, addressing services to limited-English-proficient (LEP) students as a component of the ESEA, was highly congruent with the alignment principle. As such, Title VII was not seen as yet another intervention aimed at meeting an educational crisis. Instead, it was regarded as a key component of the integrated effort to effectively address the educational needs of students. Specifically, Title VII continued to provide leadership and national, state, and

local capacity building, with regard to educational services, professional development, and research related to culturally and linguistically diverse populations. However, other programs, particularly Title I, were important and were intended more directly to increase the services needed by all students in poverty, including those with limited English proficiency.

Demographic and Budgetary Realities

For several decades, large increases in the number of LEP students in our schools have occurred. There was no reason then or now to believe that this trend will subside. It was important then as it is today to recognize that the national presence and the diversity of this population are substantial. In the past three decades, 35 states have been added to the count of those states with more than 10% of their student population identified as LEP or English language learners (ELLs). In 1993, 20 states could be counted in such a column, half of these states having student populations that varied between 10 and 25%. Moreover, the aggregated population of non-English language students served is itself quite diverse with more than 100 language groups represented in programs funded under Title VII at that time.

Unfortunately, the fiscal resources that could be consolidated to meet the growing and diverse demands of this population were not likely to be increased in any significant way. National, state, and local funding for these populations had not grown in proportion to their increase nor was there the political will to enhance those funds. This has not changed. Although new proposals regarding the disposition of Title I funds to high-poverty areas should bring more resources to those students, such funds would still be limited. This meant then as it means today that resources must be used more efficiently.

Specific Changes to Title VII

The final reauthorization of Title VII in 1994 represented a coming of age for that legislation and for those who relied on it to support effective instructional programs. Practitioners had worked during the past 20 years to make such education a necessary and accepted component of public schools, and these efforts have paid off. The 1994 Title VII legislation as well as other legislation under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was intended to go far in

meeting the needs of millions of linguistically and culturally diverse children in the schools.

In 1994, it was not known how long Title VII would continue to serve as the backbone of services to LEP students in our schools. All the major activities of previous reauthorizations were retained and strengthened. The improvements to Title VII were based on several developments over the years.

First, a newly expanded, robust knowledge base had redefined the nature of our linguistically and culturally diverse students' educational experience. Research and emerging theory documented the educationally effective practices with regard to general organization, literacy development, academic achievement in content areas, and teacher preparation for these students. These new concepts were embedded in the legislation.

The proposed Title VII legislation was part of a cohesive policy direction from the U.S. Department of Education. Title VII continued to serve the missions of leadership and capacity-building with regard to educational services, professional development, and research related to these populations. However, services for LEP students were packaged in a more comprehensive and integrated manner, one that recognized the significance of GOALS 2000, Title I and other ESEA programs, and state and local education efforts. The needs of linguistically and culturally diverse children were recognized and were directly responded to in the new federal legislation. Title I legislation, for example, was opened in a deliberate manner to serve as a major source of federal educational programming for LEP students. This had been a major recommendation of the Stanford Working Group; this resulted in making available expanded funding for bilingual education programs across the country.

Within this framework, several changes were present in Title VII. Direct assistance to local and state education agencies had been the core of federal services to LEP children in our nation's schools. Under the changes contained in the new law, existing programs would be replaced by new programs: development and enhancement grants, comprehensive school grants, and comprehensive district grants. This new configuration recognized the complexity of educational responses for LEP students, as well as the necessity for locally designed and integrated programs. State review of proposals reinforced the implementation of state plans for LEP students.

Other changes under research, evaluation, and dissemination were responsive to input from the field.

Research activities were to be developed by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs with required consultation from the field, and enhanced coordination with other Department of Education research activities. Program evaluation requirements were simplified to be more “user-friendly” and directed at program improvement and dissemination. To showcase the successes achieved by existing Title VII programs, added emphasis was placed on Academic Excellence Programs—programs with proven effectiveness that disseminate their expertise locally, regionally, and nationally. The work of the Multifunctional Resource Centers and the Evaluation Assistance Centers were merged with new Department of Education technical assistance and professional development efforts. The goal of this refocusing effort was to have more integrated delivery of services to schools on a more economical basis.

After some 20 years of efforts to develop a teaching force prepared to meet the needs of LEP students, this area remained a major challenge. Professional development programs place renewed emphasis and resources on professional development, including a new career-ladder program. To assist institutions of higher education in improving teacher preparation programs, national training institutes for institutions of higher education faculty and administrators were emphasized. In addition to these continuing efforts to prepare teachers, opportunities for professional development through doctoral fellowships remained in place. To continue the development of a strong research and theoretical base, opportunities for postdoctoral studies were created.

These changes were framed by a commitment to the value of bilingualism and the belief that all children can achieve to high standards. The new policy attempted directly to strengthen bilingual education programs and promote their implementation not only through Title VII, but also through Title I and related K–12 education funding, thus opening the possibility of several million additional dollars in funding to meet the great need for services to these students.

This policy effort was intended to ensure that all linguistically and culturally diverse children and their families benefit from educational reform. Most persons involved in the new reauthorization process felt it was time that the children served by our educational system be included in reform efforts from the start and at every level. Systemic reform activities that ignored the needs of these children were considered neither systemic nor genuinely reform-minded.

Aftermath: From Bilingual Education to English-Only Instruction

Regarding LEP students, the 2001 reauthorization of the ESEA was a complete reversal from the reauthorization of 1994 described earlier. Table 1 provides a summary of key differences in how the 1994 and the 2001 reauthorizations of the ESEA address the education of LEP students.

Whereas the 1994 version of the Bilingual Education Act included among its goals “developing the English skills and to the extent possible, the native-language skills” of LEP students, the new law, No Child Left Behind (NCLB), focuses only on attaining “English proficiency.” In fact, the word *bilingual* has been completely eliminated from the law and any government office affiliated with the law. A new federal office has been created to replace OBEMLA and oversee the administration of the new law. It is now the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited-English-Proficient Students (OELALEAALEPS or, as it is commonly referred to, OELA). What was formerly known as the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) is now known as the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (referred to as NCELA). For reasons that are unclear, bilingual education has been totally extirpated from the vernacular of the federal government.

Through Title III of NCLB, federal funds to serve bilingual students will no longer be federally administered via competitive grants designed to ensure equity and promote quality programs; programs that served as good examples to the rest of the nation. Instead, resources were to be allocated primarily through a state formula program for Language Instruction Educational Programs (LIEPs) that are “based on scientifically based research.” LIEPs are defined as an instruction course in which LEP students are placed for the purpose of developing and attaining English proficiency, although meeting challenging state and academic content, and student academic achievement standards. A LIEP may make use of both English and a child’s native language to enable the child to develop and attain English proficiency. In practice, however, bilingual approaches are discouraged in many states, especially states where bilingual education has been subjected to voter acceptance or rejection.

Table 1 Significant Differences in the 1994 and 2000 Reauthorizations of the ESEA

<i>Issue</i>	<i>1994 Title VII: Bilingual Education Act</i>	<i>2001 Title III: Language Instruction, Limited English Proficient, and Immigrant Students</i>
Eligible Populations	Limited English proficient students Recent immigrants that have not been attending one or more schools in any one or more states for more than 3 full years. (7102(7)) Native Americans, Native Alaskans, Native Hawaiians, Native American Pacific Islanders	Limited English proficient students Immigrant children and youth: 3–21 years of age, not born in any state, have not been attending one or more schools in any one or more states for more than 3 full academic years. (3301(6)) Native Americans, Native Alaskans, Native Hawaiians, Native American Pacific Islanders
Purpose	(A) To help such children and youth develop proficiency in English, and to the extent possible, their native language; and (B) meet the same challenging state content standards and challenging state student performance standards expected of all children. (7111(2)) The use of a child or youth's native language and culture in classroom instruction can promote self-esteem and contribute to academic achievement and learning English by limited English proficient children and youth. (7102(14)) Native Americans and Native American languages . . . have a unique status under Federal law that requires special policies within the broad purposes of this Act to serve the education needs of language minority students in the United States. (7102(6))	To help ensure that children who are limited English proficient, including immigrant children and youth, attain English proficiency, develop high levels of academic attainment in English, and meet the same challenging state academic content and student academic achievement standards as all children are expected to meet. (3102(1)) Programs for Native Americans: To develop English proficiency and, to the extent possible, proficiency in their native language. (3211(2)) To streamline language instruction educational programs into a program carried out through formula grants to state educational agencies and local educational agencies. (3102(7))
Programs	Competitive grants to local education agencies (schools, districts). State education agencies approve the grant application before submission but play no official role in the grants' implementation. Quality bilingual education programs enable children and youth to learn English and meet high academic standards including proficiency in more than one language. (7102(9)) Priority is given to programs that provide for development of bilingual proficiency both in English and another language for all participating students. (7116 (i)(1))	To implement language instruction educational programs based on scientifically based research on teaching limited English proficient children. (3102(9))
Allocation of Funds	Cap of 25% of funds for SAIPs can be lifted if an applicant has demonstrated that developing and implementing a bilingual education programs is not feasible.	95% of funds must be used for grants at the local level to teach limited English proficient children.

Formula grants are distributed to each state based on their enrollments of LEP and immigrant students. Each state must then allocate 95% of the funds to individual local education agencies (LEAs) to fund programs—the LIEPs. The argument for the formula grants claims that the previous system of competitive grants merely benefited a small percentage of LEP students in relatively few schools. Actually, under the new process inherent in NCLB, resources will be spread more thinly than before—among more states, more programs, and more students. Through competitive grants, Title VII support for instructional programs previously served about 500,000 “eligible” students out of an estimated 3.5 million nationwide. Under NCLB, districts automatically receive funding based on the enrollments of LEP and immigrant students. However, the impact of federal dollars would be reduced. For example, before the new process, about \$360 was spent per student in Title VII-supported instructional programs. Despite the overall increase in appropriations, under the new process, Title III provided less than \$135 per student. Funding for all other purposes—including teacher-training, research, and support services—was restricted to 6.5% of the total budget. That amounted to about \$43 million, which reflected a decrease for the first year. Before this, funding was \$100 million for professional development alone to address the critical shortage of teachers qualified to meet the needs of bilingual students.

In summary, federal policies now emphasize the teaching and learning of English with little regard for the development of academic bilingual competency, for students coming to school speaking a language other than English. It is unclear whether this reflects only a temporary swing in policy direction or if it will “stay the course” in a political climate that is likely to become harsher as the immigrant populations increase. For now, state policies have begun to mirror this shift in at least three states.

Reflection on the Effort

It is difficult to assess the contribution made by the U.S. Department of Education in formulating and shepherding the legislation through the Congress. It appears, given the provisions of NCLB, that it may have been short lived. Further, anti-immigrant sentiment and antibilingual education initiatives have all worsened since the previous experiences, occurring in 1994. Technically, bilingual education is now illegal

in three important states: Arizona, California, and Massachusetts. From a strict national policy perspective, I am not sure that the “new” Ciprianitas and Rícelas will not have some of the same experiences in today’s U.S. schools that my sister and cousin had in their day. It is unfortunate for them and the country as students like them increase daily in our classrooms. The country has a long way to go in constructing national programs that can be more supportive of what we know can assist these students in the way they should be educated.

However, the present state of theory, research, and practice was influenced greatly by the actions taken during my time in Washington. The formal launching of specific funding for dual-language programs throughout the United States can be directly traced to the Title VII initiatives of 1994. Those programs have been growing substantially, and the evidence for their effectiveness is solid: They assist ELLs to acquire English and achieve at higher levels while integrated with a broad array of students, and they provide the opportunity for English-speaking students to acquire a second language. These programs particularly attend to the linguistic resources students bring to school and add the important development of schooling goals.

In addition, the increased funding for teacher development and professional development in the Title VII reauthorization of 1994 made it clear that investments in teacher preparation are key to enhancing student achievement. Today, we can directly trace the increased numbers of professionals trained to serve specific ELLs to the enhanced support provided by Title VII. The same can be said about the development of professionals at the doctoral level. I cannot keep track of the times an individual approaches me to thank me for supporting his or her continued education attainment at the doctoral level. Of course it was not me, but the enhancement of the doctoral fellowship program in the 1994 reauthorization that deserves the credit. The field is greatly enriched with this critical augmentation of high-level professionals.

Taken as a whole, the experience, the effort, and the results have been valuable at the individual level and the professional level. The road to educational equity for ELLs remains difficult, and we have much distance yet to cover. But it is a road worth taking for the sake of the students and ultimately for the future of our families, communities, and nation.

Eugene E. García

See also Additive and Subtractive Programs; Maintenance Policy Denied; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Becomes Title III, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001

Further Readings

- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, 20 U.S.C. §§ 6301 et seq.
- García, E. (2001). *Hispanic education in the United States: Raíces y alas*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.
- García, E. (2001). *Understanding and meeting the challenge of student diversity* (3rd ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- García, E. (2005). *Teaching and learning in two languages: Bilingualism and schooling in the United States*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- García, E., & Palmer, D. K. (2001). Voices from the field: Bilingual educators speak candidly about Proposition 227. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(1 & 2), 169–178.
- García, E., & Stritikus, T. (2001). Education of limited English proficient students in California schools: An assessment of the influence of Proposition 227 on selected teachers and classrooms. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(1 & 2), 75–86.
- García, E., & Wiese, A-M. (2001). The Bilingual Education Act: Language minority students and U.S. federal educational policy. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 4(4), 229–248.
- Goals 2000: Educate America Act, Pub. L. No. 103–227 (1994).
- Improving America's Schools Act, Pub. L. No. 103–382 (1994).
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002).

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

Language revitalization, described in this entry, is an area of study and a social movement that emerged in response to the endangered status of indigenous and minority languages. Language revitalization is one component of *language regeneration*—activities designed to recover, restore, and strengthen the use of endangered languages. The linguist Christina Paulston divides those activities into three categories:

- *Language revival*, the restoration of oral or written uses for a language that is no longer spoken or for

which little or no tradition of print literacy exists. For example, Massachusetts, an Algonquian language once spoken by peoples indigenous to what is now the northeastern United States, is being revived using the 1663 Eliot Bible, the first bible published in an indigenous language in the Western Hemisphere.

- *Reversing Language Shift (RLS)*, a concept developed by the sociolinguist Joshua. A. Fishman, which entails restoring intergenerational language transmission, primarily in the family and community spheres.
- *Language revitalization*, efforts to engender new vigor in a language still spoken but falling from daily use. Language revitalization activities may target several domains, including family, community, and school.

In practice, language revival, revitalization, and RLS intersect and overlap. Before discussing these processes in detail, it is important to understand their genesis and rationale in the Native American context.

Status of Native American Languages Today

Of 300 to 500 languages indigenous to what is now the United States and Canada, 210 are still spoken. According to the linguist Michael Krauss, this includes 175 Native American languages spoken in the United States alone. These languages represent more than 60 language families, and scores of sub-families, many of which are no less distinct from each other than are English and Mandarin.

All Native American languages are seriously endangered. In the 2000 U.S. Census, 72% of Native Americans 5 years of age or older reported speaking only English at home. Krauss classifies the present status of Native American languages as follows:

Class A, the 20 languages still spoken by all generations

Class B, the 30 languages spoken only by the parent generation and older

Class C, the 70 languages spoken only by the grandparent generation and older

Class D, the 55 languages spoken only by the very elderly, often less than a dozen people

This means that 155 (80%) of all Native American languages have no new speakers to pass them on. Even Class A languages face an uncertain future, for, unlike immigrant languages, there is no external pool of

Native American language speakers to refresh the speaker pool. Language loss is proceeding at such a rapid rate, Krauss warns, that more native American languages stand to be lost in the next 60 years than have been lost since the first contacts between native peoples and Anglo-Europeans more than 500 years ago.

Why Native American Languages Are Endangered

The fate of a language is intimately tied to that of its speakers and, thus, to power relations among groups. Languages do not fall silent of their own accord. Rather, covert and overt social practices and policies diminish the status and utility of some languages while elevating that of others. Sociolinguist Tove Skutnabb-Kangas refers to this as linguistic genocide or “linguicide.” According to some projections, 90% of the world’s 6,700 languages are likely to be displaced by dominant languages within the next 90 years. Most of these will be indigenous languages.

For Native Americans, the causes of language shift include a history of physical genocide, territorial dislocation, and explicit federal policies intended to eradicate indigenous languages and lifeways. Following the American Revolution, the new federal government turned its attention to pacifying and “civilizing” native peoples. The primary vehicles for this were military aggression and compulsory federally controlled schooling. In the late 19th century, federal boarding schools were established on and off native lands, often in former army forts that had served as staging areas for military campaigns against tribes just a few years before. Accounts abound of children being forcibly removed from their families to the boarding schools, where they were routinely subjected to physical and emotional abuse for speaking their mother tongues.

Some schools did not come under local, indigenous control until the 1960s civil rights movement and a concurrent movement for Native American self-determination. By this time, the federal schooling system had left a legacy of widespread academic failure and had sown the seeds of language decline.

Tribal Sovereignty and Linguistic Rights

The distinguishing characteristic of Native Americans as a group is their status as First Peoples and internally sovereign nations. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa McCarty define *tribal sovereignty* as the right

to self-government, self-education, and self-determination, including the right to linguistic and cultural expression according to local languages and norms. From their first encounters, native peoples and Europeans interacted on a government-to-government basis. That relationship has been formalized in federal legislation, treaties, judicial decisions, and various federal agencies charged with overseeing Indian Affairs. The federal government has a legally binding *trust responsibility* to honor these legal commitments and the sovereign status of native nations. No other ethno-linguistic group shares this unique legal and political relationship with the federal government.

Over the years, the trust relationship has been severely tested, and tribal and federal powers have frequently been at odds. In the 1960s and 1970s, tribal leaders, educators, political activists, and scholars pushed for tribal sovereignty in several arenas, including education. Those efforts led to important legislative victories that continue to undergird Native American language revitalization: the 1972 Indian Education Act, which authorizes funding and programs for Native American bilingual/bicultural education; the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act, which provides the legal and financial basis for tribally run schools; the 1978 Tribally Controlled Colleges Act, which provides for tribally operated colleges; and the 1992 Native American Languages Act (NALA), which authorizes programs for language planning, revitalization, and maintenance. In 2006, the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act was passed, authorizing native-language survival schools, teacher preparation, and instructional materials development. All these policies recognize the right of tribes to determine their children’s education: its content, teachers, leadership, and medium of instruction.

How Native American Languages Are Revitalized

Even as more Native American children enter school speaking English as a primary (or only) language, they continue to be stigmatized as limited-English-proficient (LEP) and tracked into remedial programs. As many as 40% of these children will not graduate from high school. This situation, and the imminent threat of native language loss, have led many Native American communities to implement innovative forms of bilingual education with the dual goals of language revitalization and academic excellence,

including high levels of proficiency in the native language and English. Some programs have been implemented in schools; others focus on family- and community-based language learning. All stress the important links between language, culture, and identity. A primary instructional strategy is indigenous-language immersion, in which all or most content is delivered in the native language. This section highlights some of these programs.

Navajo Language Revitalization

The Navajo Nation is the second most populous tribe in the United States, with a population of 298,000. The Navajo reservation, the largest in the United States, stretches over portions of three Southwestern states. Navajo claims the largest number of Native American speakers—approximately 178,000. In Krauss's framework, Navajo is a Class A language. Navajo is nonetheless on the decline, with recent studies indicating that less than half of all Navajo kindergartners are fluent Navajo speakers.

In 1986, a Navajo immersion program was launched at a public elementary school in Fort Defiance, Arizona, near the Arizona–New Mexico border. At the time, most Fort Defiance kindergartners had little or no proficiency in Navajo; at the same time, they did not test well in English, and most were identified as LEP. According to program cofounders Marie Arviso and Wayne Holm, a Navajo immersion program was the only option with some chance of success. The original curriculum included initial literacy in Navajo, math in both languages, and other subjects introduced as content for speaking or writing. In the lower grades, all instruction took place in Navajo; in the second and third grades, students received a half-day of Navajo and a half-day of English instruction. Fourth graders received Navajo instruction for an hour each day. Participation in immersion classes was voluntary, but once children were enrolled, parents' active involvement in the program was required.

After 7 years, program evaluations showed that Navajo immersion students consistently performed as well as or better than their non-immersion peers on local tests of English reading and writing. Immersion students were well ahead of their non-immersion peers in mathematics; on standardized tests of English reading, immersion students were slightly behind but catching up—exactly what the wider literature on second-language acquisition predicts. These students

had experienced “additive” bilingualism, performing on par with or better than their non-immersion peers in the mainstream curriculum, while acquiring a second language as well. In comparison, non-immersion students experienced “subtractive” bilingualism, losing all or most of the Navajo-language proficiency they possessed when they entered school.

The Fort Defiance program has evolved into a full-immersion primary/intermediate school called Tséhootsoóí Diné Bi'ólta', The Navajo School at the Meadow Between the Rocks. The school continues to emphasize Navajo language revitalization and to demonstrate noteworthy academic success.

Keres and Karuk Language Revitalization

The Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona are among the most enduring native communities in North America, retaining strong theocratic governments and indigenous religious systems while participating vigorously in the global economy. At the Keres-speaking Pueblos of Cochiti and Acoma in northern New Mexico, language surveys in the mid-1990s showed that intergenerational transmission of Keres had virtually stopped. According to Keres educators Mary Eunice Romero-Little and Christine Sims, this was a serious community concern because Keres is essential for sustaining tribal values, government, and religious life.

Cochiti and Acoma subsequently launched community-based language revitalization programs. Romero-Little, who directed the Cochiti program, describes the pairing of small groups of language learners with teams of fluent speakers who modeled natural dialogue. The focus in both Pueblos has been on oral language rather than print; as Sims points out, the function of tribal languages historically has been their use as the foundation of primarily oral societies. For these Pueblo communities, the most important program outcomes are the growing evidence of native language use in the community and the fact that children have gained conversational proficiency in Keres.

Sims reports on similar efforts among the Karuk of California, where 50 indigenous languages are spoken by youngsters, none as a first language. With more than 2,300 tribal members, only a dozen elderly Karuk speakers remain. For the Karuk and other California tribes, a primary-language revitalization strategy has been the master-apprentice program in which older native speakers and younger language learners team

over months or years, carrying out everyday tasks in the native language. Like the Keres programs, the emphasis is on communication-based oral language acquisition with the goal of conversational proficiency for apprentices after 3 years. Communitywide Karuk language camps also involve children, parents, and elders in interactive language learning embedded in daily life. According to Sims, the program has enabled children to learn Karuk at a rapid rate and to transfer their learning to other communicative contexts. Leanne Hinton, a linguistic anthropologist who has worked with California master-apprentice teams for many years, notes that these programs have the added benefit of cultivating positive new relationships between younger and older generations.

Hawaiian-Medium Education

After being banned in public schools for much of the 20th century, the Hawaiian language and culture were nearly decimated. In the 1970s, a “Hawaiian Renaissance” movement took root, with a strong emphasis on language revitalization. In 1978, Hawaiian was designated as co-official with English in Hawai‘i, and in 1983, a group of parents and educators established Hawaiian-medium preschools called ‘Aha Pūnana Leo (“language nest gathering”). According to program cofounders William Wilson and Kauanoē Kamanā, the Hawaiian-immersion preschools aim to create an environment in which Hawaiian language and culture are conveyed as they were in the home in earlier generations. By 2005, Hawaiian-medium education served more than 2,000 students in a coordinated group of schools, beginning with the preschools and moving through full Hawaiian-medium elementary and secondary schools. As many as 15,000 Hawaiians now use or understand Hawaiian, Wilson reports. Although the original concept of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo was not academic achievement for its own sake, Hawaiian immersion students have demonstrated considerable academic success. For example, at the Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu Laboratory School (called Nāwahī for short), a full-immersion, early childhood through high school curriculum includes college preparatory courses with an explicit Hawaiian-language revitalization focus. Nāwahī students, many of whom come from poor and working-class backgrounds, surpass their non-immersion peers on English standardized tests. The school has a 100% high school graduation rate and a college attendance rate of 80%. Wilson and Kamanā attribute these successes

to an academically challenging curriculum that applies knowledge to daily life and is rooted in Hawaiian identity and culture.

A community-based Hawaiian language and culture program also promotes native language learning among adults. Called *Ke A‘a Mākālei* (The Root of the Mākālei Tree), the program focuses on sports activities that attract individuals who are unlikely to enroll in Western-style language classes. Ke A‘a Mākālei promotes intergenerational use of Hawaiian language and culture in Hawaiian families with children enrolled in immersion preschools. According to Native Hawaiian educator Sam No‘eau Warner, the program provides a practical model for indigenous language revitalization that reflects Native Hawaiian values and goals.

Challenges and Future Directions

Less than a decade after passing NALA, Congress passed the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001. Several national studies indicate that NCLB’s emphasis on high-stakes testing in English, scripted reading programs, and lack of attention to school funding inequities have widened rather than helped close the achievement gap. A 2005 study published by the National Indian Education Association, for example, found that NCLB has resulted in overattention to standardized testing at the expense of pedagogically sound, linguistically and culturally relevant instruction. Coupled with state initiatives by voters banning bilingual education in two states with large numbers of Native American students, California and Arizona, this federal policy creates new threats to school-based language revitalization efforts.

In this political environment, Native American language revitalization efforts must wedge open new windows of opportunity to survive and grow. New Mexico’s 24 native nations, for instance, have developed memoranda-of-agreement with the state to ensure equitable and quality education for Native American children, including instruction in the native language where this is desired by tribes. In Alaska, the Assembly of Alaska Native Educators has developed parallel standards for culturally responsive schools, including guidelines for strengthening indigenous languages. Hawai‘i also has Native Hawaiian cultural standards. In California, the Breath of Life workshops have helped native Californians locate archival materials on their languages and to use those materials for language revitalization. Other native communities

have looked to charter schools as a means of promoting native-language revitalization. These efforts have yet to be well evaluated.

On the national level, the annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference brings together educators, community members, linguists, and tribal leaders to share strategies and materials for revitalizing indigenous languages. Organizations such as the Indigenous Language Institute and the American Indian Language Development Institute are actively engaged in research, teacher preparation, materials development, and other language revitalization activities.

A significant and growing body of research demonstrates that well-designed indigenous-language immersion programs can strengthen native languages while promoting children's academic achievement and ethnic pride. By their very nature, these programs involve parents, elders, and communities—a factor widely associated with enhanced academic success. These efforts demonstrate how families, communities, and educators can work together to ensure that Native American children have the tools to succeed both locally and globally by developing high levels of proficiency in the native language and English.

Teresa L. McCarty

See also Boarding Schools and Native Languages; Indigenous Languages, Current Status; Language Socialization of Indigenous Children

Further Readings

- Arviso, M., & Holm, W. (2001). Tséhootsooídi Ólta'gi Diné bizaad bíhoo'aah: A Navajo immersion program at Fort Defiance, Arizona. In L. Hinton & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalization in practice* (pp. 203–215). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Assembly of Alaska Native Educators. (2001). *Guidelines for strengthening indigenous languages*. Anchorage: Alaska Native Knowledge Network.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hinton, L. (1996). *Flutes of fire: Essays on California Indian languages*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.
- Hinton, L., & Hale, K. (Eds.). (2001). *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Indigenous Language Institute. (2004). *Handbook 1: Awakening our languages: An introduction*. Santa Fe, NM: Indigenous Language Institute.
- Krauss, M. (1998). The condition of Native North American languages: The need for realistic assessment and action. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 132, 9–21.
- Lomawaima, K. T., & McCarty, T. L. (2006). *"To remain an Indian": Lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- McCarty, T. L. (2003). Revitalising indigenous languages in homogenizing times. *Comparative Education*, 39, 147–163.
- McCarty, T. L., & Zepeda, O. (Guest Eds.). (1998). *Indigenous language use and change in the Americas*. Theme issue, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 132 (entire).
- McCarty, T. L., & Zepeda, O. (Eds.). (2006). *One voice, many voices: Recreating indigenous language communities*. Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Indian Education.
- Paulston, C. B. (1993). Language regeneration: A conceptual overview of language revival, revitalization and reversal. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 14, 275–286.
- Romero-Little, M. E., & McCarty, T. L. (2006). Language planning challenges and prospects in Native American communities and schools. Tempe: Arizona State University Education Policy Studies Laboratory. Retrieved from <http://epsu.asu.edu/epru/documents/EPSSL-0602-105-LPRU.pdf>
- Sims, C. P. (1998). Community-based efforts to preserve native languages: A descriptive study of the Karuk tribe of Northern California. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 132, 95–113.
- Sims, C. P. (2001). Native language planning: A pilot process in the Acoma Pueblo community. In L. Hinton & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalization in practice* (pp. 63–73). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Sims, C. P. (2005). Tribal languages and the challenges of revitalization. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 36, 104–106.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic genocide in education—Or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Warner, S. N. (1999). Hawaiian language regeneration: Planning for intergenerational use of Hawaiian beyond the school. In T. Huebner & K. Davis (Eds.), *Sociopolitical perspectives on language policy and planning in the USA* (pp. 313–332). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wilson, W. H., & Kamanā, K. (2001). "Mai loko mai o ka 'I'ni: Proceeding from a dream." The 'Aha Pūnana Leo connection in Hawaiian language revitalization. In L. Hinton & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalization in practice* (pp. 147–176). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES, CURRENT STATUS

When the first English colony was established at Jamestown in 1607, some 350 indigenous languages were spoken on the North American continent. The effects of settler encroachment on Native American lands, forced relocation of entire tribal groups from one area of the country to another, overt efforts to eliminate native-language use in boarding schools, and now mass media and technology have all taken a great toll on indigenous North American languages, as described in this entry. The number still actively spoken is now about 155.

Clarence Wesley, then chairman of the San Carlos Apache Tribe in Arizona, wrote the opening article, "Indian Education," in the inaugural edition of the *Journal of American Indian Education* published in June 1961. He highlighted a need for more effective English language programs particularly in situations where children do not come from English-speaking homes, and where a different culture is the dominant factor.

A generation later, indigenous communities across the country have experienced a dramatic language shift toward English language dominance, at the expense of ancestral languages. This is especially true where it concerns children. The situation in 2007 is now the reverse of what Wesley described in 1961. Native children are now more likely to speak English and know only a few words of their ancestral languages. Native communities have become alarmed by this development, and now federal law and statutes enacted in various states support vigorous campaigns by many American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian groups to preserve, restore, and retain their heritage languages.

Michael Krauss estimates that 87% of the Native American languages still spoken in the United States are moribund, which is evidenced when native children are not learning and using their heritage languages and instead speak English. Krauss further predicts that if the present rate of language loss continues unabated, 105 of the currently viable 155 American Indian/Alaska Native languages will be extinct by 2025, and 135 by 2050, leaving only 20 highly endangered languages.

James Crawford characterizes native languages as an *endangered species* requiring urgent measures to preserve them. Crawford considers Native American

languages to be in a state of crisis and threatened with extinction. He further maintains that as many as one-third of these languages, along with the last people who speak them, will vanish unless something is done to stop the trend.

The most recent figures available with respect to the status of American Indian and Alaska Native languages in the United States is reported in the 2000 U.S. Census. The census questionnaire inquired about languages spoken in the home by persons 5 years of age and older. It also asked respondents to identify those languages.

The U.S. Census Bureau's publication, *Characteristics of American Indians and Alaska Natives by Tribe and Language: 2000* lists 2,447,989 individuals who reported their ethnicity as American Indian or Alaska Native. A small subset of that number—115,000—reported their ethnicity as Hispanic American Indian, originating in language groups from Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. Of the total American Indian/Alaskan Native population, 353,340 individuals—28% over the age of 5 years—reported that a native language was spoken in the home, indicating that the English language seems to have become the dominant language among most American Indians and Alaska Natives. The group with the largest number of active native language speakers is the Navajo; the census indicated that 173,800 persons over the age of 5 years reported speaking it in the home. Conversely, speakers of the Miami language number only 5 individuals. Most of the languages reported have less than 500 speakers and more than one third are spoken only by elders. Populations of American Indians and Alaska Natives are concentrated in the western states where, accordingly, the largest numbers of native language speakers are found: 242,038 across the mountain and desert states and 41,591 in the Pacific region, including Hawai'i and Alaska.

Table 1, extracted from language status data originally compiled by the Summer Institute of Linguistics International Ethnologue in 1996, with a recent version by Raymond Gordon, lists an approximate number of speakers of each of the 155 remaining viable American Indian, Native Alaskan and Hawaiian languages, as well as the states in which the speakers are located.

Though about 500 tribes are federally recognized in the 50 states, in large groups such as the 55,000-member Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina, the ancestral

Table 1 Native Languages Currently Spoken in the United States

<i>Number of Speakers</i>	<i>Language Group</i>	<i>Location</i>
20	Abenaki-Penobscot	Maine
10	Achumawi	California
21	Ahtena	Alaska
*281	Alabama	Texas
*926	Aleut	Alaska
*662	Apache, Jicarilla	New Mexico
18	Apache, Kiowa	Oklahoma
10	Apache, Lipan	New Mexico
1,800	Apache, Mescalero-Chiricahua	New Mexico
12,693	Apache, Western	Arizona
*1,122	Arapaho	Wyoming, Oklahoma
90	Arikara	North Dakota
150	Assiniboine	Montana
4	Atsugewi	California
*1,352	Blackfoot	Montana
141	Caddo	Oklahoma
35	Cahuilla	California
5	Chehalis, Lower	Washington
2	Chehalis, Upper	Washington
*12,009	Cherokee	Oklahoma, North Carolina
5	Chetco	Oregon
*2,075	Cheyenne	Montana
1,000	Chickasaw	Oklahoma
17	Chinook Wawa	Oregon
*9,272	Choctaw	Oklahoma
5	Clallam	Washington
321	Cocopa	Arizona
40	Coeur D'Alene	Idaho
39	Columbia-Wenatchi	Washington
*762	Comanche	Oklahoma
1	Coos	Oregon
2	Cowlitz	Washington
*1,102	Cree, Western	Montana
*4,149	Crow	Montana
9	Cupeño	California
*17,466	Dakota	Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana
40	Degexit'an	Alaska

<i>Number of Speakers</i>	<i>Language Group</i>	<i>Location</i>
1	Eyak	Alaska
10	Gros Ventre	Montana
365	Gwich'in	Alaska
138	Haida	Alaska
7	Han	Alaska
*1,536	Havasupai-Walapai-Yavapai	Arizona
1,000	Hawaiian	Hawai'i
*571	Hidatsa	North Dakota
250	Hocak/Winnebago	Nebraska
12	Holikachuk	Alaska
*5,120	Hopi	Arizona, Utah, New Mexico
*163	Hupa	California
3,500	Inuktitut, North Alaskan	Alaska
4,000	Inuktitut, Northwest Alaskan	Alaska
1,301	Jemez	New Mexico
1	Kalapuya	Oregon
200	Kalispel-Pend Dóreille	Montana
19	Kansa	Oklahoma
*166	Karok	California
50	Kashaya	California
10	Kato	California
10	Kawaiisu	California
4,580	Keres, Eastern	New Mexico
3,390	Keres, Western	New Mexico
*795	Kikapoo	Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas
*1,014	Kiowa	Oklahoma
*131	Klamath-Modoc	Oregon
*245	Koasati	Louisiana, Texas
*100	Koyukon	Alaska
97	Kumiai	California
40	Kuskokwim, Upper	Alaska
*359	Kutenai	Idaho, Montana
6,000	Lakota	Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana
43	Luisiño	California
60	Lushootseed	Washington
10	Maidu, Northwest	California
*143	Makah	Washington
887	Malecite-Passamaquoddy	Maine

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

<i>Number of Speakers</i>	<i>Language Group</i>	<i>Location</i>
*32	Mandan	North Dakota
181	Maricopa	Arizona
*649	Menomini	Wisconsin
800	Mesquakie	Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska
2,100	Micmac	Boston, New York City
*380	Mikasuki	Florida
5	Miwok, Central Sierra	California
1	Miwok, Coast	California
8	Miwok, Lake	California
10	Miwok, Northern Sierra	California
1	Miwok, Plains	California
10	Miwok, Southern Sierra	California
*183	Mohave	Arizona
*1,163	Mohawk	New York
20	Mono	California
*5,009	Muskogee	Oklahoma, Alabama, Florida
*173,800	Navajo	Arizona, Utah, New Mexico
*555	Nez Perce	Idaho
12	Nisenan	California
8,000	Ojibwa, Eastern	Michigan
35,000	Ojibwa, Western	Montana, Lake Superior, North Dakota
*125	Okangan	Washington
*500	Omaha-Ponca	Nebraska; Oklahoma
*553	Oneida	New York, Wisconsin
15	Onondaga	New York
*159	Osage	Oklahoma
*9,220	O'odham-Pima	Arizona
*1,369	Paiute, Northern	Nevada, Oregon, California, Idaho
20	Panamint	California
4	Pawnee	Oklahoma
40	Pomo, Central	California
1	Pomo, Northeastern	California
10	Pomo, Southeastern	California
40	Pomo, Southern	California
*499	Potawatomi	Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Oklahoma
15	Quapaw	Oklahoma
343	Quechan	California
6	Quinault	Washington
*151	Salish, Southern Puget Sound	Washington
30	Salish, Straits	Washington

<i>Number of Speakers</i>	<i>Language Group</i>	<i>Location</i>
*705	Seneca	New York, Oklahoma
1	Serrano	California
12	Shasta	California
*308	Shawnee	Oklahoma
*2,724	Shoshoni	Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming
100	Skagit	Washington
10	Snohomish	Washington
50	Spokane	Washington
65	Tanacross	Alaska
75	Tanaina	Alaska
30	Tanana, Lower	Alaska
115	Tanana, Upper	Alaska
200	Tenino	Oregon
*3,736	Tewa	New Mexico; Arizona
927	Tiwa, Northern	New Mexico
1,631	Tiwa, Southern	New Mexico
775	Tlingit	Alaska
5	Tolowa	Oregon
*137	Tsimshian	Alaska
6	Tubatulabal	California
10	Tututni	Oregon
50	Umatilla	Oregon
5	Unami	Oklahoma, New Jersey, Delaware
1,984	Ute–Southern Paiute	Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, California
100	Walla Walla	Oregon
69	Wasco-Wishram	Oregon, Washington
*218	Washo	California, Nevada
10	Wichita	Oklahoma
10	Wintu	California
3,000	Yakima	Washington
*469	Yaqui	Arizona
78	Yokuts	California
12	Yuchi	Oklahoma
6	Yuki	California
10,000	Yupik, Central	Alaska
1,100	Yupik, Central Siberian	Alaska
400	Yupik, Pacific Gulf	Alaska
*231	Yurok	California
*6,903	Zuni	New Mexico

Source: Adapted from Estes (2002).

Note: An asterisk indicates data from the U.S. Census 2000.

language is virtually extinct. In other larger tribal groups, such as the Cherokee and Creek Nations, 90% or more members speak only English.

In some instances where the ancestral languages have all but disappeared, unique English dialect variations have replaced them. The Lumbees, who were among the first to have significant and prolonged contact with European colonizers, are noted for their unique dialect, which Walt Wolfram describes as a little bit Appalachian, a little bit Outer Banks, all Southern; he adds that studying Lumbee English has provided evidence of its features as a strong and distinctive dialect, which contains characteristics of a community-based culture. Wolfram mentions that this language shift exemplifies adaptability, resiliency, and vitality in the Lumbee language community. Similarly, William Leap has written extensively about “Red English,” the Native American–influenced English dialects common among many American Indian and Alaska Native populations, which replaced ancestral languages and now serve as a source of common native identity, as well as a communication medium.

In assessing the current status of American Indian and Alaska Native languages, Krauss indicates five classes of language vitality and viability. He applied a criterion based on whether children of the language group are acquiring the native language in a traditional manner, specifically learning from their parents and elders. Class A, the smallest of the categories, includes roughly 20 tribal groups—about 11% of the total number of native languages—where children are actively learning in the traditional way. Class B is the second smallest category and includes 30 tribal groups where parents speak the language among themselves but generally communicate with their children in English. Class C consists of about 40% of native languages where the language is spoken only by older adults and elders, but there is no generational involvement of children and youth. Class D consists of native languages that are almost extinct and barely used, and where only a few, mostly elderly, people recall it. Classes C and D are the largest of all of the four categories, and constitute most of the languages listed in Table 1. Class E includes those languages with no remaining speakers.

A number of past and ongoing efforts have been made at the national level to foster the preservation and revitalization of native languages. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968, also known as Title VII of the

Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), made funding available for programs designed to help English language learners master English. However, the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) that administered Title VII of ESEA no longer exists. Its successor, Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act, does not fund Native American language restoration programs. The Administration for Native Americans in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services also supports large-scale language preservation and revitalization programs. A final report of the U.S. Secretary of Education’s *Indian Nations at Risk Task Force* in 1991, developed with substantial community input, identified the maintenance of native languages and cultures as one of its 10 primary goals.

Native-language maintenance and revitalization has received its greatest impetus from the passage of the Native American Languages Act, Title I, in 1990, recently amended by the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006. Through its passage, Congress declared, “The status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to work together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages.” The act recognizes the right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies to use their ancestral languages as a medium of instruction in all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior reflecting the policy to “preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop” indigenous languages. Furthermore, the act declares “the right of Native Americans to express themselves through Native American languages shall not be restricted in any public proceeding, including publicly supported education programs.”

In response to the threat of losing hundreds of native languages within the next 50 years, many tribes, tribal schools, and native organizations throughout Alaska, Hawai‘i, and the mainland United States presently operate their own language revitalization or maintenance programs, many depending on their own resources. Although many native languages have already been relegated to linguistic texts with no living speakers, there is now more commitment and action than ever before to protect and maintain in living use those that have survived. Still, the future of most Native American languages is uncertain.

Enactment of protectionist measures by the federal government cannot ensure the survival of any language. As more Native Americans become urban dwellers, the likelihood that they will adopt English as their everyday language increases. If historical patterns of language shift and language loss hold true, the utilitarian value of ancestral languages will also diminish.

Denis Viri

See also Boarding Schools and Native Languages; Language Socialization of Indigenous Children; Native American Languages, Legal Support for

Further Readings

- Crawford, J. (1998). *Endangered Native American languages: What is to be done, and why?* Retrieved from <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jwcrawford/brj.htm>
- Estes, J. (2002). *How many indigenous American languages are spoken in the United States? By how many speakers?* Retrieved from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/expert/faq/20natlang.html>
- Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006, H. R. 4766, 109th Congress (2006).
- Gordon, R. G., Jr. (Ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (15th ed.). Dallas, TX: SIL International. Available from <http://www.ethnologue.com>
- Indian Nations at Risk Task Force. (1991, October). *Indian Nations at risk: An educational strategy for action*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- Krauss, M. (1992). Statement of Mr. Michael Krauss, representing the Linguistic Society of America. In U.S. Senate, *Native American Languages Act of 1991: Hearing before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs* (pp. 18–22). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Leap, W. L. (1993). *American Indian English*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Native American Languages Act, Pub. L. No. 101–477 (1990).
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Characteristics of American Indians and Alaska Natives by tribe and language: 2000*. Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/census2000/pubs/phc-5.html>
- Wesley, C. (1961). Indian education. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 1, 4–7. Retrieved from <http://jaie.asu.edu/v1/V1S1indi.htm>
- Wolfram, W., Dannenberg, C., Knick, S., & Oxendine, L. (2002). *Fine in the world: Lumbee language in time and place*. Pembroke: Museum of the Native American Resource Center, University of North Carolina–Pembroke.

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AS SECOND LANGUAGES

Since the conception of American Indian education, school language policies have focused on assimilative and subtractive education: stressing the learning of English at the expense of ancestral languages. For indigenous families and communities, this has meant the suppression and loss of the mother tongue and a situation in which speaking an indigenous mother tongue in early childhood has become a rarity. Consequently, an increasing number of indigenous children *and* adults are learning their heritage languages as second languages, which in many ways is similar to learning other languages, such as Spanish, French, or English, as second languages (L2s). Yet, distinct differences distinguish them from other languages for purposes of learning. For example, unlike other languages, mother-tongue literacy is a recent tradition for most indigenous societies. In fact, many indigenous societies, even those that have developed a written language, have retained their oral traditions and wish to develop revitalization interventions that will strengthen them. Thus, in creating conditions that are conducive for learning indigenous languages, it is important to keep in mind that “preservation” of a language (such as in dictionaries, grammar books, and so forth), is distinctly different than “revitalizing” a language; the latter aims at creating actual speakers with the ultimate goal of reestablishing the indigenous language as home and community languages. In light of this, careful consideration must be given to the means by which indigenous languages are learned and, equally important, intervention initiatives should not compromise the integrity of the oral traditions of communities that have chosen oral-based rather than literacy-based interventions (or a combination of the approaches).

This entry considers several components critical for understanding the dynamic process of indigenous second language (hereafter referred to as IL2) learning. The entry considers the contemporary context of indigenous peoples and their languages, including language intervention initiatives, research, and pedagogy for IL2 learning and concludes with a brief discussion of language policies that can detract or contribute to the reclamation of indigenous languages.

Indigenous Peoples and Languages

During the next century, it is estimated that the linguistic diversity in the world will be drastically reduced from 6,000 languages to less than half of this figure, as reported by Kenneth Hale. A significant number of these threatened languages are spoken by indigenous people, who represent 4% of the world's population (reported by Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine). As of 2001, in the United States, indigenous peoples—Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Alaska Natives—represent 1.5% of the total population and more than 560 native nations, each with its own historical, political, governance, economic, cultural, sociolinguistic context. Within this diversity, a deep concern of all native nations is the maintenance of ancestral or mother tongues. Among the indigenous languages still spoken in the United States, only 20 are still being naturally acquired by children as a first language. Having no child speakers of a language is one of the most telling signs that a language is threatened with extinction. To address this situation, a number of language reclamation initiatives have emerged in indigenous communities and schools during the past three decades. Taken together, they constitute a new indigenous language education paradigm reflective of the linguistic and sociocultural context, goals, and desires of indigenous peoples.

Indigenous Language Intervention and Research

Although approaches and methods differ in each indigenous speech community because of a number of critical factors, such as the vitality of the language (e.g., the number and ages of speakers), the existence or extent of mother-tongue literacy, and the sociocultural nature of the community, a central aim of all of the initiatives is the creation of new generations of speakers of these languages. Thus, their primary revitalization goals are oral fluency, communicative competence, and the reestablishment of the indigenous language as a viable daily language.

Much of what is known and understood about IL2 learning comes from the unprecedented worldwide research in indigenous mother-tongue maintenance and reclamation. The successes and failures of this work have been well documented by researchers, scholars, and practitioners such as Leanne Hinton, Joshua A. Fishman, Christine Sims, Teresa McCarty,

and Ofelia Zepeda. One of the most successful and influential models in the world of indigenous language education, *Te Kohanga Reo* (Language Nest), has been developed by the Māori people of Aotearoa, New Zealand. *Te Kohanga Reo* is a total Māori immersion program in which infants and young children are cared for by Māori-speaking elders. This program was replicated in 1983 by the Hawaiians, who established 'Aha Pūnana Leo, a Hawaiian immersion preschool. Key in each of these efforts was the development of language teaching methods that were congruent with indigenous culture. In many cases, immersion methods—the teaching of language through the target language—proved to be the most promising for creating new speakers. Originating in Canada, immersion methods were designed to teach a minority language to language majority students using distinct techniques and strategies promoting social interaction in the new or second language. In the case of indigenous languages, this meant teaching a minority language to a minority population.

In the mid-1980s, when the Hawaiian immersion effort began, only 2,000 Hawaiian natives spoke their mother tongue, including 30 children. The language was headed for oblivion. William Wilson and Kauanoe Kamanā report that after two decades of comprehensive and intense grassroots work, almost 10,000 persons now speak Hawaiian. In both the Māori and Hawaiian cases, the children who entered these language immersion programs speaking only English became the first new native speakers in generations.

The Master-Apprentice Approach developed by California indigenous language activists has also served as a model for indigenous language reclamation. This approach was particularly pertinent for languages that have few adult, often elder, which is the case with California indigenous languages. In this one-to-one approach, an indigenous speaker is teamed with a younger member of the community to interact in the target language through practical everyday activities and lessons. The major challenge for the Master-Apprentice teams was finding ways to get the extended periods of exposure to the native language without the use of English. "Leaving English behind" is one of a number of critical principles emerging from the Master-Apprentice approach (as well as the previously mentioned cases) that have proven to be fundamental to successful IL2 learning. Today, the Master-Apprentice teams can be found across the U.S. and beyond including Haida teams in Hydaburg

and Kasaan, Alaska, Comanche Nation teams in Oklahoma, and “community language teams” in Australia—the latter teams emerged naturally without knowledge of the U.S. example.

Along with these concerted efforts in New Zealand, Hawai‘i, and California are the important lessons learned from researchers and practitioners in the international arenas of linguistics, immersion, bilingual, foreign, and second-language education, including English as a Second Language (ESL). Albeit the purpose and goals of the respective disciplines are different, all have contributed in some way to a deeper understanding of the process of L2 learning in general and of IL2 learning in particular.

Role of L1 and L2 Theories in IL2 learning

Central to all these initiatives are first- and second-language acquisition theories. Although each of these theories—behaviorism, innatism, and social interactionism—all examine how children naturally acquire a first language and what they learn in their early language development, they do so with various lenses. From first-language acquisition studies, for instance, we know that children from across cultures and languages progress through various predictable developmental sequences or stages as they acquire and discover language. In the early weeks of life, prevocal infants are able to hear subtle differences in the sounds of human languages. They can, for example, distinguish the difference between “ba” and “pa.” By the end of their first year, young children understand a good number of words and by 2 years of age begin to combine these words into telegraphic sentences—a demonstration, contend Patsy Lightbrown and Nina Spada, that they are connecting words together for meaningful communication. By age 5, most children have mastered the sound system and basic structures of the language(s) spoken to them on a daily basis. Research and practice have demonstrated that IL2 learners progress through similar stages of second-language development as other language learners. Yet, due to less than ideal learning conditions, IL2 learning can be challenging, but not impossible. For instance, like first-language learners, IL2 learners experience a comparable “silent period” (or receptive period), during which they are absorbing the sounds and nuances of the target language, but are not yet ready to speak it. Depending on a number of factors such as frequency and consistency

of exposure to the second language, age and personality of the learner, the patience and support of the target speaker(s), and so on, the silent period in IL2 learning can last considerably longer than in first-language learning. Teachers and learners of LL2s who are aware of and understand these developmental stages are likely to be more effective language teachers and learners—and, in many ways, they can make IL2 learning a more enjoyable and fulfilling endeavor.

Collectively, L1 and L2 theories and the grassroots efforts such as those mentioned earlier have all contributed to our understanding of the IL2 learning process, including what is fundamental in the development of culturally appropriate avenues and effective teaching techniques and strategies for IL2 learning, as well as for reinvigorating and sustaining indigenous languages.

Indigenous L2s

This section examines L2 learning and teaching from a practical, social, and indigenous perspective. In particular, it examines teaching pedagogy and methods, namely what one needs to know at the individual and community levels to effectively and successfully teach and learn an indigenous language as a L2.

Conditions for IL2 Learning

When conditions are ideal, all children, under normal circumstances, learn a primary language—whichever one(s) their caretakers use in interacting with them. Amazingly, children acquire language successfully, seemingly without much effort. As earlier mentioned, in IL2 learning, the conditions for language learning are often less than ideal and much more complex. Just as when one is learning a first language, IL2 learners need *access* to the target language for successful learning. Namely, learners must be in a context where the primary means of communication is in the indigenous language. In this context, the goal is communicative competence, which includes the ability to think and effectively communicate in the heritage language. Lily Wong Fillmore explains that through the IL2 learning process, learners actively apply several cognitive strategies and analytical skills, such as memory, association, inference, and social knowledge to make sense of what other people are saying, and to figure out relationships linguistic forms, functions, and meanings.

Fundamentally, in relation to the cognitive process, IL2 learners need to hear the indigenous language, therefore the speakers must *speak it*. Unfortunately, unlike the conditions surrounding the learning of English as a second language, access to the target indigenous language is often limited or nonexistent because of language loss and shift in homes and the speech community, even where a sufficient number of speakers remain. This is because many speakers today have stopped speaking their mother language and replaced it with the dominant language—English. Thus, in many indigenous language intervention efforts, such as those mentioned earlier, deliberate and well-planned efforts must be made to bring the native speakers to speaking it again. This requires an understanding of linguistic attitudes and sociolinguistic behaviors of both the speakers and learners of a target language. Evangeline Parsons-Yazzie, for example, examined the psycholinguistic interactions between adult Navajo speakers and children and found that when parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles initiated a conversation with a child in Navajo and the child responded in English, the conversation frequently shifted to English. In each case, the child was the one who decided what language was spoken. She attributes this linguistic behavior to the power children have to control the language of communication with their adult caretakers. This example illuminates a common trend among adult speakers of indigenous languages, which is to unconsciously convert to English when they speak to children, youth, or adult learners. This trend gradually leads to the weakening of intergenerational language transmission, which, in turn, limits the critical access that is essential for IL2 learning.

Being aware of the social dynamics that contribute to a shift from the indigenous language and in favor of the majority language is a beginning step toward understanding what needs to happen on both an individual and community level for successful IL2 learning. This was an initial and critical step in the development of the Dakota Language Preschool at Pezihutazizi of the Upper Sioux Community in Minnesota, detailed by Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Bill Johnston. The program entailed the training of Dakota language teachers, including creating a consciousness among them of their own linguistic behaviors. The Dakota language teachers, all elder speakers who rarely spoke the language on a daily basis, had become accustomed to speaking primarily English, even to one another. Lack of use (or speaking)

of Dakota had, in turn, led to loss of vocabulary and self-confidence. The training, consequently, included extended periods of practice in speaking only the Dakota language.

In addition to the training of speakers to “respeak” the indigenous language, another step in the Dakota revitalization initiative was the development of an effective and culturally relevant pedagogy, including learning what approaches and strategies are conducive and not conducive to IL2 learning for *their* situation. One of their guiding principles was that learners must have meaningful experiences in the language—real interactions and a real engagement with speakers of the language—to successfully and effectively learn the language; consequently, they stressed the creation of a learning environment that promoted a supportive environment, in which students felt welcomed and were not criticized in their efforts. The program also promoted the use of techniques and strategies such as props, manipulatives, and Total Physical Response (TPR), an interactive teaching strategy that introduces language through gestures, expressions, and visuals. This view is contrary to conventional, grammar-based approaches to language instruction in schools, which in many cases focus almost exclusively on translation: learning vocabulary lists or numbers, passively listening to a speaker talking in the language, explaining grammar and reciting, memorizing, or excessive writing. These approaches may not give learners sufficient opportunities to talk in the target language and to connect speech to real communication. The end result often is what is reflected in the following recollection of a graduate student who learned Cherokee as a second language: “I learned to read and write Cherokee very well, so well that every Sunday I was asked to read from the Cherokee bible. I guess I read it correctly. . . . But the interesting thing about this is that I didn’t understand what I was reading and I can’t speak it.” In retrospect, this Cherokee L2 learner realized that her instruction focused primarily on mother tongue literacy, specifically the phonology and grammar of the Cherokee language, with little emphasis on conversational competence. This is not to say that mother-tongue literacy is unimportant but, rather, to make the point that knowing the grammatical rules of the language is not the same as being able to use the language in socially and culturally appropriate ways.

Equally important in the Dakota Language Preschool initiative was the development of teaching materials and lessons reflecting of the nature and

distinct structural features of the Dakota language and Dakota beliefs and values. This relates to both the inseparable connection between language and culture, and the ways in which languages can create meaning for and form the basis of understanding, including a people's worldview and cultural practices. For IL2 learners, learning the native language is a means for learning the native culture and practices. The Master-Apprentice teams, for example, learn the vocabulary embedded in traditional ways of life by participating in traditional activities, such as ceremonies, making native tools or dress, gathering and cooking native foods, and so forth. Similarly, a core part of Cochiti Pueblo's (located in New Mexico) "curriculum guide" for developing language lessons is the annual traditional calendar. Second-language learners of Cochiti-Keres, for example, learn the appropriate language and cultural protocol needed for participation in an upcoming communal event. In this way, both language and culture are simultaneously strengthened.

Conclusion

Teachers and learners of IL2s who are aware of and understand the similarities among L1 and L2 learning are likely to be more effective language teachers and learners. As well, knowing and understanding indigenous languages and what distinguishes them from other languages for purposes of learning, such as the varying views of the role of literacy in IL2 and the intimate connection between language and culture, can contribute to a deeper understanding of what is involved in teaching as well as learning an indigenous language as a second language and how to best support an indigenous people's (or person's) IL2 in the home, community, or school contexts. Particularly in schools, where literacy plays a central role in English-dominant classrooms (including indigenous language and culture classrooms), the indigenous language and the best practices for learning it frequently take a backseat to mainstream orientation of teaching, academic subjects and goals, and standardized assessment.

In an era of reclaiming culture, self-determination, and maintaining and revitalizing indigenous languages, changes in local, state, and national policies must coincide with today's dynamic indigenous language movements. In particular, language policy needs to change to support bilingualism (and multilingualism) for all its citizens, including its indigenous citizens. This will require a reexamination of the

language education paradigm for the learning of indigenous languages as second languages, with the learning of a mother tongue naturally in infancy and early childhood as the ultimate goal.

Mary Eunice Romero-Little

See also Language and Identity; Language Shift and Language Loss; Language Socialization; Native American Languages, Legal Support for

Further Readings

- Benjamin, R., Pecos, R., & Romero, M. E. (1996). Language revitalization efforts in the Pueblo de Cochiti: Becoming "literate" in an oral society. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Indigenous literacies in the Americas: Language planning from the bottom up* (pp. 115–136). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Berlin, L. (1999). Indigenous language education and second language acquisition: Are they compatible? In T. L. McCarty & O. Zepeda (Eds.), *One voice, many voices: Recreating indigenous language communities* (pp. 251–273). Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Indian Education.
- Crawford, J. (1997). Seven hypotheses on language loss causes and cures. In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages* (pp. 51–68). Flagstaff, AZ: Center for Excellence in Education.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved?* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hale, K. (1992). Language endangerment and the human value of linguistic diversity. *Language*, 68(1), 1–42.
- Hinton, L. (2002). *How to keep your language alive: A commonsense approach to one-to-one language learning*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.
- Hinton, L., & Hale, K. (2001). *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Lightbrown, P., & Spada, N. (2006). *How languages are learned* (3rd ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- McCarty, T. L., & Zepeda, O. (Eds.). (2006). *One voice, many voices: Recreating indigenous language communities*. Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Indian Education.
- Nettle, D., & Romaine, S. (2000). *Vanishing voices*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Parsons-Yazzie, E. (1995). Navajo-speaking parents' perceptions for reasons for Navajo language attrition. *Journal of Navajo Education*, 8(1), 29–38.

- Peregoy, S., & Boyle, O. (2005). *Reading, writing and learning in ESL: A resource for K–12 teachers* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Scarcella, R., & Oxford, R. (1992). *The tapestry of language learning: The individual in the communicative classroom*. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.
- Sims, C. P. (2004). Tribal languages and the challenges of revitalization. Commentary included in *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 36(1), 104–106.
- Wilson, W. A., & Johnston, B. (1999). Community-based immersion programming: Establishing a Dakota language preschool at Pezihutazizi. In T. L. McCarty & O. Zepeda (Eds.), *One voice, many voices: Recreating indigenous language communities* (pp. 87–112). Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Indian Education.
- Wilson, W., & Kamanā, K. (2001). “Mai Loko Mai O Ka ‘I‘ini: Proceeding from a dream,” The ‘Aha Pūnana Leo connection in Hawaiian language revitalization. In L. Hinton & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalization in practice* (pp. 147–176). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). Second-language learning in children: A model of language learning in social context. In E. Bialystok (Ed.), *Language processing by bilingual children* (pp. 49–69). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (2002, June). *Language learning in real world settings: Thoughts for teachers and learners*. Paper presented at the American Indian Language Development Institute, University of Arizona, Tempe.

INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

An extragalactic visitor examining the languages of the world today would be quickly struck by the many close similarities in grammar and vocabulary among French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian—sufficient for speakers of one language to understand, with some difficulty, the others—and might wonder how that situation came about. Armed with a knowledge of history, we could tell our visitor that the areas in which these languages are spoken were originally settled by speakers of Latin as the Roman Empire expanded, and we can trace, through historical documents, the gradual emergence of regional differences that led from Latin to the modern languages. Although Latin is often considered to be a “dead” language, it is anything but dead, for all of these languages are in fact just local varieties of living Latin as it is still spoken after 2,000 years.

As described in this entry, this picture of the history of Latin and the documentation of the slow changes that led to the present-day regional differences provide us with a *model* for understanding the nature of language change. From this we recognize the following:

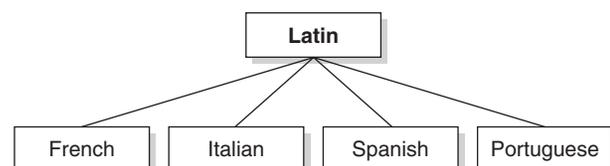
1. Change is natural and inevitable in language.
2. All languages are constantly undergoing change.
3. Languages do not deteriorate or improve in the process of change.
4. No language is better or worse, or more logical, than another.
5. No “pure” language exists.

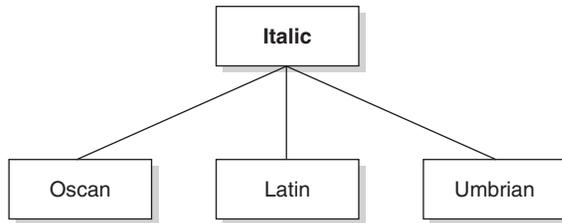
Thus, classical Latin was no more logical or precise than the modern languages, nor are they less logical or precise than Latin. They are simply different.

Linguists have most often used the *family tree* model as a way of illustrating the development of regional varieties from an earlier stage of a language. Thus, we could depict the descent of the Romance languages from Latin in a family tree format (omitting Romanian) (see figure below).

Although such a diagram provides a useful picture of relationships, it distorts reality by omitting all the intermediate local varieties, and in treating each of the named entities as if it were a uniform reality. What we think of as a “language” is actually a collection of more or less mutually intelligible varieties, some of which are more socially and politically privileged than others. When we closely examine language situations such as this one in geographic context, we find that a boundary cannot be drawn between any of these languages. Rather, there is a continuum of local varieties on which political borders have been arbitrarily imposed, frequently by war. For this reason, it is often said that a “language” is really only a socially prestigious regional variety with an army.

Latin in turn was originally just one of several local varieties known from historical records to have been spoken on the Italian peninsula (including Oscan and Umbrian), which we can assume were all





descended from a common ancestor, dubbed Italic (see figure above).

This model of change provided by Latin and the modern Romance languages can be applied to enable us to reconstruct languages for which we have no written record. For example, comparing English, Dutch, German, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and the extinct language Gothic, we see numerous similarities in vocabulary and grammar. On this basis, we can classify these into a “language family,” usually called *Germanic*, and we can reconstruct many of the features of what we presume to have been the original parent language.

A crucial assumption made in the process of reconstructing earlier languages is the principle of *uniformitarianism*: We assume that events have happened uniformly in the past in the same way they occur today, so that unobserved past events can be understood on the basis of observing present-day phenomena. To take a geological example: The formation of the Grand Canyon can be explained by assuming that it is the result of the same processes of erosion that can be seen on any bare hillside after a rainstorm, operating over millions of years. Just so, we can assume that about 2,500 years ago, there must have been an original Germanic language, which underwent gradual changes over time, producing the modern languages. It helps that for many of the languages, we have more than 1,000 years of written documents, so that we can trace the history of each back to that point. The older the documents, the more similar we find the languages to be, reinforcing our hypothesis that they descended from a single original language.

In 1786, the scholarly world was electrified when Sir William Jones, an English jurist who had been posted to India, announced that he had found systematic resemblances between Sanskrit, the holy language of India, and Greek and Latin, which could only be explained by assuming that they descended from the same original language. This language, which came to be called *Indo-European* for its geographic distribution, must have been spoken before the dawn of recorded history. Its speakers spread from their original homeland on the steppes of southern

Russia, both toward the east into Persia and India and toward the West throughout most of Europe, driving out or absorbing the speakers of other languages they found there. Only one original European language survives today, Basque.

Based on their degree of resemblance, languages may be classified into various groupings and subgroupings. Thus, within Germanic, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic are grouped as North Germanic; German, Dutch, and English are placed together in West Germanic; and Gothic is the only member of East Germanic. Similarly, other groupings can be made and compared, and their relationship to other groupings of languages can be determined. As a result of this process, 11 subfamilies are now recognized within the Indo-European family (see figure on p. 404).

Some of these subfamilies have only one member, namely Greek, Armenian, Albanian, and Tocharian. The largest subfamily is Indo-Iranian, which has two major branches, Indic (including Sanskrit and its descendents, which include most of the modern languages of northern India) and Iranian (including Persian and other languages of Afghanistan and Pakistan).

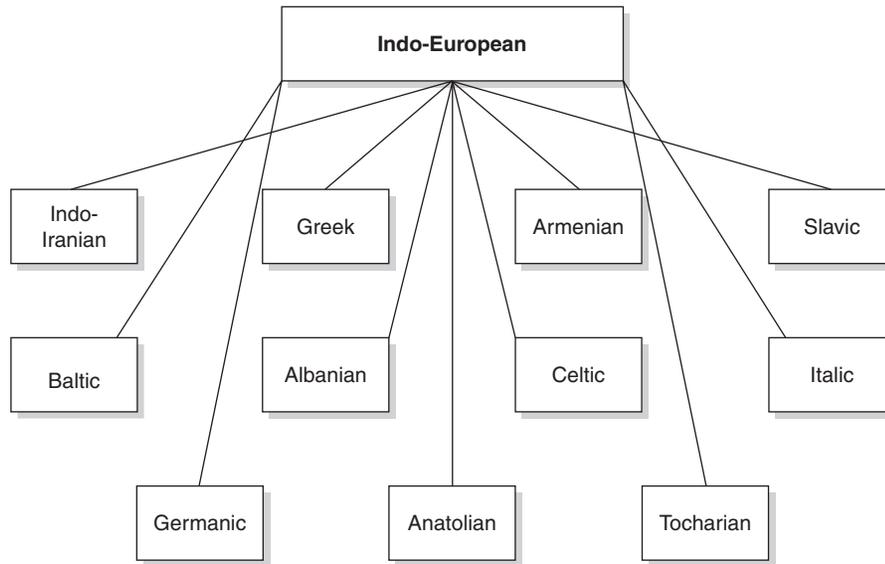
As the Indo-Europeans began to expand territorially, the inexorable processes of change began to affect their language, so that different changes occurred in different areas, some spreading to adjacent groups, some not. Thus were born the branches of the Indo-European language family, each of which in turn further ramified, becoming the ancestors of some 450 languages and distinctive varieties spoken today from Ireland to Bangladesh. All of these languages are in a real sense still just regional varieties of one language, projected over the 6,000 years since the original community began to split up. Thus, consider two sentences such as these:

My mother is young.

Mi madre es joven.

Though we label one as “English” and the other as “Spanish,” these may be seen as actually being in the same language because everything in them goes back to Indo-European.

The saga of Indo-European is vast and instructive, and linguistics provides us with a window into its history beyond the reach of written records. Understanding something of the history of Indo-European enables us to realize how our own language(s) came to be and



helps us to recognize and appreciate the processes of language change constantly going on around us. Ultimately, all human languages must go back to a single original language, spoken perhaps 80,000 years ago, and language, more than anything, made our ancestors human. For anyone concerned with bilingual education, the conclusion to be recognized is that all languages and varieties are equally valid means for thought and expression, though for reasons of history, some may currently have more economic value or social prestige than others. Thus, all languages, prestigious or not, standard or nonstandard, are equally deserving of respect, and can serve as effective vehicles for instruction and learning.

Rudolph C. Troike

See also Contrastive Analysis; Ebonics; Languages and Power; Spanish Loan Words in U.S. English; World Englishes

Further Readings

Mallory, J. P., & Adams, D. Q. (2006). *The Oxford introduction to proto-Indo-European and the proto-Indo-European world*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
 University of Texas at Austin (2006). *Indo-European Documentation Center*. Retrieved from <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/iedocctr/ie.html>

Watkins, C. (2000). Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans. *American dictionary of the English Language* (4th ed.). Retrieved from <http://www.bartleby.com/61/8.html>

INTERLANGUAGE

Interlanguage is the temporary linguistic system a person develops while learning a second language. A learner's interlanguage is an approximation of the second language being learned, called the *target language* or L2. However, an interlanguage is an intermediate or developmental system that contains features both of the second language (L2) and of the learner's first language (L1), as well as some features that belong to neither. As a learner becomes more proficient in the second language, his or her interlanguage moves closer to the target forms, that is, his or her interlanguage comes to match more closely the linguistic system of a native speaker of the target language. So, interlanguage development can be visualized as a continuum: On one end is the learner's first language, and at the other is the target language, and the learner's interlanguage will be at some point along the continuum, according to the proficiency the learner has achieved in the second language. This entry describes this term and its implications for second-language acquisition.

Although the term *interlanguage* has been used to describe adult language learners' emerging system, it is less clear how the notion of interlanguage applies to younger learners. That is, the interlanguage phenomenon fits well data generated by *sequential bilinguals*, whose L1 is fully formed, but it may less adequately explain *simultaneous bilingualism*, especially those for young children in multilingual settings who are concurrently developing competence in two or more languages. Nevertheless, the processes involved in creating an interlanguage (the combination of grammatical rules from various sources) do mirror the way children make sense of grammar when learning their first language.

Interlanguage and the Study of Second-Language Acquisition

The term *interlanguage* was coined by Larry Selinker in 1972. Selinker stressed that one of the main features of interlanguage is that it is an autonomous or independent language system. Previously, the assumption was that most of L2 learners' errors were caused by interference from the L1, that is, where the grammar of the L1 differs from that of the L2. This approach is called *error analysis*. Thus, Spanish speakers who produced "the book new" in English were applying Spanish word order. However, by studying examples of sentences produced by L2 learners, researchers noted that some of what they produced had grammatical structures that were not found in either the learner's native language or the target language. Therefore, they deduced that learners must have some independent grammar that they relied on to produce such sentences.

Early interlanguage researchers were intrigued by these examples of an independent grammar at work in L2 learners' emerging systems and pointed to them as evidence of Noam Chomsky's claims of "universal grammar," and of a person's innate language faculty. Selinker claimed that the proof that interlanguage exists—the evidence of a learner's separate linguistic system—also pointed to the existence of a latent psychological structure that is activated when one begins learning a second language. During the 1970s and 1980s, interlanguage became the object of research for the newly emerging field of second-language acquisition (SLA) studies, a branch of psycholinguistics. The interest of SLA researchers is

focused on the cognitive processes involved when a person who has already acquired his or her first language attempts to acquire a second language, and by taking interlanguage as their theoretical starting point, researchers were able to generate empirical evidence about the internal mental processes of second-language learning.

The Basic Processes of Interlanguage

The interlanguage of an L2 learner can be studied by comparing what the learner produces with what a native speaker who was saying the "same" thing would produce. For example, the interlanguage of L2 learners of English whose native language is Spanish can be studied by comparing what they say in a particular situation with how a native English speaker might convey the same meaning. We can expect that some of the differences between the English learner's and the native speaker's sentences can be explained by the influence of Spanish on what the learner has produced. However, we can expect that there will be some features of the language learner's sentence that belong to neither English (the learner's L2) or Spanish (the learner's L1).

The learner's particular variety of the L2 is not only derived from knowledge of the target language. According to Selinker's original formulation, an interlanguage is created from five cognitive processes: language transfer, transfer of training, strategies of L2 learning, communication strategies, and overgeneralization of L2 rules. *Language transfer* is the effect of mapping L1 structures onto the L2. In the case of positive transfer, where the L1 maps well onto the L2, first-language knowledge helps learners produce correct grammatical structures in the L2. On the other hand, negative transfer occurs when the structures do not map correctly; this has also been referred to as "interference" or "interlingual" errors. The importance of the role of language transfer in interlanguage development has long been debated by SLA researchers, and in particular the question of how to explain individual differences—known as variability of transfer—remains unanswered. *Transfer of training* refers to the instruction the learner has received, and the types of second-language materials and approaches the learner has been exposed to. *Strategies of second-language learning* describe the particular ways learners approach their own learning. *Second-language communication strategies* explain how the learner

attempts to resolve the challenges that arise in naturally occurring communicative situations. Finally, *overgeneralization of target-language rules* refers to how the L2 learner tries to hypothesize structures based on partial knowledge of the grammatical system. For example, an L2 learner who knows that *ed* is used to form the past tense will quite often overgeneralize this rule, and produce forms such as *I goed*.

The Interlanguage Continuum and Fossilization

In early research, Stephen Pit Corder termed the learner's intermediate language stage "transitional competence," to capture the idea that interlanguage is evolving and progressing toward the target forms. As mentioned earlier, this process can be visualized as a language-learning continuum, where complete mastery of the L2 is the ending point.

However, most people who have attempted to learn a second or foreign language know that only a small percentage of learners ever gain "complete mastery" in the L2. In fact, some scholars have suggested that one flaw of interlanguage theory is that it presupposes an endpoint of L2 acquisition that only a few L2 learners can ever obtain. Vivian Cook, for example, suggests that the term *multi-competence* may be a more adequate way of conceptualizing the psychological structures of second-language acquisition because the term recognizes the all L2 users have some types of language competence, and their knowledge of the L2 should not be defined only in terms of an idealized native speaker of the target language.

For many SLA theorists, however, one important element of interlanguage is that a terminal point of L2 acquisition stops before natively like mastery has been achieved. For many learners, errors tend to be repeated, and in a sense become "impervious" to correction. When a particular structure is acquired incorrectly and cannot be remedied, it is said to have become *fossilized*. Hence, fossilization describes the phenomenon where the learner's interlanguage is no longer a dynamic, evolving system but, rather, has become stuck at some point along interlanguage continuum, and further progress in the L2 is unlikely. For bilingual education teachers who experience, on a daily basis, examples of interlanguage, a thorough understanding of that phenomenon should prove useful.

Peter Sayer

See also Critical Period Hypothesis; Language Acquisition Device; Language Learning in Children and Adults; Social Bilingualism

Further Readings

- Cook, V. J. (1992). Evidence for multi-competence. *Language Learning*, 42(4), 557–591.
- Corder, S. P. (1967). The significance of learners' errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics (IRAL)*, 5, 161–170.
- Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics (IRAL)*, 10(3), 209–231.
- Selinker, L. (1992). *Rediscovering interlanguage*. London: Longman.



JAPANESE LANGUAGE IN HAWAI‘I

The story of the use and study of Japanese in Hawai‘i is framed by the history of Japanese immigrants to the islands. The development of Japanese-language schools in Hawai‘i was greatly influenced by the social and political events that took place around Japanese immigrants and second-generation Japanese Americans known as *Nisei*. Because of the massive immigration of Japanese farmers to Hawai‘i in the late 19th century, Japanese-language schools became an important part of these farmers’ lives in Hawai‘i. Although the schools faced unparalleled anti-Japanese sentiment during the 1920s, the number of Japanese-language schools increased until the end of World War I. The schools quietly flourished until World War II began, when all Japanese-language schools were forced to shut down because of the prevailing sentiment that considered the maintenance of Japanese language and culture a symbol of disloyalty. That sentiment has now changed, and currently the Japanese language is one of the most studied languages in Hawai‘i.

According to the U.S. Census report issued in 2005, Japanese Americans constitute the largest Asian American group in Hawai‘i, and many students have acquired Japanese as their heritage language. The state of Hawai‘i does not provide bilingual education programs in Japanese and English; nevertheless, there are diverse opportunities to learn the language through Japanese-language schools, Japanese as a second language courses in public schools, and Saturday schools. This entry summarizes the work of Japanese-language

schools in Hawai‘i, and presents a discussion of the historical experience of Japanese immigrants.

History of Japanese-Language Schools

The history of Japanese language education in Hawai‘i starts with the arrival of Japanese immigrants from 1885 through 1924. In 1885, a mighty famine occurred in Japan, and Japanese farmers became genuinely distressed. During this period, Hawai‘i recruited a great number of farm laborers for its thriving sugar cane plantations. For Japanese farmers, working in Hawai‘i was a highly attractive prospect because the wages in the United States were better than they were in Japan. These Japanese immigrants were a highly selected and educated population. Because immigration was competitive, the Japanese government used educational attainment as a prerequisite condition for emigration. As a result, most of the early emigrants, both men and women, were literate and had 2 to 6 years of basic education. The Japanese government also imposed strict health examinations for prospective emigrants; therefore, rural farmers in poor physical condition were excluded. A large proportion of these immigrant workers were in their 20s. Meyer Weinberg mentions that in the early 1900s, 39% of the population in Hawai‘i consisted of Japanese immigrants.

Eileen Tamura explains that the first Japanese-language school opened soon after the first group of Japanese immigrants arrived in Hawai‘i in 1892. Most of the early Japanese immigrants did not intend to teach their children English or American culture because the Japanese government ruled that Japanese

citizens must return to Japan within 3 years. Weinberg explains that Japanese immigrants felt the need to maintain proper Japanese language and culture because they considered themselves to be temporary workers rather than immigrants.

To accommodate the educational needs of young Japanese children, Japanese-language schools were built almost immediately upon arrival. Another incentive to create Japanese-language schools was that there were no public schools available in the plantation areas where the Japanese worked. As Weinberg stresses, even if such schools had existed, plantation managers would not have allowed the children of Japanese workers to attend the public schools. Hidehiko Ushijima reports that although the first Japanese-language school started with only 30 students, the number of schools increased rapidly. Weinberg and Kimi Kondo recount that by 1939, at their peak, there were 163 schools with 38,000 students. According to Kondo, until 1917, Japanese-language schools in Hawai'i were under the control of the Japanese Ministry of Education. The Japanese government made efforts to develop Japanese citizens with Japanese values and "virtues" through these schools. The schools were required to use the textbooks and teaching materials that were mandated for use in public schools in Japan. After 1917, the Japanese government lost control of the Japanese-language schools because of pressure from the U.S. government. However, Japanese-language schools continued to play a significant role as cultural centers in Japanese communities.

Tamura narrates that during World War I, the United States had a slogan, "one nation, one flag, one language"; hence, to unite the country, the Japanese-language schools became the targets of pressure and even hostilities, along with German and other foreign languages. In 1919, Japanese Americans in Hawai'i split over the language education and identity issue. Some Japanese Americans wanted their children to grow up as Americans with perfect command of English, whereas some wanted their children to maintain their language and identity. Weinberg describes that in the 1920s, many Nisei fought for U.S. citizenship and civil rights. When the Japanese ministry of education passed its control of Japanese-language schools to the U.S. government, the Japanese-language schools changed their focus. Their new aim was to develop Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants with loyalty to America. Kondo states that this became

as important as maintaining the Japanese language and values. Weinberg mentions that reflecting the increasing anti-Japanese sentiment, the Japanese-language schools were restricted to operating only 1 hour a day, after the close of public schools, and to no more than 6 hours a week in 1920. In addition, U.S. government officials began censoring their administrators, teaching materials, and curriculum.

The various manifestations of anti-Japanese sentiment caused internal conflicts among Japanese Americans during this time. According to Tamura, most Japanese schools fought the anti-Japanese measures through the courts; the courts, however, abolished the Japanese-language schools in Hawai'i as part of the prevailing nativist agenda. Although the percentage of Japanese students who attended Japanese schools decreased to 70% because of a series of anti-Japanese laws and other restrictions in the 1920s, Tamura reports that the percentage of enrollment in Japanese-language schools reverted to 87% in the 1930s. This increase in enrollment suggests that Japanese Americans must have had a strong determination to maintain the Japanese culture and language through the schools.

When the Japanese schools were first created, their primary purpose was language instruction; however, other purposes came into play, such as developing close connections between students and their parents outside the schools. Koichi Harada reported that as more and more Japanese Americans attended the Japanese-language schools, training for American citizenship was included in the function of the school as well. Harada wrote that stress was placed on raising American citizens who would be able to pass on American culture, but who could also rely on a strong Japanese background. When the school enrollment greatly decreased because of anti-Japanese sentiment, the Japanese-language schools provided day care services in English. Alan Shoho reports that because the financial support was primarily based on student tuition, day care services were provided as a means to maintain and regain student enrollment. Other sources of finances included charitable contributions and support by churches.

Shoho details how the Japanese-language schools during the 1930s were open 6 days a week for an hour a day on weekdays, and for a half day on Saturday mornings. During weekdays, the classes were held after public schools let out. On Saturdays, classes started in the morning and finished at noon. Classes

were divided into two levels: elementary (1st to 8th grades) and secondary (9th to 12th grades). Between 1929 and 1930, 41,151 Japanese American students attended public schools, as reported by the Department of Public Instruction in 1931. Of this total, 93% (38,162 students) also attended Japanese-language schools after public school. In the Japanese-language schools, students learned Japanese and ethics, which taught several values, attributed to the Japanese culture: respect for elders, perseverance, frugality, and loyalty to the country one comes from. One Japanese American student reported in Shoho's work that they felt they became better American citizens through the study of ethics in Japanese-language school.

Japan's aggression in Asia, particularly the war between China and Japan in 1937, was regarded as threatening by the U.S. government and society. The U.S. attitude toward Japanese Americans and Japanese-language schools became suspicion. Tamura reports that a ritual of reciting the pledge of allegiance before an American flag was performed daily in the Japanese-language schools in the 1940s to affirm Japanese American loyalty to the United States and to avert criticism. Japanese textbooks that promoted Japanese nationalism with emperor worship became inappropriate for Japanese Americans born in Hawai'i. To respond to this situation, the Hawai'i Japanese Education Society was formed and developed less nationalistic textbooks for use in Hawai'i. With the outbreak of World War II, all Japanese-language schools were closed in 1942.

Current Status of Japanese in Hawai'i

As mentioned, Japanese Americans are the largest Asian group in Hawai'i. Moreover, Japanese is the most commonly used language at home by non-English Hawaiian residents, Kondo reports. These circumstances may indicate that many Japanese language users study Japanese language as their heritage language. Kondo further mentions that at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 46.5% of students enrolled in primary-level Japanese language courses in the fall of 1996 were of Japanese ancestry. Interestingly, Kondo indicates that the state of Hawai'i does not provide a formal bilingual language education program aimed at maintaining the Japanese heritage language among its students, even for those who already speak that language at home.

Japanese-language schools, Japanese courses in public schools, and supplemental schools are still available and accessible. Both the Hawai'i Department of Education and Kondo report that approximately 9,000 students at 51 public primary schools, and 8,000 students at 46 public secondary schools studied the Japanese language as a foreign language in Hawai'i in the academic years 1993 to 1994. This makes Japanese the most commonly taught foreign language at public schools in Hawai'i. Kondo reports that in the public schools, Japanese courses are taught during schooltime, but the contents, duration, and teaching materials vary. No common curriculum or standard exists for the teaching of Japanese. In addition to Japanese courses in public schools, Kondo explains that Japanese-language schools contribute to maintain the linguistic and cultural heritage of Japanese Americans, as well as helping English-speaking Americans who want to study the language.

Currently, 12 Japanese-language schools remain on Oahu Island. Many Japanese-language schools are having financial problems as the number of students who attend declines, Kondo reports. As Japanese-language schools have gone into decline, Japanese supplement schools have begun to make their appearance. Factors such as financial support, curriculum, and instruction are similar between the two types of schools. The difference is that Japanese supplement schools began by targeting the descendents of Japanese immigrants who planned to stay in Hawai'i temporarily and intended to return to Japan. By the late 1990s, however, many Japanese students attending these schools planned to stay in Hawai'i permanently. Supplement schools are considered, by Japanese children, to be more difficult than the former language schools. This makes them less popular and may ultimately influence their survival as optional sites for learning and maintaining Japanese language and culture.

Conclusion

Although Japanese as a foreign language gained popularity in Hawai'i in the 1980s and early 1990s, enrollments in recent years have declined. Kondo claims that although Japanese language enrollments at the university doubled between 1990 and 1994, the growth is currently steady. Two possible causes for this situation are (1) the complexity of the language and (2) problems with the Japanese economy. At the postsecondary level, Eleanor Jorden and Richard Lambert point out that many students of Japanese as a

foreign language discontinue their study before they master functional proficiency. According to Kondo, most students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa usually stop taking Japanese-language courses after completing the language requirement of 2 years. Kondo argues that many students confronted with the use of *kanji* (Chinese characters used in Japanese) and *keigo* (honorific expressions and language use in Japanese) at the intermediate level simply give up because the difficulties in learning the language escalate with these features. Because of its complexity and a heavy memorization load, students tend to give up at a lower level of proficiency. In addition, a long-term decline in the Japanese economy diminishes the students' motivation to learn Japanese as a language of business and commerce. Interest in Asian languages has shifted toward the languages of growing economic powers, such as Chinese and Korean.

Miku Watanabe

See also Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Heritage Language Education; Language Education Policy in Global Perspective

Further Readings

- Department of Public Instruction. (1931). *Biennial report of the Department of Public Instruction of the Territory of Hawaii: 1929–1930*. Honolulu, HI: Department of Public Instruction.
- Haas, M. (1992). *Institutional racism: The case of Hawaii*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Harada, K. G. (1934). *A survey of the Japanese-language schools in Hawaii*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Hawai'i.
- Hawai'i Department of Education. (1995). *Elementary and secondary AEPL (Asian, European and Pacific Languages) data, 1993–1994*. Unpublished manuscript, Honolulu: Office of Instructional Services/Asian, European and Pacific Languages.
- Jorden, E. H., & Lambert, R. D. (1991). *Japanese language instruction in the United States: Resources, practice, and investment strategy*. Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center Monograph Series.
- Kondo, K. (1998). The paradox of U.S. language policy and Japanese language education in Hawaii. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1(1), 47–64.
- Leibowitz, A. H. (1971). *Educational policy and political acceptance: The imposition of English as the language of instruction in American schools*. ERIC No. ED 047 321
- Morimoto, T. (1997). *Japanese Americans and cultural continuity: Maintaining language and heritage*. New York: Garland.
- Shoho, A. R. (1990). *Americanization through public education of Japanese Americans in Hawaii: 1930–1941*. (Doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 51(8), 403.
- Tamura, E. (1994). *Americanization, acculturation, and ethnic identity: The nisei generation in Hawaii*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2005). *Hawaii: General demographic characteristic*. 2005 American Community Survey. Available from <http://factfinder.census.gov>
- Ushijima, H. (1989). *Ikooka Meriken Kaerooka Japan; Hawaii Imin no Hyakunen [Going to America returning Japan: 100 years of immigrants in Hawai'i]*. Tokyo: Kodansha.
- Weinberg, M. (1997). *Asian-American education, historical background and current realities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

K

KLOSS, HEINZ (1904–1987)

Heinz Kloss is one of the most acclaimed authorities on the history of language policy and language minority rights in the United States. Kloss's scholarly work spans nearly six decades, beginning in 1929, with his last publication posthumously in 1987. Kloss began his work in his native Germany, but in the 1930s early in his career, he made successive trips to the United States and Canada, where he served as director of the Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme of Laval University in Québec. This entry discusses the significance of his scholarly work.

Among Kloss's more important German-language works were *Das Volksgruppenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten*, Vols. 1–2 (The rights of ethnic groups in the United States), published in 1940; *Das Nationalitätenrecht der Vereinigten Staaten* (The rights of national minorities in the United States), published in 1963; studies on language maintenance among German American immigrants published in 1966; and *The American Bilingual Tradition*, first published in 1977 and republished in 1998. Kloss is best known in the United States for this latter work. Many U.S. language policy scholars have relied on that publication because of its thorough analysis of language laws, territorial language policies, and typology for classifying different types of language policies (*promotion-oriented*, *tolerance-oriented*, and *restrictive*).

Kloss's work has received widespread acclaim from persons interested in the history of bilingualism in the United States and North America. Researcher Shirley Brice Heath praised *The American Bilingual*

Tradition for its use of primary sources and thorough discussion of legal decisions, policies, and legislation dealing with languages other than English in America. Similarly, Carolyn Toth, who has done substantial work on the history of German in the United States, referred to Kloss as an expert on U.S. history of bilingual education. Kloss's work is now becoming dated; nevertheless, given the dearth of subsequent historical work, Kloss's contributions remain foundational for studies for historical analyses of language policy, language discrimination, and linguistic rights.

Kloss's scholarship has been criticized from several directions. Most troublesome is the political context for Kloss's early work, which has been seriously questioned. Christopher Hutton's *Linguistics and the Third Reich*, for example, raises a number of significant issues. Kloss's early work began in the Weimar Republic (the government of Germany from 1919 to 1933) when there was extensive political and cultural debate regarding the German diaspora in Eastern Europe, Italy, and parts of Western Europe. When the National Socialists came to power, they took particular interest reuniting the German diaspora in North and South America. Hutton finds the ideological orientation of Kloss's work written during this period and Kloss's statements regarding racial and ethnic minorities particularly troubling. Did Kloss manage to sufficiently change some of his earlier biased sentiments, as the thrust of his later scholarship in support of more liberal agendas would seem to suggest? This is an important question for those who only read his later work.

Hutton contends that some Fascist-influenced tendencies in Kloss's writings were not exclusively confined to the National Socialism period. He notes

that for Kloss, Germans played a prominent role among immigrant groups he studied in *Das Volksgruppenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten*, which dealt with Germans in the United States. Kloss characterized them as being more analogous to a “people” (*Volk*) than an ethnic group (*Volksgruppe*). Kloss explained German language loss in the United States as resulting from different German “tribes” (*Stämme*) that emigrated from Germany with different dialects, which made German difficult to preserve. Kloss further attributed the loss of German to a lack of intellectual leadership and deterioration in the German immigrant pool after 1850, as well as to the ideological influence of world citizenship and atheism.

This earlier work is important in the assessment of Kloss’s later work because he relied heavily on it. In the introduction to *The American Bilingual Tradition*, however, Kloss tried to distance himself from German nationalist sentiments by emphasizing his “European” identity. As a European, Kloss maintained that he was able to view the maintenance of language as a natural thing but saw language shift as the exception. Kloss then advanced his central thesis, which he called the “American Bilingual Tradition.” He contended that it was not the dominant tradition but an important minority tradition nevertheless.

Kloss argued that, with the exception of the World War I period, tolerance-oriented policies have held sway in U.S. tradition and most language minorities have shifted to English because of the ability of U.S. society to assimilate language minorities, rather than as a result of coercion or prejudicial policies. As a scholarly resource, the strength of *The American Bilingual Tradition* is its cataloguing of various types of formal policies related to language. A weakness, however, is Kloss’s compartmentalization of race and language and his failure to see a connection between racial discrimination and linguistic intolerance. For example, although he noted cases of discrimination against Mexican Americans, he concluded that discrimination against Mexican Americans resulted from racial rather than linguistic prejudice.

Others, however, who have relied on Kloss’s work, have reached exactly the opposite conclusion. Arnold Leibowitz, for example, surmised that restrictions against the use of minority languages and the attempt to impose English literacy requirements is based directly on the degree of hostility of the majority toward the language minority group, attributing it to differences in race, color, or religion. In other words, language

differences often function as a surrogate for racial/ethnic differences. For Kloss, however, the problems that racial minority groups and foreign-language groups had were very different, even opposite to each other. Thus, whereas Kloss concluded discrimination against language minorities was generally racial, rather than linguistic, others, such as Leibowitz, have understood that linguistic discrimination is *always* connected to race, class, religious, or other forms of social discrimination.

In explaining reasons for minority language maintenance and loss in the United States, Kloss placed greater emphasis on the efforts of language minority groups themselves rather than on that of official language policies. He contended official language policies had been aimed at eliminating non-English languages on only a few occasions. Kloss gave more significance to the influence of individuals, teachers, and community groups and their ability to exert moral pressure of unofficial nature on minority groups’ members to maintain their languages.

Kloss, nevertheless, concluded *The American Bilingual Tradition* by locating the movement for language rights as being among the major contemporary emancipatory movements for racial and gender equality. He concluded that the position of Spanish, as the major second language in the United States, was analogous to the position of German during the World War I era.

Given the overall contributions of Kloss to the scholarship on the history of policies toward bilingualism in the United States, and given the scarcity of work on the history of language minority rights in the United States, his scholarly work remains important. No subsequent work has demonstrated such an extensive use of primary sources and analyses of official documents. Nonetheless, because of the ideological context in which Kloss’s earlier scholarship was conducted and his subsequent reliance on it, Kloss’s work must be used carefully and critically.

Terrence G. Wiley

See also German-Language Education; Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; Language Policy and Social Control

Further Readings

Heath, S. B. (1981). English in our language heritage. In C. A. Ferguson & S. B. Heath (Eds.), *Language in the USA* (pp. 6–20). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Hutton, C. M. (1999). *Linguistics and the Third Reich: Mother-tongue Fascism, race and the science of language*. London: Routledge.
- Kloss, H. (1940–1942). *Das Volksgruppenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*. (Vols. 1–2). Essner: Verlagsanstalt, Essen.
- Kloss, H. (1963). *Das Nationalitätenrecht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*. Vienna: Braumüller.
- Kloss, H. (1966). German American language maintenance efforts. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States* (pp. 206–252). The Hague: Mouton.
- Kloss, H. (1977). *The American bilingual tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Leibowitz, A. H. (1969). English literacy: Legal sanction for discrimination. *Notre Dame Lawyer*, 45(7), 7–67.
- Leibowitz, A. H. (1971). *Educational policy and political acceptance: The imposition of English as the language of instruction in American schools*. Eric No. ED 047 321.
- Macías, R. F., & Wiley, T. G. (1998). Introduction. In H. Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (pp. vii–xi). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Toth, C. R. (1990). *German-English bilingual schools in America: The Cincinnati tradition in historical context*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Wiley, T. G. (2002). Heinz Kloss revisited: National Socialist ideologue or advocate for linguistic human rights? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 154, 83–97.

KRASHEN, STEPHEN D. (1941–)

Stephen D. Krashen, noted linguist and education researcher, was born in Chicago in 1941. After spending 2 years in the Peace Corps in Ethiopia, where he taught eighth-grade English and science, Krashen pursued a PhD in linguistics at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), culminated by his 1972 dissertation *Language and the Left Hemisphere*. Krashen accepted a position as a postdoctoral fellow at the UCLA Neuropsychiatric Institute, then went on to serve as professor of linguistics at the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center in New York, and the Linguistics Department of the University of Southern California (USC). In 1994, Krashen joined the USC School of Education, where he currently serves as emeritus professor. He has published more than 350 papers and books and has presented numerous addresses audiences of teachers and

scholars both nationally and internationally. This entry describes his research.

Krashen is best known for his work in establishing a general theory of second-language acquisition, commonly called the monitor theory, as the cofounder (with Tracy Terrell) of the natural approach to second-language teaching, and as the inventor of sheltered instruction. A central element of Krashen's approach to second-language acquisition is the view that it occurs naturally, just like first-language acquisition, under appropriate conditions. This view constituted a dramatic shift from an earlier position in Krashen's published work reflecting a commitment to direct instruction and consistent error correction. In a seminar in 1975, Krashen and his students sought to make sense of data pertaining to a fixed pattern of acquisition of grammatical morphemes from second-language speakers. During the seminar, Krashen came up with the idea that two systems, an acquired one and a learned one, must be posited to explain the data.

Krashen's general approach to second-language acquisition evolved to include five interrelated hypotheses, including the natural order hypothesis (the idea that human beings acquire the rules of language in a predictable order); the acquisition/learning hypothesis, which states that adults have two distinctive ways of developing competences in second languages (acquisition—a system that develops from natural language use—and learning—a system that comprises overt knowledge of language rules); the monitor hypothesis (conscious learning can only be used to monitor or edit our language); the input hypothesis (humans acquire language by understanding messages); and the affective filter hypothesis (a mental block, caused by affective factors, prevents input from reaching the language acquisition system in the brain). Krashen has also contributed extensively to an approach in reading known as whole language, which similarly posits that children learn to read by reading and that reading develops naturally under appropriate conditions.

Krashen maintained that bilingual education fills a contextual space against which input may be effectively and efficiently processed by learners. Hence, he maintained that bilingual education was an important component of an immigrant child's educational program, simultaneously providing academic content knowledge in the child's native language and

background knowledge facilitating the processing of English language input.

As Krashen believed that education policy in his home state of California became increasingly regressive, he responded with research critical of the new policies, public speaking engagements, and with letters written to newspaper editors. During the campaign to enact an antibilingual education law in California in 1998, known as Proposition 227, Krashen campaigned in public forums and media talk shows and conducted many interviews with journalists on the subject. After other antibilingual education campaigns surfaced around the country, Krashen estimated that, by 2006, he had submitted more than 1,000 letters to editors. Leading by example and in his writings, Krashen has been an advocate for a more activist role by researchers in combating the public's misconceptions about bilingual education.

Jeff MacSwan

See also Affective Filter; Comprehensible Input; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Monitor Model; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Fromkin, V., Krashen, S., Curtiss, S., Rigler, D., & Rigler, M. (1974). The development of language in Genie: A case of language acquisition beyond the "critical period." *Brain and Language, 1*, 83–107.
- Krashen, S. (1972). Language and the left hemisphere. *Dissertation Abstracts International A 33/08*, 82.
- Krashen, S. (1985). *The input hypothesis*. Beverly Hills, CA: Laredo.
- Krashen, S. (1999). *Condemned without a trial: Bogus arguments against bilingual education*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Krashen, S. (2003). *Explorations in language acquisition and use: The Taipei lectures*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Krashen, S. (2004). *The power of reading: Insights from the research* (2nd ed.). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Krashen, S. (2005). Let's tell the public the truth about bilingual education. In V. Gonzales & J. Tinajero (Eds.), *Review of Research and Practice, 3*, 165–173.
- Krashen, S., & Seliger, H. (1975). The essential contributions of formal instruction. *TESOL Quarterly, 9*, 173–183.
- Krashen, S., & Terrell, T. (1983). *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. New York: Prentice Hall.



LABELING BILINGUAL EDUCATION CLIENTS: LESA, LEP, AND ELL

Part of the story of the evolving definition of the clients of bilingual education is reflected in the labels used to describe them—more specifically, changes in the labels used to describe their linguistic condition: a less-than-adequate command of English. This entry reviews three of the principal labels and how they changed during three decades of practice.

Limited-English-Speaking Ability (LESA)

Until the mid-1960s, there was no commonly accepted term to describe the children who were to become the primary beneficiaries of bilingual education, English as a Second Language (ESL), or their variations. These children were simply described in phrases alluding to their linguistic condition: “children who do not speak English natively,” “children with a poor command of English,” “children who speak languages other than English,” “children with a language handicap,” and so on.

As early programs emerged in the 1960s, and federal funding became available, advocates settled on a term they felt would be appropriate to the situation and useful in managing instructional programs to serve them. Children of *limited-English-speaking ability*, sometimes simply LESA, came into wide use. It was an appropriate term for a historical moment in which filling unmet social needs by the

federal government was the role most politicians could support. The terms used to describe the language situation of these students tended to follow the notion of disadvantage-ness, sometimes *cultural disadvantage* that was popularized by Title I of Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and Head Start, the two major funding programs of the federal government for poor children. Consistently, the terminology most often used emphasized the negative aspect of their condition, whether social, economic, or linguistic.

LESA, the term that became most associated with the children to be served by bilingual education, continued to emphasize the deficiency of the client group. Neither the term nor the advocacy modalities used made mention of the advantage inherent in speaking other languages. For the times, LESA appeared to be adequately descriptive of the condition these programs sought to resolve: lack of speaking abilities in English. LESA focused attention on children’s productive language, a limited ability to use the English language in the spoken form. LESA did not include reading and writing skills. Hence, during the first years of Title VII programming, the inability to speak English made children eligible for bilingual education without regard to their ability to read or write in English or any other language. The educational assumption that went along with the term was that oral production was the best marker of a child’s linguistic abilities, a narrow interpretation of language skills. The initial authorization of Title VII, ESEA, also included a poverty requirement. Only *poor children* who did not speak English well were regarded as proper clients of programs funded through that source.

The concept of disadvantage, and the deficit-based remedial approaches so firmly rooted in Title I and Head Start carried over into Title VII and bilingual education in general.

Limited English Proficiency (LEP)

By the time the original authorization of Title VII, ESEA, ended, advocates of bilingual education saw a need to change the eligibility criterion of LESA to include reading and writing, two critically important skill sets for all students. Dialogue on the limitations of the term *LESA* began during the hearings for the 1974 reauthorization of Title VII. This led to the adoption of the broader concept of limited proficiency in English, including the written forms of the language. First used in the 1978 amendments to Title VII, *limited English proficiency*, often stated as LEP, replaced LESA as the eligibility marker for Title VII participation. State and local programs readily adopted the same concept as the eligibility marker for those programs although the concept of limited proficiency remained open to interpretation. The poverty criterion in the original legislation was also removed in 1974.

For the last quarter of the century and most of its legislative life, Title VII continued to rely on the concept of limited English proficiency to identify potential client students. Efforts were made during subsequent reauthorizations to include an acknowledgment in Title VII that knowledge of another language and the use of that language for instruction were an important part of the concept of bilingual education. But early critics of the program, beginning with Noel Epstein, undermined this idea. Epstein alleged that bilingual advocates were less interested in educational equity and more interested in *affirmative ethnicity*, the idea that the schools should support programs to restore and maintain language and nationality identities. Other critics such as Linda Chavez and Rosalie Pedalino Porter argued that the push for bilingual education was part of a strategy by ethnic politicians to control blocks of ethnic voters through the publicly supported maintenance of their languages of origin.

English Language Learners (ELLs)

By the 1980s, congressional supporters of Title VII had become increasingly skittish of proposed changes

in Title VII that might be interpreted in these ways. With appropriations approaching \$200 million annually, Title VII was no longer a small and regionally oriented program. It had become controversial, and a strong push was made to ensure that its purpose was the teaching of English above all else.

Political exigencies and the need to accept compromises to keep the legislation alive attended every reauthorization. This forced advocates of bilingual education to accept far less than full support for the use and maintenance of home languages other than English. Biliteracy was never embraced by Title VII as a program goal. Thus, the advocacy role of organizations such as the National Association for Bilingual Education was more defensive than proactive. Their efforts succeeded in reauthorizing the critically important Title VII legislation. The price, however, was a decline in the use of true bilingual instruction and, instead, the use of a watered-down form called *home-language* or *primary-language support*, a less robust form of the program.

The adoption of *English language learners* (ELLs) as a preferred term to *LEP* in the literature of bilingual education took place in the mid-1990s, and ELL was widely used by the end of that decade. That finally made the point that students who spoke languages other than English were students, like everyone else, who are in the process of learning. This avoids using a term that stresses the negative condition of being *limited* in English. In a 1994 article, Mark LaCelle-Peterson and Charlene Rivera made a case for the new term in the *Harvard Educational Review*. They pointed out that the term *English language learners*

. . . follows conventional educational usage in that it focuses on what students are accomplishing, rather than on any temporary "limitation" they face prior to having done so, just as we refer to advanced teacher candidates as "student teachers" rather than "limited teaching proficient individuals," and to college students who concentrate their studies in physics as "physics majors" rather than as "students with limited physics proficiency." (p. 75)

Another factor that promoted the use of the term *ELL*, rather than LEP, came with the passage of Propositions 227 in California and 203 in Arizona, which sought to end bilingual education programs and replace them with English immersion. Both

propositions used the term *English learners*. Today, only legal and government documents continue to use LEP in print because the term underlies important legal decisions and any change could challenge the bases for those decisions.

In three decades, three different terms were used to describe the children who were the original clients for bilingual education. Arguably, the shift from LESA to LEP to ELLs was helpful although it did not change the perspective of disadvantage that was the legacy of government funded programs, chiefly Title I, ESEA, and Head Start. At no point in the life of Title VII, ESEA, was it a strong policy goal of the federal government to recognize the value of students' home language as a resource that should continue to be developed by the schools. With every successive reauthorization, learning English and a quick exit from bilingual education became the single-minded objectives. *Dual-language programs* and *heritage language education* appeared shortly thereafter. These terms highlighted the broader goal of parallel mastery of the home language along with English.

Josué M. González

See also Deficit-Based Education Theory; Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; Dual-Language Programs; Epstein, Noel; Literacy and Biliteracy; Maintenance Policy Denied; National Association for Bilingual Education; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

- Arizona Secretary of State. (2000). *Proposition 203: English language education for children in public schools*. Retrieved from <http://www.azsos.gov/election/2000/info/PubPamphlet/english/prop203.htm>
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- California Secretary of State. (1998). *Proposition 227: English language in public schools*. Retrieved from <http://primary98.sos.ca.gov/VoterGuide/Propositions/227.htm>
- Chavez, L. (1991). *Out of the barrio: Toward a new politics of Hispanic assimilation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Crawford, J. (1999). *Bilingual Education: History, politics, theory and practice* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
- Education Amendments of 1978, 20 U.S.C. 2701 (1978).

- Epstein, N. (1977). *Language, ethnicity and the schools: Policy alternatives for bilingual-bicultural education*. Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership, George Washington University.
- LaCelle-Peterson, M., & Rivera, C. (1994). Is it real for all kids? A framework for equitable assessment policies for ELLs. *Harvard Educational Review*, 64(1), 55–75.
- Porter, R. P. (1996). *Forked tongue: The politics of bilingual education* (2nd ed.). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Schneider, S. G. (1976). *Revolution, reaction or reform: The 1974 Bilingual Education Act*. New York: Las America Publishing.

LAFontaine, Hernán (1934–)

Hernán LaFontaine, one of the founders of the National Association for Bilingual Education, is a native New Yorker whose parents came from Puerto Rico. He was born and raised in East Harlem, popularly known as “El Barrio.” He attended public schools and earned his BS and MA degrees in science from the City College of New York. After serving 2 years in the army, he worked as a chemist with a pharmaceutical firm. His involvement with the community and his interest in young people prompted him to change careers and enter the teaching profession. This entry describes his career.



LaFontaine taught science and mathematics in New York City at the junior high and high school levels and then became an assistant principal. In 1968, while enrolled in the doctoral program at Fordham University, he was appointed principal of P.S. 25 in the Bronx, the first completely bilingual school in New York City. Working with the South Bronx community, he planned and directed the establishment of the school, developing a theoretical framework to implement an elementary school curriculum incorporating bilingual education, and this innovative educational program flourished. He obtained federal funding to support the program through Title VII and actively disseminated information about it. During this time, he also developed the first complete program of courses leading to a master of arts in bilingual education at New York University. Addressing educational issues for English language learners became a major focus of his professional life.

In 1972, LaFontaine was tapped to direct the newly established Office of Bilingual Education in the New York City Board of Education, assisting schools in implementing bilingual programs for 75,000 students. Among his responsibilities was the distribution and monitoring of funds specifically allocated for bilingual programs. He worked closely with the city's Commission on Bilingual Education and other community groups to develop recommendations for implementing a consent decree reached between ASPIRA of New York and the Board of Education, as well as policies to meet requirements related to the Supreme Court's *Lau v. Nichols* decision.

During this time, LaFontaine's pioneering work in bilingual education earned him national and international recognition as an educational leader. In addition to his work in the Office of Bilingual Education, he was actively involved in the establishment of local, state, and national professional organizations including the Puerto Rican Educators' Association of New York City, the New York State Association for Bilingual Education, and the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE). In 1976, he was elected president of NABE, and served with distinction to lay the foundation for the growth of the organization.

In 1979, LaFontaine was appointed superintendent of the Hartford, Connecticut, school system. He continued in that position until his retirement in 1991, the longest tenure of any superintendent in the history of the Hartford public schools. Under his leadership, considerable progress was made in improving student achievement, revising and standardizing the academic curriculum, and establishing computer-based education. Bilingual education was a strong component of the schooling offered to the city's English language learners. LaFontaine also continued his active communication with parents, community members, and businesses, to involve them in the education of Hartford's students.

Following his retirement as superintendent, LaFontaine was invited to join the faculty of Southern Connecticut State University, where he served as professor of educational leadership in the Graduate School of Education and coordinated the superintendent preparation program. His contributions to the department and university earned him election to the status of professor emeritus at his second retirement in 1999.

Not one to move into quiet retirement, LaFontaine further demonstrated his lifelong commitment to public

service by standing for election to the Hartford City Council. He was first elected to the council in 2001 and reelected in 2003. He became president of the city council until his third retirement in 2006. During his tenure, he continued his advocacy for improvement of education as well as focusing on public safety, employment, economic development, and affordable housing.

Throughout his career, LaFontaine has been active in consulting, writing, and speaking to share his expertise and knowledge with others. His publications related to bilingual education included an edited volume on *Perspectives in Bilingual Education* and a *TESOL Quarterly* article on the role of paraprofessionals. He has provided expert testimony on state and federal policy issues, including appearances before the Secretary of Education's Hispanic Task Force on Education (1990), National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education (1985), and the Connecticut State Legislature (1989).

In recognition of his many contributions to bilingual education, LaFontaine has received numerous awards from groups including the Association of Puerto Rican Educators, the Haitian Bilingual Education Association, Hispanic Educators Association of the Bronx, National Puerto Rican Coalition, and NABE. He has also received honorary doctorates from the University of Hartford and Briarwood College.

Donna Christian

See also Aspira Consent Decree; Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s; National Association for Bilingual Education

Further Readings

- LaFontaine, H. (1968). *A theoretical model for the implementation of the elementary school curriculum through bilingual education*. New York: Author.
- LaFontaine, H. (1971). Para professionals: Their role in E.S.O.L. and bilingual education. *TESOL Quarterly*, December 1971.
- LaFontaine, H. (1988). Educational challenges and opportunities in serving limited English proficient students. In Council of Chief State School Officers, *School success for students at risk: Analysis and recommendations of the Council of Chief State School Officers* (pp. 120–133). Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- LaFontaine, H., Golubchick, L., & Persky, B. (1977). *Perspectives in bilingual education*. Plainfield, NJ: Avery.
- Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION DEVICE

How children learn to speak and understand a language has long intrigued linguists and psychologists. Many different theories of this process, called *first-language acquisition*, have been proposed, often in response to existing theories. These theories can generally be grouped under four broad headings: behaviorism, innatism, developmental psychology, and interactionism. The innatist approach to first-language acquisition posits that language learning is an internal process and that children are biologically endowed with the innate ability to learn language. The concept of a language acquisition device (LAD) is largely responsible for this process and is a part of the brain specifically designed for language learning. This entry describes the historical context for LAD, how it works, its role in second-language acquisition, and criticisms of this concept.

Historical Context

Noam Chomsky originally proposed the existence of the (virtual, not physical) LAD in developing his theories of syntax and universal grammar (UG) during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Chomsky was working in response to B. F. Skinner's behaviorist theories of language acquisition, which assumed that language was learned through imitation, habit formation, and reinforcement. In behaviorism, language learning is a process external to the child where the environment provides everything necessary for language acquisition. In contrast to this, Chomsky asserted that humans are biologically endowed with an innate mechanism for learning language, and that the environment provides language as input to the language-learning process. The child, using the LAD, processes that input and gradually acquires adult-like knowledge of a language. This process is largely subconscious and is automatic, much like learning to walk.

Chomsky's use of *language* refers to the syntax, or structure, of a language, rather than to its functions and social uses. Similarly, *grammar* is the set of rules for a language that allow any and all sentences in that language to be produced and understood, rather than the traditional prescriptive grammar learned in school (e.g., "ain't" is bad English).

How the LAD Works

The LAD is frequently referred to as an *organ*, although it resides in and is an inseparable part of the human brain. This reflects a modular understanding of both language learning and the mind, indicating that language learning is different from other types of learning (e.g., learning to add and subtract) and that the LAD is only used for language acquisition. The LAD contains the cognitive tools necessary for learning a language as a child, which include UG, and is the primary means of analyzing language input.

Universal Grammar (UG)

UG is the set of *principles* and *parameters* that constrain the possibilities of the language(s) being learned. These principles and parameters are universal to all languages (hence, Universal Grammar) and are innate. Principles are fundamental characteristics of language and grammar, for instance that language is rule-governed, whereas parameters are options for particular features of language. Parameters serve almost as templates, which are used to analyze language input to determine whether the language being learned allows certain features. A parameter can be understood as a toggle switch that starts off in the neutral central position and then gets flipped to the appropriate up or down position based on language evidence. One example of a parameter would be whether a language allows what is called a "null subject." Some languages, such as Spanish and Italian, allow both *Marla speaks French* and *[she] speaks French*, where the *[she]* is understood but not spoken (*Habla francés* with no explicit subject would be understood and accepted as a grammatical Spanish sentence). English only allows *Marla speaks French*, and *[she] speaks French*, where the *[she]* is null, is immediately recognizable as an ungrammatical English sentence (*Speaks French*, omitting the subject, is not recognized as a full sentence). Accordingly, a child learning English would flip the null subject parameter to "no," making it easier for her LAD to remember that English does not allow null subjects.

Principles and parameters facilitate language acquisition in that they limit the range of possibilities that a child must surmount in learning a language, and simultaneously reduce the number of potential mistakes, although those mistakes still occur. Principles and parameters are not language specific, but represent

language universals. This means that the same principles and parameters available to a child learning English are also available to a child learning Arabic. Similarly, a child being raised bilingually will use the same principles and parameters for both languages being learned. According to the LAD theory, these principles and parameters are innate and universal to all humans.

The LAD in Language Learning

The innate knowledge contained in the LAD is used to analyze language input from parents, caretakers, and others in the community, whether it is Appalachian English or Parisian French, to create a series of grammars. Each grammar contains a set of hypotheses about the language being learned and is subsequently refined until the grammar reaches its final state, which is that of an adult grammar. For example, a 3-year-old might first say, "I went to the store," having learned *went* as a word without understanding its grammatical nature. A few months later, that same 3-year-old might say, "I goed to the store," hypothesizing that the *-ed* past tense ending works for all verbs, despite having never heard this form. In this instance, what first appears as a regression in learning English is actually a step forward. It signals that the child is refining the past tense patterns of that language. A subsequent grammar will eventually reflect that some verbs have irregular past tense forms. When that occurs, "goed" will become "went" in a fairly seamless manner.

The existence of the LAD can account for a number of problematic phenomena in first-language acquisition. For example, all children tend to learn certain aspects of a language in a relatively similar order, despite learning different languages. Also, children make mistakes that are not evident in the language input, as in the *goed* versus *went* example, and could never be learned by imitating others. Correspondingly, children eventually achieve adult-like language despite the relative lack of corrective feedback from parents and others. Indeed, different children learning the same language reach the same grammar, despite variations in the language input. Finally, children know much more about the grammar of a language than is evident during daily interactions. For instance, children are able to identify ungrammatical sentences and are able to understand sentences that clash with real-world knowledge (e.g., *the book*

reads the dictionary). These phenomena point to the existence of an innate human ability to learn language, driven by universal knowledge and separate from other types of learning, such as accounted for by the LAD.

The LAD in Second-Language Acquisition

Whether the LAD is available beyond first-language acquisition is currently still being debated. It is unclear what role the LAD may play in the critical period hypothesis, and few researchers believe that the LAD is active beyond puberty. However, many of the phenomena mentioned also occur in second-language acquisition and can be just as problematic. For this reason, some researchers argue that at least UG is available in some form during second-language acquisition, if not the LAD. Whatever the outcome of this polemic, it has implications for teachers in bilingual education and English as a Second Language (ESL).

Krashen's Monitor Model

Stephen Krashen's model of second-language learning, the monitor model, does posit the existence of a LAD-like mechanism for second-language acquisition (SLA). Similar to Chomsky, Krashen developed the monitor model during the 1970s and early 1980s as an answer to behaviorist approaches to second-language learning and teaching. According to Krashen, the LAD is responsible for language that is acquired subconsciously during second-language acquisition, compared with language that is consciously learned as in a classroom. Although Krashen does not give much detail about the nature of the LAD itself, he does argue about the type of input the LAD can process ($i + 1$) and what can affect the availability of input (the affective filter). In this context, $i + 1$ refers to a corollary concept dubbed *comprehensible input*.

Criticisms

Current interactionist and developmental theories of language learning argue against the existence of the LAD. These theories hold that language learning is part of the larger innate learning ability of children rather than the result of some language-specific innate knowledge or device, such as the LAD. Language acquisition is seen as closely tied to other types of

learning and knowledge and is fed by thousands of interactions with other speakers, such as parents or caretakers. Jean Piaget was a Swiss psychologist who focused on the cognitive development of children. He and Chomsky famously debated these issues at Royaumont Abbey in October 1975. Lev Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist interested in the social interactions of children, is another researcher frequently cited in arguments against the existence of the LAD.

Kara T. McAlister

See also Critical Period Hypothesis; First-Language Acquisition; Krashen, Stephen D.; Learning a Language, Best Age; Monitor Model; Second-Language Acquisition; Vygotsky and Language Learning

Further Readings

- Chomsky, N. (1959). Review of *Verbal Behavior* by B. F. Skinner. *Language*, 35(1), 26–58.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use*. New York: Praeger.
- Crain, S., & Lillo-Martin, D. (1999). *An introduction to linguistic theory and language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Gardner, H. (1982). *Art, mind, and brain: A cognitive approach to creativity*. New York: Basic Books.
- Krashen, S. (1985). *The input hypothesis: Issues and implications*. London: Longman.
- Lightbown, P. M., & Spada, N. (2006). *How languages are learned* (3rd. ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Much has been written on language and identity and the influence each has on the other. Academic journals such as *TESOL Quarterly* and *Linguistics and Education* have published special issues exploring the themes of language and identity. The purpose of this entry is to examine selected perspectives regarding the topic of language and identity and possible implications for classroom teachers. The entry begins with some commonly discussed categories of identity and how identity is constructed or negotiated. Following is a discussion of language, identity, and their reciprocal influence. The entry concludes with a brief discussion of implications for pedagogy and language instruction.

Defining Identity

Traditionally an individual's identity was looked upon as singular and stable—perhaps permanent—and over which one had little control. If a person was a carpenter by occupation, that was how everyone viewed him, and how he viewed himself. However, over time, this view has progressively changed. Current literature on the topic holds that individuals have multiple identities, which are constantly changing and being negotiated depending on the time and context of the situation. That is to say, an individual has numerous facets of the self (e.g., man/woman, spouse, parent, boss), all of which together form the individual's multiple identities. These multiple facets or ways of looking at oneself in relation to the world are socially constructed. That is, identities are not biologically preprogrammed but are directly influenced by our social environment. For example, the term *husband* has different meanings depending on the society in which one lives. In some cultures, husbands are allowed numerous wives, whereas in Western society, the law permits only one wife. The concept of husband, therefore, is a socially constructed concept. It can be argued, therefore, that this facet of identity—being a husband—is only one of a person's multiple identities.

Michel Foucault postulates about the individual in a temporal sense: that an individual doesn't "become," but instead continually "transforms." "Becoming" implies that people reach an end in the construction of their identities; "transform" implies that their identities are never finished forming and that people are never finished constructing their identities. In other words, individuals are constantly changing, and thus, their identities change too. This is again a direct challenge to, or a contradiction of, how identities were thought of in the past. A person may have the job title of a carpenter, but depending on the context, he may look at his identity as a carpenter from different perspectives. If he just made an enormous error that will force the crew to restart a project in constructing something, he may have negative thoughts regarding his self-perception of being a carpenter. However, likewise, if he just completed a beautiful, intricately designed, built-in entertainment center in someone's family room, he will be proud to be a carpenter. Hence, his identity as a carpenter is never stagnant, but is always changing and dynamic.

According to Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge, identity is placed in three different categories: imposed identities, assumed identities, and

negotiable identities. *Imposed identities* can be described as those that cannot be negotiated in a particular time and place. For example, in Nazi Germany, numerous individuals were forced to accept a certain identity, that of being Jewish, which had numerous life-threatening implications. People may have disagreed with being identified as being Jewish, perhaps because they did not practice Judaism or identify themselves as Jews; however, that was irrelevant. There was no negotiation of identity permitted within that specific context. For a less dire example, immigrant children have historically been misplaced in special education programs on the basis of their lack of English language proficiency. These students therefore were identified as “special education students” instead of being rightly diagnosed as second-language learners. These students’ identities were thus imposed on them, without them having a say in the matter. Not knowing that the identity imposed on them was possibly harmful to their development, some students may have grown up believing that they belonged in that category.

The second type or category of identity is *assumed identities*. These types of identities can be applied to those who are comfortable with and not willing to contest their identities. Having assumed identities is frequently valued and legitimized by the dominant group within a given society. An example of this type of identity is the heterosexual White middle-class male in the United States. Although not all heterosexual White middle-class males in the United States feel comfortable with this identity, it is typically not contested. Interestingly, people who have this identity frequently do not consider themselves as “having a culture,” but instead will look at others, especially minorities and immigrants, as having a culture. A common phrase from this population is, “I don’t have a culture. I am just American.” They thus conceptualize culture in a narrow way, such as race (other than Caucasian) or of some display of a stereotyped feature or tradition from a group different from their own.

The third category of identity is *negotiable identities*. Negotiable identities pertain to all identity options that can be, and are, contested or resisted by particular individuals and groups. Take, for example, immigrants to the United States. In today’s society, immigrants are expected to assimilate into the mainstream culture and take on U.S. norms, thereby substantially diminishing or losing their culture and self-identification of being from their home country. Even with this formidable

pressure from the dominant culture, immigrants now have a greater choice whether to lose their language, culture, and ways of life from the home country or to continue their own in keeping with their comfort levels, needs, and desires. Numerous immigrants are choosing to maintain their language, culture, and ways of being brought from their home country, thereby contesting the identity of a fully assimilated immigrant to the United States. They choose to be selective in what facets of American life they will appropriate into their identities (following work hours, going to the gym, learning English, etc.).

James Gee believes that in addition to having these various facets of ourselves to use or call upon, if an attribute is not recognized as defining someone as a particular kind of person, then it cannot serve as an identity of any sort. In other words, people construct their identities by the recognition that others give them. Take immigrant students from Mexico, for example, who may try to become members of the dominant society, which in this case is White English-speaking America. However, if they, for whatever reason, are not accepted as members of White English-speaking America by White English-speaking Americans, immigrants from Mexico will never truly appropriate the identity befitting of a member of that community.

To understand identities, it is important to recognize that identities are always constructed in a social context through discourse (language and context). The definitions of the different types of identity described earlier all use some form of positioning. Two specific types of positioning are interactive positioning and reflective positioning. *Interactive positioning* assumes one individual positioning the other. In Germany under Nazi rule, the Nazis positioned others with identities as persons of the Jewish faith. In another previous example, the school or testing structure positioned immigrant students within the special education program. The positioning was done via the interaction between two individuals or groups of individuals.

The second type of positioning is *reflective positioning*. Although how individuals view themselves is heavily influenced by those surrounding them, reflective positioning occurs when individuals actively position themselves. An example of this is when immigrant students in the classroom do not participate in the mainstream English classroom because they believe that their English is not good enough for them to participate. Even though the others within that classroom may or may not agree with these immigrant

students' estimation of their English ability, they continue to be passive members of that classroom community, thus literally and figuratively positioning themselves at the margins of that community.

Language and Identity Related

The foregoing brief descriptions of the various types of identity raise the question of what identity has to do with language. An individual negotiates a sense of self within and across different contexts at different times through language. In other words, languages are used to legitimize, challenge, and negotiate particular identities. Another look at the three different types of identities described earlier in the context of language—imposed, assumed, and negotiable—will help to explain this concept.

Imposed identities are those that have been imposed on an individual (e.g., the language learner wrongly being labeled a special education student). To understand how imposition occurs in the context of language, imagine two people having a conversation. When they begin speaking, language is the first thing that the other person is going to hear. They both will be listening not only to intonation, stress, and other speech factors, but also to the word choice (semantics), grammatical structures (syntax), and the manner in which the words are being used (pragmatics). These three factors say a lot about us as members of society. If one were speaking grammatically incorrectly, one may be perceived as an uneducated person. If one were using certain slang terms associated with a younger population, one could be perceived as either a member of that group or perhaps immature for trying to use those terms. If one were using erudite words wrongly or out of context, one may be viewed as trying to impress someone with pedantic language. The language used is like opening a book for others to see inside the speaker.

Because language has this open-book effect, people will position or impose a certain identity on others whether or not it is accurate. Frequently, immigrant children who speak a language other than English as their first language may be looked upon by their teachers and peers as not as bright as they truly are. This is not because they are lacking in intelligence, but because they do not yet have the English-speaking skills to adequately express themselves and negotiate their identity in the school context. Interestingly, after numerous experiences interacting with others who think of these children as unintelligent, these children

may begin to think of themselves as unintelligent as well, which may lead to other negative outcomes in school such as absenteeism, misbehavior in class, and eventually dropping out. Although this may sound oversimplified and perhaps even exaggerated, it is actually a daily occurrence for thousands of immigrant children across the United States. Thus, imposed identities can have a detrimental effect on immigrant students and their futures in school.

Assumed identities are those identities that typically are held by the dominant group within a society. Individuals who have these types of identities are typically not willing to contest these identities. In other words, they understandably like being members of the dominant group within the society and do not typically want to be placed in another position within the social structure of a given society. With the identity as a member of the dominant group comes the belief of having certain rights and privileges (communication is always in the dominant language, all road and business signs are written in the dominant language, school is taught in the dominant language, most movies are in the dominant language, etc.). Although often unknown to members of the dominant language group, these beliefs create a direct positioning of others who do not speak or speak the dominant language with limited proficiency.

The influence that society (the dominant group, or other minority groups) has over an individual's self-perception or identity is powerful. Take again, for example, immigrant children who speak Spanish as their native language at home. When they are home and speaking with their parents in Spanish, they are typically proud to speak to their parents in that language, and their identity as Spanish speakers is strong and confident. However, researchers such as James Cummins, Marcelo Suárez-Orozco and Carola Suárez-Orozco, and Stephen Krashen have demonstrated that after being exposed to "English-only" instruction in school, these same children begin to understand that English is the language whose speakers have the power and control in this society. Simultaneously, they see that Spanish is not a high-status language here. This dichotomy provides the children with a dilemma: Which language should I speak? Popular culture in the United States pressures immigrant children to speak English and forget Spanish, despite losing communication with their parents. Researchers in the fields of immigration and global studies and bilingual education, along with most

advocates of bilingual education, many teachers, and families, say that they should learn both languages. Unless that happens, children who were once proud Spanish speakers will consciously attempt to stop speaking Spanish with their parents, family, and friends. Their goal is to speak only English and eradicate Spanish from their lives to avoid a negative ascribed identity. The positioning, whether directly or indirectly, positive or negative, by the dominant language group leaves a profound mark on the individual's identity. This occurrence is not only common, but happens to a large proportion of immigrants in the United States as well as many Native Americans who have lived here for centuries. This phenomenon is partly why linguists for years have been calling the United States a language graveyard: Languages other than English do not prosper here.

To add to the discussion, it is believed that simply by the dominant group members' unawareness that they are indeed the dominant group, or by the dominant group's insistence on keeping itself in the status as the dominant group (proposing English as the official language, English-only education in schools), dominant group members are creating an environment within which their assumed identities are positioning all other members of society as the "other," thereby greatly adding to the social phenomenon of language minority children's relative lack of success in school.

The third category, negotiable identities, refers to all identity options that can be, and are, contested and resisted by individuals and groups. The description of this category of identity mentioned that recent immigrants have the right to choose what aspects of the new culture of their new homeland they can appropriate. With this right, immigrants are opting to raise their children bilingually, understanding the importance of the heritage language as well as the importance of learning English, and instilling a pride in their heritage language as well as in English. When children maintain a pride in their affiliation with their homeland (language and culture), they have a strong identity associated with their heritage language and culture. Research has shown (see, e.g., work conducted by María Eugenia Matute-Bianchi) that such children frequently are more successful academically than when they assimilate to the new culture. This has been mainly shown in Mexican and other Spanish-speaking immigrant populations and in various Asian and South Asian immigrant populations as well (Korean, Indian, and Chinese).

Pedagogical Implications

Language and identity are important facets of a student's life. Because of their reciprocal role, some researchers, such as Krashen and Cummins, believe that the use of English-only policies in school, both in the classroom and on the playground, in effect takes the voice away from nonnative-English-speaking students. Allowing students to speak in their native languages can be looked at as a positive technique that reinforces students' self-perceptions. Teachers can build upon this wealth of knowledge that children have and provide a venue in which they can thrive and learn in their classrooms. It is believed that if teachers and administrators understood the interconnection between language and identity, they would naturally promote diversity and the richness it brings to a classroom. Luis Moll and his colleagues have proposed the idea of "funds of knowledge"—everything that children bring with them (their experiences, understandings of the world, and language)—and using this knowledge as a base from which to continue to build their students' knowledge of the world. Rather than looking at the students from the deficit perspective, according to which they are simply recipients of information that the teachers provide, or empty vessels needing to be filled, students are instead individuals who talk, have perspectives on their past experiences, and have a genuine interest in their futures. Thus, students become individuals who should be conferred with, talked with, and worked with. A review of the literature regarding the mutual influence of language and identity may help teachers and administrators make their own informed decisions on how to best educate language minority students.

James Cohen

See also Additive and Subtractive Programs; Affective Filter; Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Languages and Power; Multicultural Education; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(1), 18–36.
- Foucault, M. (1991). Politics and the study of discourse. In G. Buchell, C. Gordon, & P. Vuller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. In W. Secada (Ed.), *Review of research in*

- education* (Vol. 25, pp. 99–125). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Krashen, S. (1996). *The case against bilingual education*. Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Heller, M. (Eds.). (1996). Education in multilingual settings: Discourse, identities and power [Special issue]. *Linguistics and Education*, 8(1–2).
- Matute-Bianchi, M. E. (1991). Situational ethnicity and patterns of school performance among immigrant and nonimmigrant Mexican-descent students. In M. Gibson & J. Ogbu (Eds.), *Minority Status and Schooling: A comparative study of immigrants and involuntary minorities* (pp. 205–247). New York: Garland Press.
- Moll, L. C., & González, N. (2003). Engaging life: A funds-of-knowledge approach to multicultural education. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook on multicultural education* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Norton, B. (Ed.). (1997). Language and identity [Special issue]. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3).
- Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (Eds.). (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Qin-Hillard, D. (2003). Formulating identity in a globalized world. In M. M. Suárez-Orozco & D. Qin-Hillard (Eds.), *Globalization: Culture & education in the new millennium*. Berkeley: University of California Press & Ross Institute.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

LANGUAGE AND THOUGHT

Do Yupik speakers, from western Alaska, think of snow differently than non-Yupik speakers because they have so many more adjectives to describe its texture and density? Do English and Spanish speakers experience reality differently because Spanish has two verb forms for the single English verb *to be*? Whereas an English speaker would say “I am thin” to describe either a change in condition or a permanent condition, someone speaking Spanish would have two options: “*Estoy flaco*” suggests that the person is newly thin because of lost weight, and “*soy flaco*” implies that the person is thin by nature. In short, every time Spanish speakers say they are thin or fat they are expressing a perception of their condition as permanent or temporary depending on the verb form chosen

to express it. Similarly, does the use of the subjunctive voice to express less than 100% certainty make certain languages more appropriate for diplomacy than for engineering? This entry discusses the relationship between language and thought.

In short, does this mean that words are “microcosms to human consciousness,” as the Russian psychologist Lev Semenovich Vygotsky would suggest? This interrelation of language and thought was explored by Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, in what is known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The “strong” version of this hypothesis (also known as linguistic deterministic hypothesis) posits that the way we think is determined by the language we speak; on the other hand, the “weak” version (also known as linguistic relativity hypothesis) simply suggests that different languages are associated with different types of thinking, but do not de facto cause the difference. Not surprisingly, the interrelationship of language, thought, and culture has piqued the curiosity of developmental psychologists, linguistic anthropologists, psycholinguists, philosophers, theologians, cognitive scientists, and bilingual education scholars and practitioners throughout the ages.

Today, considerable research evidence supports the intuitive notion that a powerful symbiotic relationship exists between language, thought, and culture, and that the way people make meaning of the world is socially constructed. According to cognitive scholars Vera John-Steiner and Ellen Souberman, in the afterword of *Mind in Society*, Vygotsky looks at the individual–society relation as a dialectical process, and compares this process to the image of a river and its tributaries, which combine and separate, in the same way elements in human life do. This view challenges the notion of static polarities. Linking this dialectical notion to thought and speech, psychologist John B. Carroll says that for Vygotsky, thought and speech have natures independent of each other, each with its own life and growth. Yet, they have some form of interaction when it comes to development; sometimes language development is ahead of cognitive development, but sometimes these positions are reversed. There is a point, however, at which both processes coincide, and they influence each other: Thought becomes verbal and speech becomes rational.

Likewise, Masahiko Minami, who specializes in English-Japanese children’s stories, concludes from his own research that language and thought are inseparable. That is, the particular language that children

speak and read determines how they perceive and think about the world. Although most studies so far support the interrelationship between language, thought, and culture, not all researchers agree with the linguistic relativity hypothesis (the “weak” version mentioned earlier), which states that as human languages differ so do the ways their speakers think. Some researchers have questioned it, but others have marshaled evidence to challenge it. They believe that a rock is a rock no matter what it is called in whatever language and cultural context, and that we can communicate via written and visual symbols across cultures to some degree, even if we do not speak each other’s language. Matters tend to get more complicated, however if we substitute *democracy* or *justice* in place of “a rock.”

Language is a system that enables us to communicate—to express our thoughts—within and across cognitive, academic, linguistic, and cultural borders. Under normal conditions, we employ a sound system, words, and grammar patterns. Beyond the technical aspects of language, communicative competence entails subtle and culture-specific components and domains of language, such as (a) appropriate adjustment to conversations and social situations (e.g., understanding when it is appropriate to interrupt or enter into a conversation, knowing the appropriate way to listen); (b) mastery of abstract language needed for academic purposes in such courses as math, science, technology, and social studies; (c) the ability to gauge nonverbal aspects of language such as body language; and (d) an understanding of vocabulary, written, and visual symbols.

Thus, as an integral aspect of culture, language is a vehicle through which we function as bearers of thought and culture, as well as makers of culture and thought. Although there is considerable disagreement about the meaning of culture, the social anthropologist Edward T. Hall concludes that all social scientists are in agreement about several points, which are the following: (a) Culture is not innate, but learned, (b) culture is shared and has an important role in defining the social boundaries of different groups, and (c) the various facets of culture are interrelated.

In brief, we can think of language in different ways. As a physical phenomenon, language can be seen as a system of sounds and movements made by humans and interpreted by those on the receiving end. Anthropologically, culture is inseparable from cultural and cognitive processes. Culture is not genetically encoded

but is learned and shared; it is constantly changing and borrowing from other languages and cultures. The folk singer Pete Seeger quotes his father as having said, “plagiarism is basic to all culture.” Cognitively, language is a vehicle for the thought process; according to the semiotician Sebastian Shaumyan, it can be viewed as a system of symbols that have acquired sociocultural significance.

With respect to bilingual education, it is important to keep in mind the dynamic and complex links among language, thought, and cultural relativistic processes because these follow independent and dependent paths in school and society. Given the impact that language has on the way we think and communicate with each other and the way we experience reality, the linguistic/cultural relativity hypothesis challenges bilingual educators to explore deeply and in myriad ways the background variables that can affect the link between language, thought, and cultural processes. In the words of anthropologist David Bidney, cultural relativism can imply that no universal norms exist that work to judge all cultural groups in the same way.

Bilingual education teachers report that they are sometimes asked how they know what language their students are thinking in. Their collective responses vary, but they tend to cluster around a single theme: that the language students are using is not important; what is important is that they are thinking. Indeed, questions dealing with the relationship between language and thought are interesting, perhaps because they raise our hopes. The possibility that a close relationship exists between the two is most intriguing if we could be more certain that close links exist and that thoughts are mediated by language. In this scenario, a bilingual child might be said to bring greater mental flexibility to classroom problems. Regrettably, although we cannot deny this possibility at least in some circumstances, the research has yet to become definitive on this point. As research continues, however, we are now closer to answering a more general question, namely, What is the strength of the relationship between language and cognition, and how can we use our understanding of that relationship to improve student performance?

Carlos J. Ovando

See also Acculturation; Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism; Enculturation; Metalinguistic Awareness; Vygotsky and Language Learning

Further Readings

- Bidney, D. (1968). Cultural relativism. In D. L. Sills (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social sciences* (Vol. 3, pp. 543–47). New York: Macmillan.
- Bloom, A. H. (1981). *The linguistic shaping of thought: A study in the impact of language on thinking in China and the West*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Carroll, J. B. (1991). Review of *Thought and Language* by Lev Semenovich Vygotsky. In M. Minami & B. P. Kennedy (Eds.), *Language issues in literacy and bilingual/multicultural education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.
- Chomsky, N. (1972). *Language and mind*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Cole, M., John-Steiner, V., Scribner, S., & Souberman, E. (Eds.). (1978). *L. S. Vygotsky: Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J., & Levinson, S. C. (Eds.). (1996). *Rethinking linguistic relativity*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond culture*. New York: Doubleday.
- Minami, M. (2007). Use of verb forms in narratives told by English-Japanese bilingual children. In M. Minami (Ed.), *Applying theory and research to learning Japanese as a foreign language*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars.
- Minami, M., & Ovando, C. J. (2004). Language issues in multicultural contexts. In J. Banks & C. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education*, (2nd ed., pp. 567–588). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ovando, C. J. (2004). Language diversity and education. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (5th ed.). Boston: Wiley.
- Ovando, C. J., Combs, M. C., & Collier, V. P. (2006). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (4th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Sapir, E. (D. Mandelbaum, Ed.). (1956). *Culture, language and personality: Selected essays*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shaumyan, S. (1987). *A semiotic theory of language*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1962). *Thought and language* (E. Hanfmann & G. Vakar, Trans.). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (M. Cole, V. John-Steiner & E. Souberman, Eds.) (1978). *Mind in Society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wertch, J. V. (1985). *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Whorf, B. L. (J. B. Carroll, Ed.). (1956). *Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

LANGUAGE BROKERING

Language brokering refers to the act of translating (written language) or interpreting (oral language), usually for adult immigrants who are not yet proficient in the dominant language of the society. Language brokers are translators or interpreters without formal training. Unlike professional translators or interpreters who focus on delivering the information accurately as it is and do not get involved personally, language brokers take a role of mediators and usually have a part in decision making for, or with, the persons they serve.

In the context of bilingual education, language brokers are usually bilingual schoolchildren who mediate between their parents and English-speaking mainstream personnel in institutions that provide public services, as described in this entry. Although scant, current research on language brokering suggests it is a prevalent practice among bilingual children. Lucy Tse reported in her study with Chinese, Vietnamese, and Latin American adolescents that most of them had participated in language brokering on behalf of their families. Specifically, 90% of Chinese- and Vietnamese-descent adolescents and 100% of Latino adolescents reported to have brokered. Some students started to take a role, as a language broker, as early as within 1 year to 5 years of their arrival in the United States. The starting age of brokering was between 8 and 12.

Usually, the oldest child of the family takes the role of a language broker. Girls brokered more often and said that they had more positive feelings about brokering than boys did. Alejandro Morales and William E. Hanson found that language brokers are usually confident, extroverted, good-natured, friendly, sociable, and good listeners. They are also able to provide great detail, and emphasize emotions when translating.

Most of the tasks children take on as language brokers are higher than their cognitive and linguistic developmental levels. They often translate notes and letters between school and parents. They also translate bank and credit card statements, rental agreements, immigration forms, and job applications. Additionally,

they are often asked to interpret for parent-teacher conferences, financial agencies, government institutions, and consultations at the doctor's office. They are exposed to various real-world situations, engaging in tasks often above their developmental levels.

Some controversies exist concerning children's role as language brokers. One of them addresses parent-child relationships and how these can be affected by language brokering. Some studies have reported positive effects within families; these effects include stronger bonds, children's commitment to parents, and greater concern about family issues. In some cases, children become advocates of their parents' rights, in scenarios where they get legal assistance for their parents or help them avoid potentially embarrassing and humiliating situations. Others have suggested that children's views of their parents can be negative, as a result of language brokering, because of an unhealthy role reversal. Children's function of authority can cause them to lose respect for their parents.

An additional danger of language brokering is that children sometimes are put into awkward situations where they are required to translate something about themselves that they would not normally hear, know, or care to divulge. They take on more mature roles while they are still children. Some contents of conversations or social situations are cognitively challenging and developmentally inappropriate; other tasks are stressful, intimate, and sensitive such as information given to or received from medical doctors. Even though language brokers are proficient in English at their age levels, they are sometimes unable to accurately interpret some words because the vocabulary level may be too difficult for them. Children also might experience stress or perceive pressure to interpret when they are reluctant to do so.

Researchers report mixed results regarding children's feelings about their role as language broker of the family. Some children reported that they perceive the role as normal and natural. Some reported enjoying the role, having pride in performing it, and appreciating the way it helped them develop their first and second language and culture. On the other hand, some reported feeling frustrated, embarrassed, and pressured to translate accurately. Others said that they do not find it helpful or enjoyable and do not feel good about translating or interpreting.

Lucy Tse and Jeff McQuillan reported that language brokering positively affects children's cognitive and

linguistic development. Their second language will gain in development because of the increased input, and by continuously using their first language, they will be able to maintain it. More than 50% of the participants of Tse's study responded that language brokering helped them develop their second language. It was also reported that language brokering develops higher-order decision-making strategies, in addition to communicative competence.

Marguerite Malakoff and Kenji Hakuta also determined that bilingual children in their study translated with high accuracy, which evidences high levels of cognitive and linguistic ability. Malakoff and Hakuta viewed translation as metalinguistic awareness in bilingual children, which refers to the awareness of the nature of underlying linguistic processes, which are not usually noticed when people use language for less consequential purposes. Guadalupe Valdés, a well-known Stanford University scholar, suggests using a linguistic and cultural lens to view giftedness. She believes that immigrant children's functioning as language brokers should be viewed as an indicator of being gifted.

Despite the high performance capacity of child language brokers, studies of the effects of language brokering on academic performance varied in their findings regarding whether these indicated negative or positive consequences or no relation at all. Tse's study showed no relationship; she inferred that these results were because tests fail to accurately measure students' performance. Most of the tests are developed for monolingual English speakers, and thus, their results are not accurate for bilingual populations. Positive responses by the school to this important social function can be a way to improve these students' educational environment. Recognition of the high-order language skills involved in brokering, paired with participation in sensitive and responsive programs, may nurture these students' abilities to their full potential.

Chanyoung Park

See also Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Code Switching; Home Language and Self-Esteem

Further Readings

Malakoff, M., & Hakuta, K. (1991). Translation skill and metalinguistic awareness in bilinguals. In E. Bialystok (Ed.), *Language processing in bilingual children* (pp. 141–166). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- McQuillan, J., & Tse, L. (1995). Child language brokering in linguistic minority communities: Effects on cultural interaction, cognition, and literacy. *Language and Education, 9*(3), 195–215.
- Morales, A., & Hanson, W. E. (2005). Language brokering: An integrative review of the literature. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27*(4), 471–503.
- Tse, L. (1995). Language brokering among Latino adolescents: Prevalence, attitudes, and school performance. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 17*(2), 180–193.
- Tse, L. (1995). When students translate for parents: Effects of language brokering. *CABE Newsletter, 17*(4), 16–17.
- Tse, L. (1996). Language brokering in linguistic minority communities: The case of Chinese- and Vietnamese-American students. *Bilingual Research Journal, 20*(3&4), 485–498.
- Valdés, G. (2003). *Expanding definitions of giftedness: The case of young interpreters from immigrant communities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

LANGUAGE DEFINED

To define *language* is complicated because the definition considers what language does as well as what language is. It is the conduit through which one finds answers to questions about people's identities and experiences. Through language, we find out about the individual and about the current and historical context in which the individual is situated. A definition of language is more than simply describing a communication system. This entry considers this aspect of language first because it is arguably the most common.

Language is a system of communication that one group of people shares. Pidgins, Creoles, and dialects are not languages according to this definition but are language variations used to connect two or more groups or connect subgroups within a larger language community. Language is often governed by a grammar that is applied to verbal communication. Some disagree with this understanding of the relationship of grammar with language and maintain that language is a system that includes various media of transmission (speech, writing, or sign). In this view, language is the product of the interaction of transmission medium, grammar, and meaning to communicate ideas, notions, or other content among those sharing this system. Either of these definitions applies to all sorts of languages, including natural human languages and artificial

languages and programming languages that organize the operation of computers.

Though one can understand language as a system to serve technical purposes—such as those related to computer programming languages—this entry confines itself to discussion of seven general features of language in the domain of natural human language.

First, each language has always served a number of functions among those who share it. It is used in social interaction to express emotion, to persuade, and to explain. It is also used in individual reflection to organize one's thoughts. Language is the tool whereby one communicates what is important, valued, beautiful, or sacred among its speakers. All languages are equal. However, the speakers of each language often believe that their language is the one best language.

Second, in the history of humankind, language has always been an indicator of status because people believe that some languages are more useful than others for particular purposes. Some believe that some languages are primitive especially when they do not have a written form. Others believe that some languages are superior to others in a general way. Classical Latin and Greek were considered superior because of the literature and thought that they expressed. Classical Arabic has been identified with the Muslim religion as the language of the Qur'an. Similar claims have been made for Sanskrit and Classical Hebrew, and German was once considered superior because of beliefs that German is especially useful in expressing scientific thoughts. An interesting twist on German is the notion that early speakers of that language did not participate in the building of the Tower of Babel. Certain beliefs and today's controversies surrounding the supremacy of English are misconceptions or simple assumptions that the language of the sole remaining super power in the world must surely be a super language too.

Third, language is intimately intertwined with identity in every sense of this term. The language one speaks conveys what group one belongs to, one's social status, personality type, intellectual ability, role, and context in which one is situated. How one speaks a language can reveal the speaker's age or gender status. It reveals geographic, ethnic, and national identity. The way one speaks the language reflects social position or level of education. One's role in society governs the language variety that one uses.

Fourth, as much as language binds, it also separates speakers within groups by their respective roles in the group. When one assumes a role, one also uses

a language variety related to that role. Changing language or language variety signals distancing from one group and embracing another voluntarily or involuntarily. One uses a language variety in a court of law or church that is different from the variety used in dinner parties, job interviews, business meetings, and other occasions.

Fifth, we do not know definitively how language originated. Earlier theories about the origin of language related spoken language to sounds in the environment, human emotions, human interaction with the environment, and the human need to collaborate and express oneself. All of these theories have been disproved and are not commonly accepted. More recently, glossogenetics (i.e., the study of the formation and development of human language) has attempted to shed light on the origin of language through modern scientific method. Contributing sciences to glossogenetics are sociobiology, anthropology, psychology, semiotics, neurology, primatology, and linguistics.

Sixth, the world's thousands of languages are organized into families, and each family is descended from a parent language. For instance, Romance languages are descendants of Classical Latin and share similarities in grammars and lexicons. Classical Latin is an offspring of Proto-Indo-European, and its sister languages are Celtic, Germanic, Italic, Balto-Slavic, Albanian, Greek, Armenian, Indo-Iranian, and Tocharian. Other language families include Uralic languages (i.e., ancestors of Finnish, Hungarian, and others in present-day northern Russia), Caucasian languages rooted in Georgia and Southern Russia, Palaeosiberian, Altaic, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Thai, Sino-Tibetan, Chinese languages, African languages, Austronesian languages (also known as Malayo-Polynesian), Indo-Pacific family (including Tasmanian, Māori, Tahitian, Samoan, and Javanese), indigenous languages in the Americas, and indigenous languages in Australia.

Finally, language is constantly changing. As a language's speakers come into contact with speakers of other languages, they use words and other features from each other's languages. Few languages are pure or static. All languages change over time, or die if their speakers remain in isolation and do not reproduce themselves to ensure transmission of the language to a following generation. Languages can also die if political factors place their speakers in a disadvantageous position. In some cases, changes are moderated

through academies that monitor and standardize grammatical and lexical changes to the language, with the intent of maintaining the purity of the language and the integrity of the culture that it reflects. This is the case today with the Spanish Royal Academy of the Language and a similar group in France.

Language is a tool for preserving traditions from one generation to the next, and a medium for remembering the past, regardless of differences in social, economic, or political circumstances of its speakers from one generation to the next. In short, language is an important, pervasive, and essential part of life.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Code Switching; First-Language Acquisition; Indo-European Languages; Language and Identity; Linguistics, an Overview

Further Readings

Crystal, D. (1997). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

LANGUAGE DOMINANCE

Language dominance is often understood to refer to either one's current preference for a language, or the skill or amount of practice one has in a language. No single definition of dominance in language research exists, so many researchers propose their own, depending on their experiences, research purpose, or the population they are working with.

The concept of dominance, as discussed in this entry, is closely linked to the notion of proficiency, or how well one can speak and understand a language, although many agree that these two concepts are not the same. *Language proficiency* is often defined as the overall level of achievement and the competency of language use. It is the ability of a speaker to use the language in various situations. When a person speaks two languages with equal proficiency, the language skills are said to be balanced across the two languages and the person is a balanced bilingual. When skills in one language are stronger or the person is more proficient in using one language than another, this language is referred to as the dominant one. However, that is the extent of the agreement among language

researchers. Even the idea of balance is debated because it is nearly impossible to make judgments concerning balance between two languages in every arena of life (e.g., family life, work, worship, dreams, intimate conversations).

On a more technical issue of what constitutes a dominant language, researchers and practitioners have many different views. Some believe that dominance is limited only to the exhibition of certain grammatical features while mixing languages. For example, if a child speaks English and Spanish, when mixing the two languages in a phrase with an article (or adjective) and a noun, they might unconsciously use a Spanish article and an English noun. That is because Spanish articles reflect gender and number and in this are more descriptive than are English articles. Scientists who believe in that view of dominance limit their view to certain grammatical features of the language and agree that a person can be proficient in both languages, but dominant in one only when using this particular grammatical feature.

Another view of dominance is that a language is dominant if and when its pace of development is faster than other languages one might speak. This happens if a person speaks one language more than another, as is often the case in immigrant communities where the emphasis is on English rather than on the native language.

The third view of dominance is that of relative proficiency. That means that language use depends on the situation and circumstance, on how and when the language is used. Scholars who hold this view may not label a language as dominant at all but, rather, talk about the ability of using languages in different circumstances. The proponents of this view would argue that bilingual speakers use their two languages for various purposes, in different circumstances and with different people. Because of that, dominance would depend on the relative use of language in an area. Those who hold this view argue that although a person is proficient in English when talking about her job, that does not mean that her English is dominant when she talks about other topics or matters such as politics or religion.

Finally, some believe that dominance is a multifaceted concept and cannot be restricted to grammar use only. Researchers who hold this view think that proficiency is only one aspect of dominance. Other aspects may include, but are not limited to, pronunciation, grammar, and appropriate cultural use of a language.

No matter what view the researchers hold, they generally agree that dominance is linked to the amount of practice a person has in a language and that dominance can change over time. Thus, if a person becomes exposed to another language later in life and stops using his native language, over time, the native language could lose dominance and the second language might become dominant instead. This often happens with immigrant children who come to use a new language. If they do not have anyone to help them sustain and nourish their native language, eventually the language they acquire in their new country becomes dominant.

Language Dominance and Education

Although linguists and psychologists are concerned with language dominance in an effort to understand the dynamics of language development, educators and policymakers have attempted to use this construct to answer practical questions concerning the placement of students in programs and services such as English as a Second Language (ESL), transitional bilingual education, or two-way language immersion programs.

These types of programs stem from various state and federal legal mandates, the most prominent being *Lau v. Nichols*, decided by the Supreme Court in 1974. This case was brought by the Lau family on behalf of many Chinese-speaking students against the San Francisco Unified School District. The case argued that Chinese-speaking students did not get the same education as their English-speaking peers because Chinese-speaking students did not understand the language of instruction (English). It was further argued that this was in violation of the constitutional right for equal education for all. *Lau v. Nichols* clearly stated that providing equal access to education is not enough if the access to knowledge is given in a language a child does not understand. This means that for education to be meaningful and for the students to become successful learners, students need to be taught in the language they are comfortable with and can comprehend. Although the Supreme Court did not specifically rule for bilingual education, it indicated that students who do not speak English well enough to receive instruction in English must be provided with alternative ways to access the same curriculum. Some experts and advocates interpreted the ruling as a question of language dominance, although the high court did not use this phrase.

As a result of this ruling, in 1975 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare developed a document known as the *Lau Remedies*, a set of guidelines for schools to follow to comply with the ruling. The *Lau Remedies* give authority to school districts to provide appropriate instruction to non-English speakers. The document recommended, where practical, the use of bilingual instruction for such children on the assumption that children learn best when instruction is provided in their dominant language.

At about the same time, another legal case, this time in the state of New York, was also decided. In the case of *Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education, City of New York*, which was settled through a consent decree, the court issued an order that involved testing Hispanic-origin students to determine their English language proficiency. Those who received low scores on such tests were eligible to receive bilingual instruction. To comply with these and other court rulings, students whose primary language is not English have to be tested to find out whether their English skills are good enough for them to be educated in English.

Since the *Lau Remedies* were introduced, school districts have had to find ways to systematically and accurately identify those who need bilingual instruction. The obvious way to do so seemed to be to test for language dominance and, on the basis of that, decide on the most appropriate language of instruction. The assumption was that instruction should be given in the language in which the student is dominant. Since the mid-1970s when these cases were decided, major changes have taken place in the compliance procedures required of school districts. The question of dominance has become even more complex as new light is shed on that concept by research. Massive testing programs of all language minority students were contested on the grounds that it would be prohibitively expensive.

Measuring Dominance

Over the years, many different measures or tests to identify language dominance have been proposed, depending on the view that researchers and policy-makers held at the time. Some of the measures or tests are well known. They are designed by testing companies and used widely across the nation. One example of such a test is the Peabody Picture Vocabulary test, which is available in English and Spanish and is used widely in research and practical settings. Other tests

are created for use by local school boards and are known only in those localities where they are used. For example, El Paso Public Schools in Texas developed its own language proficiency measure for use with the bilingual population that resides there.

Regardless of whether the test is widely known or not, these tests tend to measure only one or two aspects of a language such as grammar or vocabulary. Generally, these measures can be broken down into four broad categories: (1) questionnaires and surveys, (2) vocabulary tests, (3) grammar tests, and (4) test batteries.

Questionnaires and Surveys

One of the easiest but perhaps least effective ways to assess dominance in bilinguals is to ask them which language they feel is stronger. The questionnaires and surveys are designed to do just that. When assessing children's language using questionnaires, often parents or teachers are asked to rate the languages children speak, and sometimes the language environment. An example of such a measure is the Language Background Questionnaire for the Bilingual Child, designed to probe the linguistic environment of a child's home. For adults, self-rating questionnaires are available. The positive aspect of this approach is that surveys and questionnaires are usually easy to conduct and score. The drawback in using this method of assessment is that it can be biased because subjective opinions are expressed. Another drawback is that these questionnaires often depend on the good use of English and are thus open to various problems of comprehension and interpretation.

Lexical Tests

In 1961, Susan Ervin-Tripp designed a test to assess dominance in speakers of English and Italian. This test consisted of many pictures of nameable objects. The participants were asked to name half of them in English and then switch and name the rest in Italian. Then the procedure was repeated in the reversed order of languages. The time it took each participant to respond in each language was recorded, and those pictures the participants could not name were flagged. The difference in response times was said to be the measure of relative dominance.

This test is just one of many that rely on someone's knowledge of vocabulary in the two languages to

measure which language is stronger or dominant. As with the surveys, such tests are usually easy to administer and score. The drawback of such measures is that they measure only one aspect of language—lexicon. Many researchers and practitioners, however, question whether measuring this aspect of a language is a true indicator of one's language dominance.

Grammar Measures

Some researchers agree that measuring grammar when assessing dominance may be better than assessing vocabulary, pronunciation, or semantics because grammar is a more stable language trait that does not change drastically in dialects. An example of a test that focuses on the use of grammar to assess dominance is the Bilingual Syntax Measure. The test is designed to measure oral language with respect to proficient use of various syntactical structures. The positive side of such tests is that they do not require structured responses. A child can say anything, whether a word, a phrase, a sentence, or a story. Another positive feature of such tests is that they are usually quick to administer. Scoring these tests, however, may be a lengthy process. Another drawback is that those who administer and score this type of test require a good command of grammar in all languages being tested. Finally, as with vocabulary tests that measure dominance, such tests only focus on one aspect of language—grammar.

Another method used under the grammar approach is calculating the mean length of utterance (MLU). The MLU is calculated by dividing the total number of utterances into the total number of morphemes, or the smallest units of meaning in a word within a given period. Roger Brown, who proposed the MLU measure in 1973, stated that it is an easy and simple measure of grammatical development because most of new language knowledge increases the length of an utterance. To calculate the MLU, Brown proposed a set of rules that take into account child language development and basic rules of English grammar. The argument in favor of the use of MLU is that it is easy to calculate. The proponents of MLU also agree that it provides the necessary mechanism of grouping children for research purposes. Even though MLU is used widely, especially in research settings, many view it as a poor indicator of a person's language dominance. This is especially true in cross-linguistic studies because MLU was created as a specific

English measure and may not work well in other languages with different grammatical structures.

Batteries of Measures

An important aspect to consider when looking for a test on language dominance is that such tests often provide a single score of dominance. Many researchers and practitioners see that as a problem because a single score may not be accurate in capturing a person's real language capacity. An answer to a concern that a test gives a single score only is to use a test battery. Test batteries try to cover as many language aspects as possible. The researchers who work with bilingual children, for example, often use a set of tests to understand in which language a child is stronger.

This type of test includes MLU measures in each language, the length of the longest utterance in a speech sample, number of unique word types in 100 utterances; number of unique verb types in the same 100 utterances, and number of utterances in a 30-minute speech sample. These are used to ensure that dominance is evaluated on multiple scales (lexicon, syntax, and volubility). When using these five measures, researchers label a language that has higher scores in four or five measures as dominant. If participants score higher only on two or three measures, then they are labeled balanced with a slight dominance in the language where three measures had higher scores.

Although using a set of measures instead of a single test may be time-consuming to administer and to score, using the test batteries solves the problem of unidimensionality of individual tests. Using multiple tests also provides a range of scores that allows teachers, administrators, and speech professionals to understand the language of the child more fully and more objectively than a single score would allow. The drawback of such test batteries is that these tests do not tap into the knowledge of culture and appropriate cultural use of language, an essential element of dominance.

Change in Direction

Policymakers and practitioners soon realized that the concept they chose to emphasize as a focus in deciding the way to offer instruction was problematic. These tests pointed out that the concept of dominance is much more elusive for even a battery of tests to figure out because it consists of a great many aspects such as pronunciation, lexicon, and grammar as well

as cultural awareness and use of language in appropriate cultural situations. This led to the realization that no matter what tests are used, the scores produced are not necessarily indicative of one's true language dominance even in a single context of use, as in classroom language. Moreover, some argued that a person does not have to be dominant in a language to receive instruction in it; it is enough to be comfortable learning in English. These arguments and the realization that the costly tests were not doing their jobs prompted researchers and practitioners to seek an alternative way of looking to what constitutes language knowledge and at what point a person is ready to receive instruction in English.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was a national movement to set academic content standards for what students should learn and be able to do. This reform resulted in creating a set of criteria, or subject-matter benchmarks, to measure academic achievement for students. The goal of English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction, according to the ESL standards, was to lead students to eventual English proficiency. This effectively changed the focus of educators and policymakers from the notion of language dominance to the notion of language proficiency.

Although the notion of proficiency is related to that of language dominance, they are not identical. The general view among researchers is that one does not have to be dominant in a language to be a proficient user of that language. The four areas of proficiency as defined for the purpose of standards-based education, were speaking, reading, writing, and listening.

In 2001, the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary School Act, better known as the No Child Left Behind Act, mandated that the assessments used for the purposes of identifying English language learners must be based on national educational standards. As a part of the identification procedure, students must be assessed in all four areas mentioned previously to understand their proficiency levels in English.

Implications for Future Policy Directions

Determining which language is dominant is important in education because it helps determine the language of instruction that would be most beneficial for the child. The use of dominance and proficiency measures may be different in education settings because educators are trying to understand what children are capable

of in any language(s) they might speak at a given moment. This is done so that instruction is tailored to ensure learning. Two approaches are usually taken in education settings to understand where a child is in relation to the language knowledge, ability, and proficiency of his/her peers.

One approach is cross-linguistic. A child is asked to complete a variety of language tasks in each of the two languages, and then the results are compared. Another approach is to compare the performance of a bilingual child, on a variety of tasks, with the performance of a monolingual child on the same tasks. The advantage of such tests is that they are usually quick and easy to administer and do not take long to score. However, these tests are only a one-time measurement of what children can do with either of their languages, and such abilities can and do change quickly. Educators must keep in mind that a contrary assumption underlies this approach—that dominance is stable and does not change with time and across various contexts.

Regardless of the approach taken to assess language dominance and proficiency, children's language is still developing at the time of assessment, and children's development of both languages is an ongoing process. Thus, although children might have significant abilities in both languages, the tests might not recognize this because they are often designed to measure only the sort of language used in academic or laboratory settings.

Educators must also remember that knowing one language can be helpful when learning another because we draw on our language experience to understand how another language works. Thus, in the situations where a child is acquiring a second language that is the language of schooling, it is often important not to shun the native language but, rather, to use it as an aide in learning.

Finally, educators should remember that being dominant in a language does not necessarily mean that a person is proficient in using the language in all aspects of language use. The language of instruction is often dominant in instructional settings only, and for certain periods. It may not necessarily reflect the language used at home, with peers, and in the community at large. Ultimately, achieving proficiency in both languages is the ideal eventual outcome.

Ellina Chernobilsky

See also Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism; Measuring Language Proficiency; Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery

Further Readings

- Arnberg, L. (1987). *Raising children bilingually: The pre-school years*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education, City of New York, 72 Civ. 4002 (SDNY Aug. 29, 1974).
- Bialystok, E. (2001). *Bilingualism in AA development: Language, literacy and cognition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bialystok, E., & Hakuta, K. (1994). *In other words: The science and psychology of second-language acquisition*. New York: Basic Books.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hakuta, K. (2001). *Key policy milestones and directions in the education of English language learners*. Paper presented at the Rockefeller Foundation Symposium Leveraging Change: An Emerging Framework for Educational Equity, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.stanford.edu/~hakuta/www/docs/rockefeller/index.html>
- Hamers, J. F., & Blanc, M. H. A. (1989). *Bilinguality and bilingualism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Shohamy, E. (1994). The role of language tests in the construction and validation of second-language acquisition theories. In E. E. Tarone, S. M. Gass, & A. D. Cohen (Eds.), *Research methodology in language acquisition* (pp. 133–142). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Bilingual education, even in the United States, has developed as a result of explicit and implicit language policies that are carried out sometimes by nation-states, other times by ethnolinguistic groups and families, and yet other times by educators themselves. Sometimes the language education policy has to do with enrichment, or the *addition* of a second language, as in elite forms of bilingual education for majority children. Other language policies have to do with the *maintenance* of a minority language or even the *revitalization* of a language that has been lost, as in the case of the Māori Kōhanga Reo “language nest” programs for preschoolers. At yet other times, the language

education policy is about ensuring that language minority children *shift* as quickly as possible to a dominant language. This is the case with transitional bilingual education programs in the United States for immigrant children and in many African countries for children speaking languages other than those used in the educational system.

Scholars such as Robert Kaplan and Richard Baldauf distinguish between “language planning,” which is about activities to promote linguistic change including beliefs, practices, and laws and regulations, and “language policy,” which consists of the laws and regulations themselves. But Bernard Spolsky uses the term *language policy* for the entire enterprise, distinguishing between practices, beliefs, or ideology, and what he calls management (the laws and regulations, which for others is planning). This entry uses this broader definition of language policy, referring then to the field, as Sue Wright and Thomas Ricento have done before, as *language policy and language planning* (LPLP).

Bilingual education is perhaps the most important instrument of LPLP. It is directly related to what has been called *acquisition planning* because the implementation of bilingual education programs creates new language learners and new users of a language. Also, by giving a language a prestigious domain in which to function such as the school, bilingual education is also a means of *status planning*, that is, modifying the prestige of a language. Finally, because of the school’s emphasis on literacy, bilingual education is an important means of *corpus planning*, standardizing the language forms, and developing new terms for academic functions.

Three stages of their geopolitical climate, epistemological paradigms (concerning the nature of knowledge), and research paradigms are identified and described later. These three stages have influenced the views of language held, the models of LPLP pursued, and the corresponding bilingual education models developed throughout the world. Although this discussion has been simplified by referring to stages in practice and as dependent on societal circumstance, the views of language, models of LPLP used, and bilingual education models extend throughout time. Thus, language ideologies, LPLP activities, and bilingual education practices that were prevalent in the early 1970s are equally valuable today in some contexts, although not all. This entry explains the different models of bilingual education that have resulted

from different views of language and different LPLP models in global contexts.

Stage I

After World War II, the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa pursued social cohesion as stepping-stones to statehood. Modernization theory posited that the development of an independent and modern nation-state depends on urbanization, secularization, and the citizens' transformation from a traditional to a "modern" disposition. The emergence of LPLP as an academic discipline was an attempt to engineer social change through linguistic means. In its infancy, the research surrounding LPLP was driven by the imperative to solve what was perceived as the emergent states' "language problem," their multilingualism, with bilingual education seen as a possible means to alleviate what was perceived to be a threat to social cohesion. Bilingual and multilingual education became instruments, in some cases, of improving the teaching of the language chosen for modernization, and in others, of linguistically assimilating all people in the shared space that aspired to nationhood.

In 1953, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), responding to the educational failure of children in colonial situations, issued an important resolution declaring that it was axiomatic that a child be taught to read in the home language. The resolution stated that the use of the native language should be extended as much as possible; it advised for students to begin academic instruction through their native language. Because this is the language children understand best, this practice was thought to help bridge the gap between the home and school contexts.

Efforts to use the children's language in education, especially in the early grades, gained strength, leading to the first uses of what has since been termed *transitional bilingual education*, that is, the use of the child's heritage language in the early grades and *only* until the child is fluent in the majority or politically dominant language. In the United States, this period corresponded to the awakening of ethnic sentiment and the era of civil rights. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and its ensuing amendments was, in some measure, an example of language education policy and planning, endorsing in 1974 the transitional bilingual education model to ensure the children's shift to English. The development of contemporary bilingual

education within a civil rights ideology meant that, especially at first, Chicano and Puerto Rican activists develop many *maintenance* bilingual education programs that used both English and Spanish in instruction throughout the children's education, asserting a bicultural identity and dreams of self-determination.

In the Canadian province of Québec, where French is the numerically majority language and was increasingly coming into power, some Anglophone parents, considered the powerful majority, demanded a way of making their children fully bilingual through school. Immersion bilingual education came into being, planned by scholars from McGill University, notably Wallace Lambert. In these programs, children are taught initially in the language they are learning, and by the second or third year, half of the instruction is through their home language and the other half through the language of immersion.

Stage II

The worldwide economic downturn in the 1970s and the ensuing widening of social inequities led to the questioning of bilingual education policies in transforming citizens and societies, espoused by theories of modernization. The role of sociohistorical processes in shaping particular forms of bilingual education, and in particular the role of class, ethnicity, race, language and gender in such shaping, was given increased attention. Specific forms of bilingual education, especially transitional bilingual education, were increasingly criticized, as indigenous peoples and autochthonous minorities claimed their language rights in education. They sought to develop their own forms of bilingual education, with language development goals they could support as communities with shared interests.

Developmental bilingual education programs—that is, programs that use the children's home language in addition to a second language throughout the child's education—spread throughout the world. In the United States, these developmental bilingual education programs are also known as late-exit bilingual education. The goal of these programs is to develop two languages, one being the majority language, the other being the language of autochthonous minorities or indigenous peoples. This was the case, for example, of the bilingual education programs in Wales in the rural Welsh heartland. In these traditional or "natural" bilingual schools, children

are taught in Welsh initially, and from the age of 7, they study English, with both languages used as media of instruction throughout primary years. There are also designated schools (*immersion programs* for Anglophone children).

Some peoples, especially indigenous ones, have experienced such devastating language loss that they have had to develop bilingual education programs for their children in an effort to revitalize their languages. For example, after passage of the Māori Language Act of 1987, New Zealanders started a type of immersion revitalization bilingual education as a desperate attempt to get elderly grandparents to pass on the language to their grandchildren. The *Kōhanga Reo* programs, or “language nest” as they were called, involved preschool children under the age of 5 in centers where the *whanau*, extended family, impart Māori spiritual values, language, and culture. In Hawai‘i the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo preschools were modeled after those of Māoris in New Zealand to revitalize the Hawaiian language. In the United States, Navajo and other Native American groups attempted similar programs with varying degrees of success.

Stage III

The end of the cold war, the collapse of the former Soviet Union, pandemic globalization, and the increasing role of international organizations have accelerated the movement of peoples and challenged the sovereignty of the state in the 21st century. With increasing awareness of other languages and the dominance especially of English, but also of Chinese, Spanish, and Arabic throughout the world, bilingual education has taken yet another turn; this time, growing often without the direct intervention of the state, and including forms that respond to a much more dynamic language use. The newer forms of bilingual education, based on a more ecological approach, prepare language communities to balance their own linguistic ecologies, enabling them to go back and forth freely in their overlapping languages and literacies.

Nowhere is this more visible than in the European Union’s newly designed educational programs, where a second language is used to teach nonlinguistic content matter. Called *Content and language integrated learning/Enseignement d’une matière intégrée à une langue étrangère* (or CLIL/EMILE), these programs take on varied forms. However, their goal is to develop plurilingualism. Plurilingualism is defined by the

Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe as having proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures.

In the United States, the effort to develop two-way bilingual education programs for language majority and language minority children can also be considered a shift in ideological orientation. Although these programs have been around at least since the Coral Way School in the early 1960s, these programs gained popularity in the past decade, as bilingualism has been accepted as a resource by some parents. Yet increasingly, the U.S. official bilingual education policies have swung the other way, often even resisting the transitional bilingual education model of the 1970s. For example, transitional bilingual education was abolished in California in 1998, in Arizona in 2000, and in Massachusetts in 2002. Only immersion in English, and only for a year, is legal in those states.

Although some bilingual education policies are explicit, others are implicit. For example, in Spain’s Basque Autonomous Region, there are three models of bilingual instruction and parents have a choice—Model A in which instruction is carried out in Spanish, and Euskara (Basque) is taught as a subject; Model B, in which instruction is 50% in Spanish and 50% in Euskara; and Model D, in which instruction is in Euskara and Spanish is taught as a subject. In the United States, however, there is no mandate for bilingual education per se. Even Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which became known as the Bilingual Education Act, was only a funding source for different kinds of bilingual programs. Its substitute as of 2002, Title III of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), Public Law 107–110, is also not as explicit regarding a bilingual or even nonbilingual education stance. Although it substitutes the “Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students” for the older “Bilingual Education Act,” thus silencing the word *bilingual*, it offers no explicit language education policy. However, it outlines an explicit assessment policy, requiring the annual testing of all English language learners, and focuses on standard written English as the only valid measure of knowledge. It can then be said that this assessment policy is in itself a language education policy, privileging monolingual education over bilingual education in the United States. The consequence of Title III of the NCLB, that is, monolingualism, exists in tension with the spirit of the worldwide ecological model of

LPLP, which celebrates linguistic diversity and asserts bilingualism as a resource.

Ofelia García and Pei Ju Tsai

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Bilingualism Stages; Language Policy and Social Control; Maintenance Policy Denied

Further Readings

- Kaplan, R., & Baldauf, R. (1997). *Language planning: From practice to theory*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Language Policy Division. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/default_en.asp
- Ricento, T. (Ed.). (2006). *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, S. (2004). *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE APPROACH TO READING

It is Friday morning in the village of Supai in Havasu Canyon, a branch of the Grand Canyon. Supai is the home of the Havasupai people, one of more than 30 American Indian nations in the state of Arizona. A popular tourist destination, Supai is home to several hundred Havasupai, and an elementary school serves the children of the village from kindergarten through eighth grade. On Thursday evenings, the cafeteria in the elementary school becomes a theater, as the community gathers for movies. The movie this Thursday has been a horror show, and the children in the primary grade classroom are full of conversation about it.

After opening exercises, a teacher gathers the young children around her and asks them about the movie that they saw: What was the movie about? What did they think about it? She calls on individual children to share their opinions and feelings. Then she brings out a sheet of chart paper and tells the children that together they are going to create a story about the movie they saw. She asks the children to think carefully about what they want to say, and she tells them that she will call on them one by one and write down what they say. She calls on one child who

says, “Last night we seed a movie.” The teacher repeats the sentence and then pronounces each word slowly as she writes, “Last night we seed a movie.” The teacher then asks for another child to volunteer a sentence. A young girl says, “It was about a monster.” The teacher repeats the sentence and then writes it out word by word, articulating each word as she writes. This procedure continues until the group generates a story that reads

Last night we seed a movie.

It was about a monster.

He was scary.

And kill people.

He die.

I like it.

After the teacher has written the children’s sentences, she asks the children to listen carefully as she reads the story one more time. The teacher repeats what is on the chart, running her hand under the words in each sentence as she reads them. The teacher asks the children to read the story along with her, and she leads them in a choral reading of what they have created. The teacher then returns to the beginning of the story and asks if there is an individual child who wants to read one of the sentences. Individuals volunteer to read each sentence, after which the group rereads the entire story. The teacher announces that she is going to place the story in a particular place in the classroom, and during the day, when children have free time, they can walk over to the chart and read it for themselves.

Over the next several days, the teacher will use this chart to focus on particular aspects of written language. For example, she may use the words *movie* and *monster* to focus on the sound that the letter *m* makes, writing *movie* and *monster* on the board, asking the children to read the words with her, and then asking the children to share other words that begin with “mmmm” as do *movie* and *monster*. She may point out that the word *was* occurs two times in this story and in other stories as well. *Was* is a word that we use frequently when we talk, read, and write. She may point out that each sentence in the story begins with a word whose first letter is a capital letter, and each sentence in this story ends with a period. In these ways, the teacher moves from the whole experience of the story

to parts of the language, such as high-frequency words and sound-letter correspondences that students will need to use as they become independent readers and writers.

Foundations

The vignette you have just read exemplifies one way of engaging young children in reading, which is described in this entry. It has been termed the *language experience approach* (LEA) to reading, and it is based in the idea that experiences that children have become the basis for charts created through dictations to the teacher. These experience charts then form reading materials for the learners. Denise Nessel and Margaret Jones describe the basic steps in the creation of a language experience chart as the following:

Step 1: Teacher and children converse about the topic for the dictation.

Step 2: The children dictate an account to the teacher, and the teacher records their statements.

Step 3: Teacher and children read the story several times, until the story becomes familiar to the children.

Step 4: The teacher designs activities to help the children attend to individual words and other aspects of reading such as sounds and letters and punctuation.

Step 5: Students move from reading their own dictation to reading material written by other authors as they develop confidence and skill as readers.

In 1943, Lillian Lamoreaux and Dorris Lee first detailed the use of language experience charts in their book *Learning to Read Through Experience*. In 1963, Lee collaborated with Roach Van Allen to produce the second edition of this book. Allen, who began his career in the San Diego County public schools, became linked closely with this way of teaching young children to read, and he is credited with relating the language experience approach to young children's development of critical understandings regarding print. In particular, Allen asserted that using experience charts would facilitate children's coming to understand that

Anything a child thinks about can be talked about.

What a child talks about can be expressed in writing (or in painting or in some other expressive form).

What a child writes can be read.

Children can read what they write and what others write as well.

Allen went on to explain that, through the experience of creating charts and through teachers' subsequent use of these charts to focus on particular aspects of written language, children come to understand concepts such as written words, high-frequency words in texts, letters and sounds and how they are related, spacing between words, and punctuation. Most importantly, children come to understand reading as a process of developing meaning from patterns of symbols and meaning as coming from the individual experiences of the reader.

Group Charts

The creation of class experience charts, such as the one whose development is described previously, forms one of the central features of the language experience approach to reading. But other instructional engagements are important as well. One of these is the use of a wide variety of classroom charts that serve multiple purposes. For example, classrooms may display classroom rules and jobs, attendance counts, and lunch menus and counts on charts. Teacher and children may create the News of the Day, or the Child of the Week. Other charts may be related to content under study. Before beginning a unit of study on insects, for example, using a KWL chart format, the children may share what they already know about insects (K) and what they want to learn (W). As the unit progresses, they will dictate what they have learned (L). Charts may be used to outline procedures that learners have followed as they engaged with content; charts may be kept to keep a record of favorite songs or books that have been read aloud or sung. All of these provide demonstrations of a variety of purposes for writing and reading, and all of the charts provide opportunities for the teacher to work with the children on particular features of written language.

Key Words

A second engagement advocated by many LEA educators is that of key words or key vocabulary. Key word use is a strategy developed in the 1940s and 1950s by New Zealand educator Sylvia Ashton-Warner, when she worked with Māori children. The

Māori are a Polynesian people who arrived in what is now New Zealand about a thousand years ago. They were well established in what they called Aotearoa when European explorers and later British settlers came to their land. The young Māori children that Ashton-Warner taught spoke the Māori language and a dialect of English called Māori English. The language of the schools was English, but because Ashton-Warner had learned to speak Māori, she used Māori as well as English in her classroom.

Ashton-Warner became critical of the readers provided to her to teach her young students to read because the readers did not reflect the life experiences and the culture of the Māori children. She believed that children's first reading needed to be with words and stories that held intense meaning for them. So she devoted instructional time each day to asking her students what words were most important to them, what words they most wanted to have written down for them on the tag board, so that they could share these words with others. In her book, *Teacher*, she shares details of her teaching practice. The words the children chose were ones that held power for them, words such as *kiss*, *ghost*, *jet*, *bomb*, or *tigers*. Each time that Ashton-Warner wrote a word on a tag board card, she gave the word to the child, with instructions that the child take the word home to read it to his or her family. The children also read their words to each other in the classroom. Over several months, each child accumulated a pile of key words, words that could be read by the individual and shown to others.

Ashton-Warner also selected a word each day from the children's key words and used that word to invite the children to converse. One day, for example, she picked the word *frightened*. When she read that word to the children, they began immediately to talk about what frightened them. These conversations both expanded the children's oral language and provided the basis for experience stories. The publication of *Teacher* in the United States in 1963 influenced many who had been advocates of experience charts to expand their understanding of language experience to include key vocabulary.

Personal Charts

A third strategy in the language experience approach involves the creation of personal rather than group or class experience charts. Most often, this engagement begins with child-created artwork followed by

individual dictation to the teacher. Thus, for example, if the class is studying insects, children might be asked to draw an insect of particular interest to them and to decide what they want to share about the insect chosen. As they complete their pictures, the teacher circulates, converses with each child about his or her picture, and elicits and writes one or two sentences on each child's creation. The individual charts are then shared with the class. All of these strategies focus on using children's own lives, in and out of school, as a source for some of their reading experiences, and all of them serve as demonstrations of the connections between spoken and written language.

LEA and Bilingual Education

The earliest proponents of the language experience approach to reading did not address specifically using this way of teaching with bilingual children or children in second-language situations. However, the classroom examples provided earlier in this entry make it clear that educators working in bilingual and second-language contexts found the approach compelling, and began to use it and advocate for it. LEA has resonated among literacy educators working in bilingual education because it creates a place for children's lives, cultures, and language(s) in the classroom. As Ashton-Warner and many others since have pointed out, commercial textbooks created to teach reading often do not reflect the lives and realities, the cultural and experiential frameworks, of the schoolchildren who use them. Language experience charts do reflect these realities because it is the children's lives and happenings that are especially meaningful to them that become the content of the stories. Additionally, community and individual language patterns, ways of using both a native and additional languages, often do not appear in commercial reading materials. In contrast, in language experience charts, teachers write down children's contributions to a narration in the language that they actually use. Thus, learners see their own cultures and language varieties in the stories that they read. LEA instructional strategies also are powerful because teachers provide demonstrations of taking ideas from spoken to written form. This demonstration of writing can help second-language learners who are reluctant to write to understand that their early writing experiences can be based in talk that is written down.

One concern for many teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL) is the provision of quality

reading experiences for learners at varying English proficiency levels. Because LEA integrates the language processes of listening, speaking, reading, and writing, the creation of key word banks and experience charts may be based on oral language and content units of study that are a part of the school curriculum. Teachers may adapt LEA strategies according to the language abilities and needs of the learners. Beginning level ESL students involved in a study of insects, for example, may be able to participate in key vocabulary engagements by sharing the name of an insect they want to have in writing. If learners are not able to articulate complete sentences, the teacher may choose to use pattern sentences such as “Butterflies have ____” and ask individual children to fill in the last word to create an experience chart such as

Butterflies have wings.

Butterflies have a head.

Butterflies have eyes.

Butterflies have feelers.

When learners become more comfortable in speaking English, their narrations, whether done individually or with others, will be more extensive. Some ESL educators suggest using wordless picture books (picture books whose illustrations are particularly clear in a story sequence) for learners of intermediate and more advanced oral language. Learners are able to create stories using the pictures. At any level of English development, comprehension is not an issue because the narrations come from the learners.

A concern often expressed by ESL teachers who are using language experience dictation is the acceptance of English sentences that are not grammatically correct according to adult, native-English-speaking standards (in the first example earlier, children used the word “seed” instead of “saw”). Teachers worry about reinforcing incorrect habits and that students will never learn correct grammar if they are allowed to read sentences that do not reflect standard usage. This fear is not well founded, according to experts in LEA. Internationally known ESL educator Pat Rigg argues that it is important to accept and write out whatever language the learners use (as we saw in the Havasupai story) to validate what the learners are able to articulate. She notes that a generation of research in second-language learning has made it clear that

language learning is not a process of habit formation and stimulus-response learning. Rather learners, over time, construct the language they are learning, making mistakes as they do so, and gradually coming ever closer to what could be called the standard. Thus, their ways of expressing themselves at a given time do not remain static. Rather than the teacher correcting the students’ grammar, Rigg suggests saving language experience charts from earlier in a school year, and returning to them later in the year for editing, to reflect students’ growing command of English. She has demonstrated that when the teacher rereads a chart and asks the learners if they want to make any changes, frequently the students are able to comment on how they expressed themselves earlier and make corrections. Additionally, the teacher may be able to call students’ attention to particular issues of usage.

More than 60 years have passed since Lamoreaux and Lee proposed that teachers use language experience charts as a central feature of reading instruction for young children. Since its introduction, LEA has been used in elementary, secondary, and even adult education classrooms. Recently, educators (for example, Linda Labbo, Jonathan Eakle, and Kristiina Montero) have adapted LEA into literacy instruction that uses technological innovations such as computers and digital cameras. For numerous learners around the world, experience charts scribed by a teacher have provided learners the support and demonstrations they need to begin to see themselves as readers and writers.

Sarah Hudelson

See also Academic English; Communicative Approach; Continua of Biliteracy; Culturally Competent Teaching; Four-Skills Language Learning Theory; Literacy and Biliteracy; Phonics in Bilingual Education

Further Readings

- Allen, R. V., & Allen, C. (1976). *Language experience activities*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Ashton-Warner, S. (1963). *Teacher*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Dixon, C., & Nessel, D. (1983). *Language experience approach to reading and writing: LEA for ESL*. Hayward, CA: Alemany.
- Labbo, L. D., Eakle, A. J., & Montero, M. K. (2002, May). Digital language experience approach: Using digital photographs and software as a language experience approach innovation. *Reading Online*, 5(8), 24–43.

- Retrieved from http://www.readingonline.org/electronic/elec_index.asp?HREF=/electronic/labbo2/index.html
- Lamoreaux, L., & Lee, D. (1943). *Learning to read through experience*. New York: Appleton-Century.
- Lee, D., & Allen, R. V. (1963). *Learning to read through experience* (2nd ed.). New York: Appleton-Century Crofts.
- Nessel, D., & Jones, M. B. (1981). *The language experience approach to reading: A handbook for teachers*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Rigg, P. (1989). *When they don't all speak English: Integrating the ESL student into the regular classroom*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Veatch, J., Sawicki, F., Elliott, G., Flake, E., & Blakey, J. (1979). *Key words to reading: The language experience approach begins*. Columbus, OH: Charles Merrill.

LANGUAGE LEARNING IN CHILDREN AND ADULTS

Bilingualism has always been a part of the human experience. Many groups of people worldwide need to be proficient in more than one language to carry out the tasks they have to perform in their daily lives. Moreover, the interconnected world we live in through the Internet and the migrations of many peoples have made it increasingly important to communicate in more than one language. In linguistic communities such as Switzerland or South Africa, children acquire more than one language concurrently; in other linguistic environments, children learn the second language sequentially, when they already have established their first language. Many people choose to, or have to, learn a second language during adulthood.

Acquiring language is an experience so close to all human beings that we all have opinions about how and when we best acquire it. One popular belief is that whereas children acquire languages quickly, easily, and effortlessly, adults need more time and effort to learn a second language. There is a widely held belief that regardless of their commitment and interest, adults cannot attain the level of mastery of a second language that children achieve so readily and almost without fail. Paradoxically, another popular assumption is that it is problematic to have young children learn more than one language at a time because they may get confused and be unable to master either of the two languages well. These assumptions are probably based on observations

of children and adults learning languages, but they do not consider the complexity of languages, the different ways children and adults learn languages, and variations in the linguistic input learners receive. Not surprisingly, these popular viewpoints raise many questions and are far from being accepted by experts and language researchers, who see language acquisition as an extremely complex phenomenon that still requires much investigation to be understood.

Evaluating these popular beliefs requires answers to several questions that researchers have been struggling with for years. These questions include the following: How do human beings acquire their first language? How do we acquire second or additional languages? Are there differences in the way children and adults learn a second language? If differences exist, at what age do they become apparent? What level of proficiency is required for an individual to be considered bilingual? This entry reviews some of the current knowledge on the differences between children and adult ways of learning language.

Language Components and Language Acquisition

Acquiring language involves mastering the following interrelated components of language: *phonology*, the sounds or phonological structure of the language; *morphology*, the way sound units are organized into words; *syntax*, the order of the words in sentences; and *semantics*, the meaning of the words. The main goal of mastering a language is being able to use the language (pragmatics) to communicate. However, communicating effectively necessitates linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the socially established rules of interaction followed in specific places and by specific linguistic groups. Regardless of the daunting task of attaining mastery of a given language, almost all children follow a certain order in acquiring certain aspects of a specific language, have a tendency to make the same mistakes, and by 5 years of age are confident and competent speakers of their first language.

How do children accomplish this complicated task of integrating all the aspects of learning a language, or even more than one language? No one universal theory explains how and why human beings are able to acquire language; many theories end up only partially explaining how languages are acquired in childhood. All theories acknowledge the importance of the learner, the environment, and the linguistic principles to explain

language development, and bilingualism in particular. Ellen Bialystok, in her book *Bilingualism in Development: Language, Literacy, & Cognition*, considered simultaneous and sequential bilingualism in childhood in light of two different sets of theories that addressed the issues outlined.

Formal Theory

For formal theorists such as Noam Chomsky and Steven Pinker, the most important ingredient in explaining language acquisition is the human being's innate capacity to learn language. This language ability is separate from other cognitive abilities, and it manifests itself in abstract linguistic rules. For the formal theorists, the linguistic input provided in social and communicative contexts is needed, but is less important than the innate ability. According to this theory, there are no qualitative differences between learning one or two languages either simultaneously or sequentially. The innate language ability will activate regardless of the number of languages once the child is in contact with more than one language.

Some followers of this theory, however, stress the importance of age in learning language. Eric Lenneberg affirms that the innate linguistic ability activates during a specific time in life, known as a critical period, in which language is easily acquired. Depending on the experts, the critical period is between 2 and 9 or 2 and 12 years of age. Eric Lenneberg argued that there is a biological reason for the child to be able to acquire language easily in a specific age range: Before age 2 the child's brain is not yet prepared, and after age 9 or 12, the human brain loses the plasticity needed to learn language. This claim is supported because children speak the language or languages they learn without accent, from exposure to the language in the environment, but many adults never lose the accent they form in their second or other languages and need formal instruction in the language.

Functional Theory

For functional theorists, including Charles Fillmore and Robert Van Valin, the language ability of human beings is part of a more general human cognitive ability and the determinant factor in acquiring language is the linguistic input provided in a specific social context that allows the learner to infer the linguistic rules. Learning one or more languages simultaneously or

sequentially is qualitatively different for these theorists. They claim that knowing a language certainly influences the cognitive structures of the learner. Furthermore, the linguistic input provided—for example in who, when, and for what purposes language is used to communicate—is different for monolingual and bilingual children and therefore qualitatively affects the learning process.

Other Theories and Recent Research

Bialystok points out that each of these theories explains the role of some of the components of language in language development—the formalists focus on syntax and phonology and the functional theorists on semantics and pragmatics—but no theory explains how all the interdependent components of language work together. Moreover, although all experts agree that certain abilities that the learner brings to the task, as well as to the environment, have an important role in acquiring a language, no theory fully explains the role of each. According to Bialystok, the research available is not conclusive regarding the existence of a critical period to learn language; it may be that a critical period exists for certain components of language (e.g., phonology) but not for others.

The controversial questions regarding the existence of qualitative differences in the way children and adults learn a second language are well presented in Barry McLaughlin's two volumes on *Second Language Acquisition in Childhood*; however, the research available is inconclusive. Experts such as Lenneberg and Michael Long claim the existence of a critical period during which it is easier to learn language, and therefore, qualitative differences exist in the way children and adults learn language. According to these theorists, children and adults process language differently: Children bring to the learning process a linguistic ability distinctively available to process language, whereas adults process language through a more general cognitive ability. Furthermore, Hans Stern claimed that learning a language creates cognitive and linguistic structures that interfere or assist in learning a second language, depending on how similar or different the first and second languages are, making the paths to bilingualism for young children and adults necessarily different.

In contrast, Susan Ervin-Tripp and Kenji Hakuta argue that learning a second language in childhood or adulthood involves the same cognitive processes. To

understand the apparent differences in the ways children and adults learn a second language, these researchers focus on the cognitive characteristics of the learners, affective factors, and the linguistic and sociocultural contexts as well. The idea that children attain bilingualism fast and easily may arise because the demands on a bilingual child and a bilingual adult are different in the vocabulary and the length and structure of sentences expected of each. In several studies cited by Yugo Butler and Hakuta, adults outperformed children; in another study, 12- to 15-year-olds and adults (in that order) do better than children in rate of acquisition when controls for the amount of linguistic input are used.

Learning language is a difficult task for children and adults alike. Children and adults learn language only after intensive and extensive exposure to the language or languages. In the case of young children, they may learn the second language by being immersed in a natural and playful linguistic environment with other children, or by watching television, which make us think of the experience as effort-free. Adults, on the other hand, may not get the necessary linguistic input from being immersed in a natural environment and need to be formally taught the second language. Older children, however, may also receive formal support in learning the second language in school.

Research on second-language acquisition in adults conducted by Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert highlights the role of affective factors such as attitude toward the language, motivation, anxiety, and self-confidence in accounting for the variation in outcomes in acquiring the second language. These factors may influence the success of children as well. In general, children are motivated to interact with their peers to be able to play; adults may be motivated for economic reasons, to communicate with other adults, or to be part of the new culture. Adults, however, may fear losing the identity they convey through their first language and are often afraid of making mistakes and feeling ridiculous, which can prevent them from practicing the new language.

These affective factors cannot be understood without analyzing the specific linguistic and sociocultural contexts in which they develop. The following factors contribute both to creating positive or negative attitudes and motivation toward a second language and to the success in acquiring it: (a) the prestige of the second language relative to the native language, (b) the

possibility of acquiring a new language without risking the loss of the first language, (c) the socioeconomic status of the learner, (d) the quality of the linguistic input, and (e) the nature of the learning situation.

Conclusion

The research available addressing language learning in children and adults is inconclusive. Although some experts, such as Long, affirm that learning a second language in childhood involves different processes than does learning it in adulthood, others, including Hakuta and Stephen Krashen, claim that there are differences only in the style that children and adults use to learn a second language. Most researchers agree, however, that acquiring more than one language in childhood does not necessarily negatively affect the proficiency attained in both languages. To sum up the dilemma, the difficulty in understanding how human beings acquire one or more languages stems from the complexity of the linguistic experience, which necessarily involves individuals with different educational, cognitive, and affective characteristics (such as attitude and motivation), living in different linguistic and sociocultural contexts—all variables that affect language acquisition.

M. Victoria Rodríguez

See also Affective Filter; Bilingualism Stages; Comprehensive Input; Critical Period Hypothesis; First-Language Acquisition; Language Acquisition Device; Learning a Language, Best Age; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Bialystok, E. (2001). *Bilingualism in development: Language, literacy, & cognition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, Y. G., & Hakuta, K. (2006). Bilingualism and second language acquisition. In T. J. Bhatia & W. C. Ritchie (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism* (pp. 114–138). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Ervin-Tripp, S. (1981). Social process in first- and second-language learning. In H. Winitz (Ed.), *Native language and foreign language acquisition* (pp. 33–58). New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Fillmore, C. (1988). The mechanisms of construction grammar. In S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser, & H. Signmaster

- (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 14th annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (pp. 35–55). Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Gardner, R. C. (1985). *Psychology and second language learning. The role of attitudes and motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Gardner, R. C., & Lambert, W. E. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Hakuta, K. (1986). *Mirror of language*. New York: Basic Books.
- Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Lenneberg, E. (1967). *Biological foundations of language*. New York: Wiley.
- Long, M. (1990). Maturation constraints on language development. *Studies in second language acquisition*, 12, 251–285.
- McLaughlin, B. (1984). *Second-language acquisition in childhood: Vol. 1. Preschool children*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McLaughlin, B. (1984). *Second-language acquisition in childhood: Vol. 2. School-age children*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Pinker, S. (1994). *The language instinct*. New York: Morrow.
- Stern, H. (1970). *Perspectives in second language teaching*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Van Valin, R. D. (2005). *Exploring the syntax-semantic interface*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

LANGUAGE LOYALTY

To be loyal to one's language is generally evidenced by a desire to retain an identity that is articulated through the use of that language, and to adhere to cultural practices associated with that language. Language loyalty leads people to work toward maintaining the language in question even under adverse conditions. Language maintenance consists of strategies that groups use to keep the language to which they are loyal alive; language persistence is the result. Through religious and educational institutions, social organizations, the popular press, and the political process, persons loyal to their language work to maintain the language by using it to worship, educating their young in it so that the next generation uses it, and using it in interaction with one another socially and through print and broadcast media and the political process.

This entry reviews what is known about the complex phenomenon of language loyalty, exploring the following questions: Under what circumstances does a person or group demonstrate loyalty to one's language? Is being loyal to a language something that all people do, or is it particular to certain groups of people or circumstances? Are some more loyal to their language than others? What are the motivations for language loyalty? Is it possible to be loyal to more than one language?

Types of Language Loyalty in U.S. History

Joshua A. Fishman, who wrote the first major work on language loyalty in the United States, asserts that various types of language loyalty played a major role during the last five centuries of European history. Each of these loyalty types is related in different ways to nationhood. The earliest immigrants came to North America from Europe because they were disconnected from the nation building process by virtue of their peasant status and had no stake in staying in Europe. Another group came because of a concern that the European nation was corrupting the language and culture and the belief the New World provided for the preservation of their language and culture. A third group came out of fear that the language and culture were being obliterated by outside political forces in their nation, and the New World provided the place to be at liberty to live the language and culture of the Old Country.

In the colonial era and early national U.S. history, language loyalty was associated with a tension between nation building and ethnic identity. Though language loyalty was important to the nation building that was an outgrowth of the Renaissance, early immigrants arrived in the U.S. colonies and the newly established nation having meager familiarity with European events and movements to which language loyalty was related. The early immigrants were not among the European intelligentsia, middle class, and working class who stayed behind in Europe. Those who remained in Europe considered language loyalty and the maintenance of ethnic languages and cultures important to the building of European nations. Generally, those who ventured forth to the American colonies did not consider language loyalty an important factor in nation building in the New World.

Thus, as Fishman states, though the United States was born during a period when European nationalism

was extremely important, and though the United States was a reaction to that nationalism, millions of immigrant people to the United States paid little attention to language loyalty as a nationalistic concern. What was more important to successive waves of immigrants throughout U.S. history appears to have been ethnicity of a traditional, particularistic, and nonideological character. Ethnicity, with its associated language and perhaps religion, has been the general rule among immigrants rather than language as a symbol of nationalism. Languages spoken and to which immigrants have been loyal in early U.S. history were related more to everyday life than to causes or ideologies.

Though immigrants may leave their homelands without much thought about their language and ethnicity, it is generally accepted that only after arrival in the new country does loyalty to one's language become a conscious concern. Fishman asserts that in some instances, many immigrants only became aware of their *groupness* in America—their common origin, their common past, and problems shared with their group related to their current situation. Thus, we can assume, for purposes of this analysis, that only after immigration does language loyalty become a conscious concern among newcomers to any country, including the United States because it is in the comfort zone of shared language as an everyday, particularistic, and nonideological nature that group members can celebrate their common origin and understand their common past. In this same zone, they can also work together to solve problems and learn to live according to the customs in the new country.

After arrival in the new country and as their old ways of life appeared to fade, successive immigrant groups to the United States have turned to their language to protect the way of life that they came with. They have established voluntary organizations, schools, and communications media unheard of in the Old Country. These tools were expressions of their language loyalty; they were also shaped by people who would have had little prior experience in building these mechanisms had they remained in the homeland. The organizations, schools, and media worked both to preserve people's loyalty to the language, ethnic costumes, foods, and celebrations and to facilitate group members' entry into new customs of their newly adopted country. In this respect, language loyalty comes to play in a context of social change where immigrants simultaneously grasp for continuity and extend themselves into new ways of living.

A second type of language loyalty came with later immigrants who came with the express purpose of preserving a language and culture that they feared was not possible in newly established European nations. Fishman reported that many immigrants, including those in the early German sects in the United States, considered themselves as saviors of their respective languages and cultures. They came to the New World with a language loyalty for the purpose of preserving what they feared was being lost in the nationalistic European context in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries and could only be preserved by relocating to the New World. At times, members of these groups practiced separatist and non-participatory philosophies. In others, intellectualized concepts of nationalism and pluralistic rationales were evident. In these instances, language loyalty was expressed via political groups, schools, children's camps, choral groups, and literary and scholarly associations. Members of these groups published at an appreciably higher level than did the mass immigrant press or the mass English language press. These social and political institutions were an expression of language loyalty. Their purpose was to maintain their language and ethnic culture. Though members of this type of group have been more numerous and more influential since World War II, the preservationists have been among the many waves of immigrant groups to U.S. shores throughout U.S. history.

A third type of language loyalty is reflected in more recent waves of European immigrants, especially those from Eastern Europe who arrived following World War II—asylum-seekers who came seeking a place to preserve their language and culture threatened by outside forces. These immigrants are distinguished by their formal education in their mother tongue. More of these than those of earlier immigrant groups came with a knowledge of the national history of their homeland, and they were more likely to have what Fishman calls a diaspora consciousness that carries with it a language loyalistic and retentivistic orientation. These immigrants left homelands that were under antireligious and antinationalistic control. Upon arrival in the United States, they considered themselves the only ones who could preserve their language and culture during a period of domination by outside control in their homelands.

Examples of Language Loyalty in U.S. History

Throughout U.S. history, immigrant speakers of languages other than English have demonstrated versions

of these types of loyalty to their languages of origin. Until the mid-20th century, most newcomers were loyal to European languages. Some European immigrant languages were of higher status than others. The three of longest standing and perhaps of highest status are French, German, and Spanish.

French immigrants from Canada settled first in New England in the 19th century. They came for economic reasons to textile mill towns, and they sent remittances to their families who remained in Québec. For this group, language loyalty was intimately intertwined with their religious heritage in the Roman Catholic Church. In this tradition, language was the bond among all, regardless of social or economic station in life. Loss of language meant loss of faith, and loss of faith meant loss of eternity. Language maintenance efforts expressive of this loyalty included French-language worship, French-language parochial schools, French societies, and a French-language press that reported on French parochial schools and the need for French-speaking clergy.

Language loyalty among Franco-Americans was a family affair. Societies supported the Church, the school, and the family in remaining loyal to French and maintaining the language. Perhaps because of the egalitarian and closed nature of Franco-American community and families and their limitations in identifying loyalist leaders, the preservation of French in New England was limited because no one was available to transform concepts to concrete language maintenance efforts that would keep the French language alive in future generations. Franco-Americans hinged their language loyalty and maintenance hopes on an amorphous elite interested in French language and ethnic values. As the younger generation failed to take on leadership in preserving the language and culture, over time there was no French language to which to be loyal in the community. Today, with the exception of northern Maine, the daily use of French in New England is rare.

Immigrant speakers of German, especially those in Pennsylvania, arrived as early as the late 1600s, and came in the largest numbers in the 1800s. German immigrants considered themselves partners and equals to others in establishing the new republic. Like the French, their language loyalty was expressed in church and in elementary school. Unlike the French, language loyalty leadership was not as markedly egalitarian an enterprise within the group. Fishman reports that although 95% came for economic reasons, their

outlook was shaped by a better-educated 5% who came for ideological reasons, be they religious or political. These 5% were represented in four categories: Roman Catholics, Orthodox Lutherans, other Protestants, and Liberals.

For the most part, rural Germans were *Kirchen-deutsche* (Church Germans) of the first three categories; and urbanites were *Vereinsdeutsche* (Club Germans) of the fourth category. The main dividing line among them was between Roman Catholics and Orthodox Lutherans on the one hand, and other Protestants and Liberals on the other. As the public schools started offering German as a subject, other Protestants and Liberals abandoned their German-language schools. Because Roman Catholics and Orthodox Lutherans had always stressed bilingualism, they remained loyal to the German language and continued and expanded their language maintenance efforts through German-language schools.

Some of the German immigrants who arrived between the two world wars in the 20th century were ambivalent about the German language. They arrived at a time when nativist tendencies made language loyalty of any kind, but especially German, an unpopular enterprise among German immigrants in the United States. This ambivalence drove many Germans to dampen their urge to preserve the language among their children and to ease their acceptance into the society by allowing them to become monolingual English speakers.

The Case of Spanish

Immigrants loyal to the Spanish language also have a long history in the United States. What sets them apart from the French and Germans is that most came not from Europe, but from Latin America, primarily Mexico and the Caribbean. Also confounding our understanding of language loyalty among Spanish-speaking people in the United States is that many of them are technically not immigrants at all. Many have lived in the U.S. Southwest for generations and were already there when the territory belonged to Spain and subsequently to Mexico. The border moved as a result of political struggles between Mexico and the early United States that culminated in the Gadsden Purchase and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in the 1800s. U.S. citizenship was conferred on those who remained in the territory. However, some argue that equal treatment did not necessarily follow.

Other Spanish speakers came to many East Coast cities, including Philadelphia and New York, from the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. They came with a history of attempts by the United States—beginning in 1898—to colonize their homeland and to impose the English language on its inhabitants. A third major Spanish-speaking group came to the United States, primarily to Miami, Florida, from Cuba following the 1959 revolution there. A second wave of Cuban immigrants arrived in 1980 in the *Mariel* boatlift. Unlike the earlier German immigrant waves in Pennsylvania, the first Cuban arrivals to the United States were among Cuba's intelligentsia. The later wave was less educated. As with their predecessors, church, school, societies, and the political process were incubators of loyalty to the Spanish language wherever Spanish speakers from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba settled. Also similar were the struggles between Spanish-speakers whose loyalty to the Spanish language and culture prompted them to educate their children to carry on the language and culture through bilingualism in church, school, social organizations, and the press. In recent decades, these early Hispanic Americans have been augmented by hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Central and South America and the Dominican Republic. Because these groups have moved into communities that are already predominantly Latino, they have not experienced great difficulty maintaining their Spanish, at least as long as they live in those communities.

The case of Spanish is perhaps the best context in which to remind the reader that loyalty to one language does not preclude loyalty to English, the lingua franca of the nation. All of the research with respect to this topic reveals that this is the case with Spanish speakers.

Conclusion

The experiences of French, German, and Spanish speakers have been repeated as many times as the number of languages represented by newcomers to the United States who speak languages other than English. However, the most recent newcomers are coming not only from the European continent. Many emigrate from Asia and Latin America, along with refugees from a number of African nations. All bring with them a particular language and culture to which they are loyal to varying degrees and for different reasons. As with their predecessors throughout U.S.

history, language loyalty offers both continuity between old and new and community with others who share the same language, culture, and problems adapting to their new environment.

U.S. history and current sociological studies seem to suggest that it is inevitable that as those loyal to the home language grow older and the next generations mature, the language of the Old Country gives way to the language of the new, English. Appearances can deceive, because what may have been expedient for immigrants throughout the past in the United States may not be the best option for the future. Appearances can also deceive because the history may have been told in the past through an American ethnocentric lens. Perhaps today's immigrants' present experience, as we understand it, is closer to the truth of previous waves of immigrants than the history books describe. Perhaps we are all still too close to the present experience to see the similarity between these groups' loyalties to their languages and those of previous newcomers. Time will tell.

What is also not clear but worthy of continued study is the degree to which it is possible to have multiple language loyalties and consequently become multilingual in a global economy where nationalism is giving way to transnationalism and where proficiency in more than one language places one at an advantage socially, economically, politically. Also worthy of clarification is the possibility that additional reasons exist for language loyalty than those explained by Fishman some 40 years ago because global sociopolitical and geopolitical circumstances have changed since then. New patterns of relationships between language communities have emerged throughout the world. The definitive study on language loyalty for the 21st century may tell a different story from that of the 20th century.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Ethnocentrism; German Language Education; Japanese Language in Hawai'i; Languages in Colonial Schools, Eastern; Languages in Colonial Schools, Western; Latino Attitudes Toward English; Melting-Pot Theory; Transnational Students

Further Readings

Crawford, J. (Ed.). (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Fishman, J. A. (1966). *Language loyalty in the United States: The maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups*. The Hague, the Netherlands: Mouton.
- Schmid, C. (2001). *The politics of language: Conflict, identity and cultural pluralism in comparative perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schmidt, R. (2000). *Language policy and identity politics in the United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Tse, L. (2001). *Why don't they learn English: Separating fact from fallacy in the U.S. language debate*. New York: Teachers College Press.

LANGUAGE PERSISTENCE

This entry addresses the issue of language persistence, the ability of a language to survive and thrive in a society. Language persistence depends on a number of ambient conditions and other influential factors. Issues that influence language persistence include the historical period or era in question, those who use the language, the reasons that the language is used, and the importance of that language. All of these factors determine the degree to which the overall societal environment is accepting of that language. In most cases, it is not the mere existence of a single condition—such as a large base of timeless literature—that allows a language to exist but the intersection of internal and external pressures that have the greatest effect and influence on whether the language persistence will be supported or rejected. Because each of these factors is constantly changing, the conditions faced by any given language are always in flux, as is the language's likelihood to persist.

Historical Influences

A language will persist depending on conditions during the era and how that period intersects with issues that produce favorable conditions for that language. Conditions can be a product of an era's level of encouragement for language diversity and intolerance for language extinction and can be contingent on other factors, such as the place where the language exists, the language's linguistic characteristics, and the language's use. Indigenous languages in the United States present a good example of languages that are either extinct or in decline. Following the Civil War, the

U.S. government began a process of systematic forced assimilation by removing Native American children from their families and tribes. The ultimate objective of this assimilation was to "improve" their way of life and make them more American. This included eliminating their home language and teaching them English. These strategies played a part in the eradication or near extinction of many indigenous languages. Today, public sentiment will not tolerate the open and willful eradication of native languages in this way. The knowledge that these languages are endangered has allowed public and private funding to help indigenous people revive their languages. This interest, in some cases, has helped reverse the decline, and several native languages are now experiencing a promising revitalization. The critical difference is the historical period in which one or the other outcome could be expected to gain traction.

The era can largely determine the modes of communication used in a specific area; for example, how the language is able to adapt to those communicative uses determines the language's likelihood to survive. Period-specific modes of communication such as the printed press, Internet, and television have had, and continue to have, a profound effect on languages. These technologies illustrate the importance a historical era or period will have on languages. We can imagine then, that in the future, most languages in existence will continue because of interpretive technology, but that would be overly simplistic. We also know that other factors will be at play. Nevertheless, the time window for gaining a foothold on the Internet era is closing. And a language without an active Internet presence, and the existence of numerous Web sites, risks a lack of persistence into the 22nd century. European linguists believe that the Czech language is a good example of conditions that affect language. With only 10 million active speakers, a shrinking population, and young people actively surfing the Web in English, it is difficult to imagine the emergence of Czech as one of the dominant languages of Europe. Similar fears have been expressed about the Italian language because it exists in an area populated by older people and in a society that lags behind other nations with respect to technology.

Where the Language Exists

A language's chance to persist partly depends on where it exists. The coexistence of other languages in

the location where a language exists, for example, can reduce or enhance a language's chance to persist, depending on the language's standing among other languages spoken in the same region. Other factors that affect a language's survival include the area's proximity to or association with political entities where that language is prevalent or predominates, the stability of the area where the language exists, and the perceived level of threat or existing power structures posed by persons who use the language. Each of these factors can reduce or enhance a language's chance to persist depending on the relationship with other factors that produce conditions favorable to the language. A language's standing can be measured in several ways, among these the total number of speakers; number of speakers from the political, social, or economic elite; and benefits of speaking the language such as economic returns or fending off social or economic control by outside forces.

The former Yugoslavia is a textbook example of how the place where a language exists affects a language's chance to persist. In Yugoslavia, the place-where-the-language-exists factor interconnected greatly with the historical-era factor to create different environments for the multiple languages of the region. For instance, during the rule of Josip Broz Tito from 1953 until his death in 1980, language pluralism dominated Yugoslavia. Language maintenance, bilingualism, and language variety were widely and strongly supported during the Tito regime and languages enjoyed powerful legal protections. Pluralism was tied to the ideologies of national unity and linguistic equality. The likelihood that languages in the region would persist was good.

Following Tito's death and until Slovenia declared independence in 1990, the Serbs, who constituted the largest nationality group in Yugoslavia, imposed Serbian-based centralist policy and did away with pluralism. Chances that several languages in the region would persist alongside a dominant Serbian language now seem relatively weak. Interestingly, with the breakup of Yugoslavia, the likelihood that languages of the region would persist again turned promising. Slovenia, for example, adopted pluralism and protected the minority languages of Italian and Hungarian in its new constitution. Language was given human rights protection along with such characteristics as race, sex, and religion.

In an unexpected turn of events, Slovenia's openness to other languages and its stronger ties to Western

Europe have worked against the Slovene language, which has suffered losses to English and German languages in important domains. As a result, the Slovene language's chance to persist has diminished.

Speakers of the Language

A language's speakers do much for the conditions faced by a language. Increases in the number of speakers, for example through a high birth rate or through immigration, affect its likelihood of persisting, although not always positively depending on the intersection with other factors. Increases in the number of low-status immigrants who speak a different language or dialect have been met with backlash when persons and institutions of power over sociocultural, religious, and economic entities feel that their power is threatened by a surge of speakers entering "their" society.

Illustrations of backlash toward non-English speakers can be seen in the United States. Large increases in the number of Spanish speakers in several states has spurred the emergence of language restrictionist measures in those states aimed at curbing the use of Spanish and raising fears among the general public about its effect on the society. In Arizona, the Spanish-speaking population grew from 14% in 1990 to 20% in 2000. Concurrently, a drive against bilingual education led to a voter initiative to eliminate bilingual education in the public schools. The voter initiative against bilingual education was not coincidental. Other propositions followed to restrict Spanish-language use in the state, including a restriction against the use of Spanish by public employees in the exercise of their duties. Policy changes ending the practice of providing drivers' license examinations in other languages have taken effect in several states. Hence, the persistence of Spanish in an otherwise positive environment of growth has been stymied by negative public policies rooted in the same conditions. In this instance, the factor of political power made a difference. Although the Hispanic population grew rapidly, its political power did not. Rapid population growth without a parallel increase in political power led to retaliatory public policies against the language.

A backlash can also occur with increases in the social status of a language's speakers. Increased social status is generally thought to increase a language's likelihood to persist, but increased social status of the language's speakers can also lead to

retaliation against a language or languages depending on the intersection with other factors. Press reports in California showed that more persons who speak Asian languages were getting into medical schools than before and were subsequently increasing the proportion of Asian medical doctors in the state. This led to calls to raise English language proficiency requirements for admission to medical school. The long-term effect of these dynamics is likely to be a decision by many Asian families to reduce the use of Asian languages in the home and focus on English as the family language of choice.

Unless they are driven by strong nationalistic sentiment, most humans are practical when it comes to language. They often take the well-worn course of least resistance. Speakers of a language must see the benefits and advantages of a given language's persistence if they are to join in supporting the effort. Such benefits may be tied to identity, culture, economics, tradition, relationships, or other such contexts. But benefits will generally trump disadvantages when it comes to language use. Clearly observable benefits are among the strongest factors that contribute to conditions for language persistence. Language often becomes an identity marker within a given historical period. Often, it is not a difficult choice for young people to seek to identify with the persons with the more positive identity and to move away from those who are in some way stigmatized as speakers of a less prestigious language.

Language Use and Persistence

A language's use has a significant influence on its persistence. If a language is one used by educational institutions and education increases the chances to succeed, then persons will value that language provided they have access to educational institutions that use that language. But the reverse can also be true. If use of the language by educational institutions serves the function of limiting access to educational services, then the quality of educational services that accrue to this population will be poor, and the language involved may not persist within that population. The case of Arizona is once again illustrative, specifically the state's policy intended to curb the use of Spanish. Although there is little proof of the policy's effect on the use of Spanish in Arizona, the effect on access to quality education for the state's Spanish speakers has been documented. Language

policy can become, whether by design or not, the interests of the state, the media, or a multitude of other players, a gatekeeping mechanism to deny or grant access to services in education.

Whereas changes can be slow and unremarkable, what constitutes a particular language is constantly changing even when the language is mature and somewhat standardized. For example, words may be added or dropped, borrowed from other languages, or mutate in meaning. Although limited flexibility to accommodate its users helps a language's survival, excessive tolerance for change does not ensure that the language will persist. If a language mutates rapidly to the point of becoming unrecognizable in a few generations, it ceases to be classified as that language and runs the risk of being lost or becoming a low status dialect. The combined factors of ease of accommodation and speed of acceptance of foreign elements act against its persistence. English, for example, holds on to an arcane system of spelling that could benefit from simplification. But there is no movement to simplify the spelling of English words. The reasons for this are probably complex, but one factor contributing to that is fear that it would subsequently appear to be less whole, more childlike, or that it may lose its literary history and prestige. How the linguistic characteristics of a language intersect with other factors that affect persistence can determine, at least in part, the language's chances for survival—for example, how a language intersects with current modes of communication and how the language is positioned on multiple scales in a given area. Among these are degrees of prestige, prevalence, and prominence. All of these affect the language's chance for survival.

Mario J. Castro

See also English for the Children Campaign; Languages in Colonial Schools, Eastern; Languages in Colonial Schools, Western; Social Bilingualism

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Castro, M., & Wiley, T. G. (2008). Adult biliteracy and language diversity: How well do national data inform policy? In K. M. Rivera & A. Huerta-Macías (Eds.), *Adult biliteracy: Sociocultural and programmatic responses*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Crawford, J. (1996). *Endangered Native American languages: What is to be done, and why?* Retrieved February 1, 2007, from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/crawford/endangered.htm>
- English Language Education for Children in Public Schools, Arizona Revised Statutes (A.R.S.) §§ 15–751 *et seq.* (2004).
- McKay, S. L., & Hornberger, N. H. (Eds.). (1996). *Sociolinguistics and language teaching*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ricento, T. (Ed.). (2000). *Ideology, politics, and language policies: Focus on English*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic genocide in education, or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Tollefson, J. W. (Ed.). (2002). *Language policies in education: Critical issues*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (1990). Table 1. Language use and English ability, persons 5 years and over, by state: 1990. *Census 1990 census of population, CPHL-96*. Washington, DC: Author.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2003). Table 1. Language use, English ability, and linguistic isolation for the population 5 years and over by state: 2000. *Census 2000*, Summary File 3, Tables P19, PCT13, and PCT14. Internet release date: February 25, 2003. Washington, DC: Author.
- Wiley, T. G. (2005). *Literacy and language diversity in the United States* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.

LANGUAGE POLICY AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Language policy refers to official or quasi-official efforts to manage or regulate the use or form of a language within a community. Language policy encompasses the range of decisions that people make about language. The decision to make English the official language of India offers one example of language policy, and another is a decision for instruction to be in Tagalog at a local elementary school in the Philippines. The use of one language rather than others within a community establishes and maintains the high status of that language and its speakers, positioning others lower in the hierarchy, and contributing to the loss or maintenance of a language.

Language policy is directly linked to social control and the privileging of one group of people over others

using language as a vehicle to do so. Though the loss of a language from the world's linguistic landscape is typically seen as a natural, evolutionary process over time, it is often a direct result of choices that people in power have made. The reality is that language policies are often concerted, politically motivated efforts to assert the power of one group of speakers over another.

Knowledge of the high-status language offers certain advantages to the people who speak it, such as easier access to school curricula or more lucrative jobs. History offers countless examples of the use of language policies to assert power and dominance, most obviously by governments in their efforts to create and enforce a national identity, as this entry describes.

Language Policies in Conquest, Colonization, and Nationalism

Throughout time, language has played a central role in conquest, colonization, and the formation of nations, as speakers of different languages are brought into contact amid power struggles, usually resulting in language spread. The spread of Latin during the Roman Empire, Arabic during Islamic expansion, and French during the 17th century offer instances of groups using language to promote their economic, political, or religious missions. Language has often been used to advance the goals of colonial leadership and, as a result, English has been promoted in East Africa, Russian in the former Soviet Union, and Japanese in Korea. Newly democratized or independent nations such as South Africa, Estonia, and Bangladesh have also relied on language policy to symbolize a reenvisioned national identity.

The colonization of the African continent offers many illustrations of the central role of language policy in wide-scale efforts to gain social control. French colonization in West Africa was characterized by efforts to assimilate Africans into French culture and thereby “civilize” them, and by a belief in the superiority of the French language. The exclusive use of standard French was formalized in the Brazzaville Conference of 1944, when a recommendation was made to designate it as the exclusive language of schools, and any use of local languages was forbidden. As a result, many local languages were lost.

Under apartheid, the official languages of South Africa were English and Afrikaans. In 1974, the government issued a decree that made Afrikaans, seen as the language of the oppressors, as a medium

of instruction for 50% of subjects from the last year of primary school to the last year of high school. The enforcement of this policy spawned the student uprising of 1976 in Soweto, to which the government responded violently. To reverse exclusive apartheid policies after the end of apartheid, a new constitution was formally adopted in 1996 that recognized 9 local languages in addition to English and Afrikaans. This has created a unique context in South Africa, which now has 11 official languages.

Not all new nations adopt multilingual policies, however, and most follow the one-nation, one-language ideology that took root in the early nationalist period. In the case of Israel, Zionist ideology actively and effectively promoted Hebrew monolingualism, upholding the symbolic, political connection between Hebrew and national identity. Historically, it was expected that immigrants to Israel would quickly learn Hebrew because it was necessary for their everyday lives and for their absorption and assimilation into Zionist culture. Normalization of Hebrew that revitalized the language from a primarily religious, written form into a modern, spoken language was essentially completed by 1914. By the time the state of Israel declared independence in 1948, 80% of the Jewish population claimed to know Hebrew, and more than 50% claimed to use it as their sole language. This language revitalization and subsequent shift to Hebrew took place within 50 years. With regard to social control, though this monolingual policy was viewed as essential for the state's unification, it has resulted in the marginalization of Arabic, as well as the loss of minority Jewish languages such as Yiddish and Ladino.

There have been other examples and evidence of the connection between language policy and social control; the 1976 Soweto uprising was not the only time that language policy has been a touch point for violence and resistance to domination. When Pakistan gained independence in 1947, and the national government established Urdu as the national language, Bangla speakers in the eastern part of the country resisted. The police responded violently to a strike in 1952, killing several students. This led to greater resistance and, ultimately, when the first constitution of Pakistan came into effect in 1956, it recognized Bangla as a state language. Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in 1973 and declared Bangla its official language.

The struggles described previously are about far more than just language. They are also about how

society manages diversity, culture, power, identity, and mainly, how it treats the people who are the speakers of different languages.

Language Policy and Gatekeeping

The power of language policy as a mechanism for social control stems from the fact that language policy often functions as gatekeeper, giving access to some and denying others, in arenas such as civic participation, economic mobility, and educational opportunity. In civic affairs, language choices can be used to constrain the ability of people who do not speak the dominant language(s) to take part in elections and political discourse in general, and in some places, citizenship is only granted to speakers of the dominant language. For example, Estonia gained independence in 1991 after 50 years of Soviet rule, and established Estonian as the official language. In a backlash against the preceding "Russification" period and Russian speakers who had entered the country during that time, a law passed in 1992 requires knowledge of Estonian to gain citizenship.

In the United States, English literacy testing has historically provided a legal means for discrimination in civic participation and citizenship. Although it has been illegal since 1870 to prohibit male citizens over the age of 21 from voting, southern states adopted literacy tests as a way to bar Blacks from participation. This practice was ongoing until the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Although this law banned literacy tests for voting, literacy testing has remained a requirement for naturalization as a U.S. citizen since 1917.

Although the government initially accepted literacy in any language for citizenship, this changed in 1950 when federal law established literacy in English as a condition of naturalization. Language policies such as these bar certain groups from civic participation and citizenship, illustrating how language policies and practices can be used for social control.

With regard to economic mobility, knowledge of high-status languages is directly correlated with income and socioeconomic status. Most jobs require knowledge of the dominant language, and in some workplaces, speaking a minority language is even forbidden. In an example of a workplace language policy, Rose Associates, a building company in New York City, sent out a memo in 2007 forbidding building workers from speaking languages other than

English in all public areas as well as on the radio as a company policy and common courtesy. This policy demotes languages other than English to lesser status and curtails the opportunities for workers with limited knowledge of English to advance professionally.

In Pakistan, English provides access to jobs within the government bureaucracy and the major industrial and business sectors. However, only students of the elite private and public schools have the opportunity to learn English. Likewise, in Israel, both Hebrew and English proficiency are directly correlated with socioeconomic status. For example, knowledge of both is necessary to pass the Bagrut, a higher education matriculation exam, and for most White-collar employment. This disadvantages Arabic speakers, who speak Hebrew as a second language and English as a third language after Hebrew. Results of the national achievement exams consistently show that Jewish students outperform students in the Arab sector in English. Given that both Hebrew and English are necessary for higher education and extremely beneficial in the job market, Arab students are being systematically denied equal access to opportunity.

As evident from these examples, education has historically been a primary way that powers around the world have implemented their language policies. In schools, language policies can contribute to minority language loss or, correspondingly, academic disparities because of language; in this way, schools often participate in the marginalization of minority language speakers. The Chinese government requires Han Chinese culture and language in Tibetan schools as a form of domination, which places Tibetan students at a disadvantage and limits their ability to access the curriculum. In Kazakhstan, Soviet language education policy led to dramatic language loss, and the “Russification” of schools under Soviet rule created the situation in the mid-1980s whereby 40% of Kazakh youth were unable to read their native language. New language policy is reversing that trend by strongly emphasizing the Kazakh language in education; however, now this new language policy poses an equal threat to Russian in today’s Kazakhstan.

As a result of the imposition of English-only policies in public schools in the United States, the languages of immigrant families are typically lost by the second or third generation and replaced with English. Decisions to impose English as the only language of instruction have reflected popular attitudes toward particular ethnic groups and the relationship between

the United States and the students’ country of origin, as in the case of Japanese Americans just after World War II or the treatment of Puerto Rican Americans. The extreme losses of Hawaiian and Native American languages in the United States resulted from intentional education policies, which actively sought to replace these minority languages with English as part of wider efforts to Americanize and control these groups. Perhaps the most egregious language policy in the United States was a state law in Louisiana that made it illegal for slaves to use their native languages while they worked. The same law also forbade the teaching of English to slaves.

Although nations typically use language policies to promote one language at the expense of others, as evident in these examples, many countries now have policies designed to protect and promote regional and ethnic languages, which will preserve the vitality of these languages over time. South Africa exemplifies this—by raising nine local languages to official status in its new constitution, the government contributes to maintaining these languages. Language policies can be adopted that conserve minority languages and offer opportunities to the people who speak them. As postapartheid South Africa shows, linguistic diversity need not be viewed as a threat to national identity, but can instead be seen as a national resource. Likewise, more accepting language policies can enable and encourage civic participation and can contribute to equalizing economic and educational opportunities for all people. For this reason, language policy research in recent years has primarily advocated the adoption of language policies that create opportunities and are inclusive rather than exclusive.

Kate Menken

See also Language Dominance; Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; Languages and Power; Language Shift and Language Loss; Languages in Colonial Schools, Eastern; Languages in Colonial Schools, Western

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (4th ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bartlett, L., Menken, K., Seghers, M., & Adely, F. (2003). *Human development and language policy*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

- Heugh, K. (1999). Languages, development and reconstructing education in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19(1999), 301–313.
- Kaplan, R. & Baldauf, R. (1997). *Language planning: From practice to theory*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Liebowitz, A. (1969). English literacy: Legal sanction for discrimination. *Notre Dame Lawyer*, 45(1, Fall), 7–67.
- Liebowitz, A. (1971). *Educational policy and political acceptance: The imposition of English as the language of instruction in American schools*. Washington, DC: ERIC Reports.
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic genocide in education—Or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, B., & Shohamy, E. (1999). *The languages of Israel: Policy, ideology, and practice*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Tollefson, J. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community*. London: Longman.

LANGUAGE REGISTERS

Users of most languages alter the way they address others according to social backgrounds, intentions, geography, gender, and age. Other factors, such as occupation, may also influence register. When we speak, we sometimes shift registers to communicate effectively and appropriately with others. When we speak of *language registers*, we are generally referring to the variations that speakers or writers use in their language when addressing interlocutors other than in the expected mode or level of formality. Register shifts may be horizontal or vertical. *Horizontal shift* implies language variations used within the same group as the speaker's. *Vertical shift* relates to the degree of formality, ranging from frozen to intimate. Register is a broad concept; it may imply variations in all aspects of language, including phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, and pragmatics. Shifts may involve both verbal and nonverbal elements. This entry describes why people shift language registers, theories of language registers, variations in language use, and implications for second-language users.

Why We Shift Language Registers

When we use language, we must consider a number of factors: who we are, who we are speaking to, the relationship between us and the other person or people, the context we find ourselves in, the purpose of our communication, and the rules for communication in that specific context. Based on our analysis of these, and other factors, we make choices relative to vocabulary, pronunciation, intonation, velocity of speech, gestures and posture, syntax, proximity, and eye contact. We consider whether to tell a joke and even how we should appear physically—type of clothing and accessories, perfumes or colognes, makeup, or hairstyle.

In short, we shift language registers in appropriate ways to follow the social rules, relate to others in some way, and make sure that we accomplish our purpose as communicators. We may want to get a job, invite someone out on a date, share a secret with a friend, explain a lesson to a group of students, write a short story, show that we are part of a group, share findings of a research project at a conference, give a guided scripted tour at a local park, or write a polite letter of complaint to a service provider. If we do not communicate in the right way, our message may not come across correctly, we may offend the person or people we are addressing, or we may detract from our message because the listener focuses attention on our inappropriateness. When language users do not know how and when to shift, they will face communication difficulties that could, in turn, lead to other types of problems—issues with relationships, work-related problems, or poor grades, among other things.

Theories of Language Registers

As with most language phenomena, *language register* is defined in different ways by different people. Thomas Bertram Reid, in 1956, is credited with the first use of the term, which then became more commonly used in the 1960s by linguists who wanted to speak or write about variations in language according to user and related to the interaction of different variables. Michael Halliday has written about user selection of language variations according to the setting. He defines three variables that influence the variation selected: field (subject matter), tenor (relationships), and mode (type of communication being spoken or written). Rodney Quirk and colleagues distribute register shifts across a formality scale that includes very

formal and frozen, formal, neutral, informal and casual or familiar. Martin Joos speaks of five styles: frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate (a commonly used model).

Register shifts can be placed on a continuum. It would be difficult to place language usage neatly into one particular style at any time because users tend to overlap in their style usage, or there are modes in between, for example, intimate and casual or frozen and formal. As language users, we each operate with our own *idiolect*, a personal way of speaking and writing that lets others recognize us, and within dialects (according to age, occupation, gender, or region). Each of these adds another variable when considering register shifts. Each language user has a particular style and way of operating within the registers. People who are adept at “reading” interlocutors sometimes shift between or among registers during an initial conversation. These people observe the effect that each register type has on the other person and quickly move to whatever register seems to work best given the purpose of the exchange. Users also have varying degrees of experience within registers, which will influence how and when they use that variation. For example, a user may have little experience with frozen registers (a young child, for example) or with casual registers (someone who has few contacts with others and is mostly in a professional or formal setting). Registers also change with time. Expressions or gestures, for example, that are “in” one day may be “out” the next day, therefore marking a change in the casual register. Failure to keep up with widespread register changes can have the result of labeling the speaker as outdated or old fashioned. Individuals change and so do the times, and with these changes, language adapts and appropriateness is redefined.

Variations in Language Use

Language register may imply shifts in phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and paralinguistics. Examples of phonology shifts would be the use of abbreviated or reduced forms, like “did’ja,” or “could’ja” in casual settings. A language user in a more formal setting would use “did you” or “could you” and avoid reduced forms. In an informal mode involving mother and baby, a mother might say “wab-bit” instead of “rabbit” when playing with her child, as a strategy of endearment or imitation. In terms of morphology, depending on social class or geographical

region, a speaker might violate rules—for example, using “sheeps” or “oxes” to represent the plural instead of “sheep” and “oxen,” although language evolves with time, and usage patterns produce changes such as the acceptance of “fishes” instead of “fish” for the plural form because of common usage. An example of syntax shifting could be, “Are you interested in reading the report?” rather than “Wanna read the report?” In the case of semantics, the examples are many. Perhaps the area that has most adjustments in register shifting is that of word choice. In a more formal setting, for example, we might call a gathering of people to talk a “planning session” or a “roundtable discussion” but in casual terms, we might call it a “jam session” or a session to “chew the fat.” A problem might more formally be called “an incident,” “an inconvenience,” or “an area of opportunity,” but in more casual terms, it might be “a pain in the neck,” “a glitch,” or “a mess-up.” Pragmatically, we shift to follow social rules, to modify our style to fit the purpose. This might relate to how much information we give or how we represent an issue. For example, a politician or spokesperson at the White House might give telegraphic, nondescript information about an international incident, but a reporter would spill all the details she had available to her editor to facilitate a decision by the editor concerning the same story. In an interview, should the interviewee ask questions or challenge the interviewers? Is it all right to ask the panel to repeat or paraphrase the question?

Paralinguistically, people make decisions on issues such as clothing, jewelry, scents, makeup, body language, and gestures. When going for a job interview, should a woman wear a suit (pants or a skirt, what color, what style?) or a dress (is the look too feminine, not “power-oriented”)? Should she use jewelry or avoid it? Perhaps, if the interview is for a teaching position, the look might be a bit more conservative, as a possible partner in a law firm would look more “business oriented,” but if the position is for a cosmetic salesperson, a feminine use of clothing and makeup might be key. Should the interviewee shake everyone’s hand, sit down before being asked to sit, or hand out materials that he has brought even though they were not requested by the interviewers? When a language user opens his mouth to speak or sits down at the computer and starts to write, he makes important decisions about how he will deliver his message. What will he say and not say, and how will he say it within that particular setting? Written and spoken language

have variations between them. Commonly, young students write the way they speak, very informally, even in their own language. They do not perceive the difference between the two. In writing, just as in speaking, the user will need to decide which register or style to use. The selection of style depends on the function of the document and how we will judge the relative success of the communication. A friendly letter, a memo, a technical report, a poem, a contract, a television script, a short story that includes regional dialogues, a prayer, and a speech are all different and require different types of language.

Implications for Second-Language Learners

To function successfully in a society as a language user, English language learners (ELLs) must be able to effectively maneuver through the maze of decisions associated with register, to ensure that they are getting their messages across in a way that is appropriate according to the context in which they find themselves. A second-language learner who finds himself or herself in an English-speaking country with the task of learning how to use English appropriately must deal with many linguistic and cultural issues. Usually learners, by definition, do not dominate the language 100%, nor do they know the cultural or social rules completely. They have a competing set of linguistic and cultural rules that they have operated with all of their lives. These rules may be similar to or different from the rules in their new location, even when the language is the same. Under these circumstances, ELLs are faced with a completely new palette of words, expressions, gestures, and social relationships. Perhaps in a given country, one does not sit until invited to do so, women do not speak directly to men, children are not involved in adult conversations, certain subjects are taboo in business settings, or one must deal with social niceties before getting down to business. The learner does not know whether certain words are formal or informal and, hence, cannot judge whether they are appropriate. Should titles be used? Who can take the lead in a conversation? Should the person who approached first be the leader? All of these questions relate to facility in the selection and use of appropriate registers.

In second-language learning situations, the issue of register, especially in the case of teenagers and adults—and maybe even more so when dealing with

English for special purposes—must be dealt with concretely. Learners should be familiar with the concept of register shifting and should be able to move across registers as needed when they interact with others. This familiarity and practice can occur through role plays, reading, talking about films, or interacting in real-life situations of various types. Language learners need to have experience with observing and acting upon different types of social contexts. A demonstrated ability to maneuver within registers will facilitate entrée into, and success within, the English-speaking world. Uncertainty in handling register changes may come across as an uncertainty concerning the purpose of the exchange or the sincerity of the speaker.

Kathryn Singh

See also Attitudes Toward Language Diversity; Linguistics, an Overview; Status Differences Among Languages

Further Readings

- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Joos, M. (1961). *The five clocks*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartuik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Reid, T. B. (1956). Linguistics, structuralism, philology. *Archivum Linguisticum*, 8, 28–37.
- Trudgill, P. (1992). *Introducing language and society*. London: Penguin.

LANGUAGE RESTRICTIONISM

In the context of U.S. bilingual education, *language restrictionism* is defined as systematic efforts to stop a linguistic or ethnic group of people from speaking, learning, or maintaining their native or home language. In the United States, language restrictionism has been justified under the banner of promoting national unity, ensuring the homogeneity of the citizenry, or as a means of “Americanizing” immigrants or native peoples. Learning and using the English language is usually considered the defining characteristic of “Americanism.”

Many scholars agree that a restrictive period of language policy lasted from the 1880s through the 1960s. James Crawford, in his book *Educating English Learners*, provides what may be the most comprehensive overview of the history of language restrictionism in the United States, as expressed in attitudes and policies restricting bilingual education. This entry draws from his work and that of others who have looked into this peculiarly American idea.

Although the founding fathers never selected an official language for the new nation, restricting the use of languages in public places, especially in schooling, is documented as early as the mid-17th century. Benjamin Franklin was perhaps the most notable personality who promoted language restrictionism. He opened an English-only parochial school for native German-speaking children in the 1750s. When parents realized that the school's emphasis was imposing a language shift away from German, they removed their children and withdrew political support for Franklin. In 1780, John Adams also proposed opening an English-only school, but his request was ignored by the Continental Congress, probably because the support of German-speaking colonists was vital to the nation-building effort that lay ahead.

Terrence Wiley, in a book chapter titled "Accessing Language Rights in Education," provides a history of educational language policy in the United States. In it, he identifies the groups against whom language restrictionism has been aimed historically: immigrants, including refugees, enslaved peoples, and indigenous peoples. He and others have argued that language restrictions targeting minority populations are directly and indirectly associated with social, political, economic, and educational policy debates. Further, presumed social hostility against certain populations resonates in the degree of restrictiveness against a language and the impact of restrictions on that population.

Enslaved Peoples

Often language restrictionism results in the emergence of new or altered languages as speakers resist restrictions on their native languages, chiefly the inability to study the conventional form of their languages in school. Language restrictionism, on the one hand, and powerlessness on the other are part of the explanation for how plantation owners exerted dominance over large slave populations in places where

African slaves outnumbered Whites. Linguists such as John Baugh have presented the theory that African American Vernacular English (AAVE, sometimes called "Black English" or Ebonics) emerged because (a) slaves from different language backgrounds were forced to find means of communication, and (b) educational apartheid in the United States denied access to English language and literacy development for African Americans. In the case of language restrictionism aimed at African American slaves, compulsory ignorance laws barred access to literacy until 1865. *Compulsory ignorance* refers to the practice whereby slaves were prevented from speaking their own tongues, but also prevented from learning English. In some slaveholding states, Whites were punished if they were found teaching slaves to read and write. Even after the last laws against compulsory ignorance were voided in 1918, however, equal access to education for African Americans was not provided. In 1896, *Plessy v. Ferguson* upheld the "separate but equal" doctrine that further restricted access to schooling and to the language of schooling for 50 years, until it was overturned by *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. Baugh and others have documented anecdotal recollections that point to the gatekeeping structures that limit access to native speakers.

Indigenous Peoples

Evidence of attempts by White Americans to restrict the use of indigenous languages appears as early as 1674, as noted by Richard Bailey in his book chapter "American English: Its Origins and History." He reports the Superintendent of the Indians in Massachusetts writing a proposal to stop attempts at teaching indigenous literacy and replacing them with how to speak, read, and write English. Beyond this early example, little documentation of language restriction exists until much later. In 1819, the Civilization Fund Act was passed to advance English education and practical skills for Native Americans, including English and Anglo values, thus restricting the maintenance of indigenous language and culture.

By the mid-19th century, language restrictionism expanded in scope tremendously and was aimed at "civilizing" Native Americans. Directly after his election as president in 1830, Andrew Jackson pushed a law through Congress called the Indian Removal Act, which required indigenous peoples to move west of the Mississippi River. This occurred largely through

coercion and force. The best-known result of the Removal Act is the historical event referred to as the Trail of Tears. Cherokees who refused to leave their land were forced westward by U.S. troops; en route, nearly 4,000 died of cold, hunger, and disease. Once resettled, tribes instituted bilingual and Cherokee medium of instruction schools, resulting in the spread of native language and literacy (an oral language, it was assigned a syllabic writing system by Sequoyah and adopted by the Cherokee nation in 1821). Ultimately, the Cherokee achieved 90% literacy levels among their people, far beyond that of White Americans of the time. One governmental response was an attack on indigenous peoples' language and culture. Crawford notes that in 1868 the Indian Peace Commission stated, "In the difference of language to-day lies two thirds of our trouble. . . . Schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialects should be blotted out and the English language substituted" (p. 48). To enforce this concept, off-reservation boarding schools were created where Native American children were forcibly Anglicized and Americanized. In 1877, Congress began appropriating funding for Native American schooling, appropriating \$20,000 the first year. Restricting indigenous language use was a key objective in the new program initiatives. The superintendent of Indian Schools announced in 1887 that a native's "inability to speak another language than his own renders his companionship with civilized man impossible," and J. D. C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, lauded English in arguing, "This language, which is good enough for a White man and a Black man, ought to be good enough for the red man" (p. 51). In his book *Language Loyalties*, Crawford refers to the following excerpt taken from Atkins's annual report on Indian Affairs:

The object of greatest solicitude should be to break down the prejudices of tribe among the Indians; to blot the boundary lines which divide them into distinct nations, and fuse them into one homogeneous mass. Uniformity of language will do this—nothing else will. (p. 48)

In response to these calls, a "No Indian" rule was instated at boarding schools in 1890, meaning students were never permitted to speak their native languages—all communication was to be in English. In implementing this policy, most schools punished

children for speaking native languages. Adult Navajos have reported having been assigned chores, having hands slapped with rulers, and mouths washed out with soap for disobeying the English-only rules while in dormitory living spaces. Among the most successful boarding schools at teaching English was Carlisle Academy in Pennsylvania, where some teachers claimed students could attain oracy and literacy in English as quickly as in 6 to 9 weeks. Indian boarding schools exist today in a different light, as settings for students to revitalize native language and culture, but the older model of boarding schools lasted through the mid-20th century along with language restrictionism.

Immigrants

The most obvious and persistent efforts toward language restrictionism in the United States have been the promotion of a single language for immigrants. This was among the purposes of Noah Webster's dictionary. Webster intended to craft a language that reflected American culture and values and distinguished American English from British English. As noted by its publisher in 1806, Webster's was "A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language," the only truly American dictionary of its time. It was the first to document uniquely American words. Often, he changed the spelling of words so that they would reflect a distinctly American usage.

Although Webster's work may reflect early and well-meaning civic contributions to the society, often language restrictionism itself is covert, or hidden, by claims of promoting a unifying national language—English—over the languages of smaller groups that are deemed less important. Language restriction can also be overt, however, as was the case when in 1812, Thomas Jefferson considered an English-only law following the acquisition of lands from the Louisiana Purchase and Louisiana's entry into the Union. He ultimately conceded to the French-speaking majority because of near-rebellion from New Orleans residents. As noted by Crawford, from 1790 to 1830, fewer immigrants to the United States resulted in the weakening of languages other than English, until a great wave of immigrants from Germany arrived, causing German and German-English bilingual schools to gain strongholds in certain areas of the country. Bilingual schooling in German-English and other languages was widely accepted until the 1880s, when a second wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe

(Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Lithuania, and Italy) spread, causing renewed anti-immigrant sentiment across the country. These “new immigrants” were from a variety of different countries and their linguistic, ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds were less familiar to Americans than were those of their predecessors from Northern Europe (Germany, England, Scandinavia, and Ireland).

In 1889, English-only schooling laws aimed at German Catholics were passed in Illinois (Edward Law) and Wisconsin (Bennett Law). Although both were repealed in 1893, these legislative efforts reflect resistance against and distrust of languages other than English. Several years later, in 1906, Congress passed a law requiring English proficiency for naturalization.

Attempts at assimilating these new immigrants by defining or redefining American identity partly as English speakers meant promoting the idea that immigrants’ native language use should occur only in the home. According to historian Ezri Atzmon, the Bureau of Naturalization of the Immigration and Naturalization Service adopted the goal of implementing English language and citizenship classes for immigrants across the country between 1914 and 1920. In 1916, the agency invited more than 200,000 naturalization applicants to join such classes. This sort of “social support” reflected a move away from the acceptance and integration of the languages and cultures brought by immigrants to the United States and a new emphasis on “Americanization” through the imposition of English.

After the United States entered World War I in 1917, the move for Americanizing “the other” gained even more momentum as xenophobia set in, particularly against the substantial number of German immigrants who had arrived in the United States in earlier decades. As noted by Bernard Spolsky, a massive reaction against anything resembling Germany took hold, especially regarding language, an obvious marker. Thirty states passed laws requiring nonnative English speakers to attend English language classes, and 34 states passed English-only schooling laws. According to Aneta Pavlenko, a Nebraska Congressman’s words illustrate popularly held notions of anti-immigrant and anti-immigrant’s language, “If these people are Americans, let them speak our language. If they don’t know it, let them learn it. If they don’t like it, let them move” (p. 178). Restrictions against the use of German were widespread, and those heard speaking German were perceived as unpatriotic and as suspect. Wiley notes that in Jefferson County, Nebraska, local council members

ordered telephone operators to cut off those who publicly spoke German over open lines. Movie theaters were closed, bans on German music ensued, German Americans were encouraged to cancel subscriptions to materials printed in German, and ultimately instruction in foreign languages was deemed un-American. Pavlenko identifies two discourses that were adopted in pursuit of language restrictionism: (1) the positive cognitive and linguistic influences of learning English, and (2) devaluing multilingualism, foreign-language teaching, and native-language maintenance among immigrant populations. In 1919, Theodore Roosevelt, addressing the American Defense Society, called for restrictions on languages other than English, stating, “We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house; and we have room for but one sole loyalty, and that is the loyalty to the American people.” Americanization efforts, largely manifested as language restrictionism in the form of antibilingual education and antiforeign-language instruction continued through the 1920s, and in 1924, the National Origins Act identified quotas based on immigrants’ national origins, which reduced incoming immigration until the 1960s.

Despite this period of restrictiveness, there were advocates for German Americans and supporters of rights to native language use and maintenance. These attitudes, although shared by far fewer Americans, are evident in such cases as *Meyer v. Nebraska* in 1923, which overturned an earlier case that prohibited German-language instruction, and *Farrington v. Tokushige* in 1927, in which the Supreme Court ordered that a ban on heritage language instruction in Japanese, Korean, and Chinese offered outside of public schooling was unconstitutional. The restrictions on language of this period were eventually overturned in policies that grew out of the civil rights movements of the 1960s but have since been reinstated, evidenced, for example, by English-only medium of instruction laws enacted in Arizona, California, and Massachusetts. This last wave of restrictionism has been specifically aimed against bilingual education and is the greatest single policy threat at the moment. As of this writing, there has been no move to reverse them.

Sarah Catherine Moore

See also Americanization by Schooling; Ebonics; English for the Children Campaign; German Language Education; Language Rights in Education; Languages in Colonial

Schools, Eastern; Native American Languages, Legal Support for

Further Readings

- Atzmon, E. (1958, Spring). The educational programs for immigrants in the United States. *History of Education Journal*, 9(3), 75–80.
- Bailey, R. (2004). American English: Its origins and history. In E. Finegan & J. Rickford (Eds.), *Language in the USA* (pp. 3–18). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Baugh, J. (2000). *Beyond Ebonics: Linguistic pride and racial prejudice*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Crawford, J. (Ed.). (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Crawford, J. (2005). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom*. Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
- Farrington v. Tokushige, 273 U.S. 284 (1927).
- Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).
- Ovando, C. J. (2003). Bilingual education in the United States: Historical development and critical issues. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 27, 1–24.
- Pavlenko, A. (2002). “We have room for but one language here”: Language and national identity in the U.S. at the turn of the 20th century, *Multilingua*, 21, 163–196.
- Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).
- Roosevelt, T. (1926, Memorial edition). *Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (Vol. 24). New York: Scribner’s.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy: Key topics in socio-linguistics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiley, T. G. (2002). Accessing language rights in education: A brief history of the U.S. context. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

LANGUAGE RESTRICTIONISM IN EDUCATION

See ENGLISH FOR THE CHILDREN CAMPAIGN

LANGUAGE REVIVAL AND RENEWAL

Half of the 6,000 to 7,000 languages worldwide are considered “endangered,” as parental transmission loses out to other influences and power languages take

over the task of global communications. Of these, more than 500 are considered “moribund” or nearly extinct, with only a few elderly speakers still living, according to the language resource *Ethnologue*. In the United States, 68 indigenous languages are in this category. The process by which languages become extinct is known as language loss, language obsolescence, language death, or extinction. On the other side of the language coin, efforts to instill vitality in a language that is either extinct or in the process of becoming so are referred to as *language maintenance*, *language revival*, *language renewal*, and more generally, as *language revitalization*. This entry discusses those efforts.

Languages and the sociocultural contexts in which they function have never been static, and language loss is not a new phenomenon. The nature, scale, and scope of the current pattern of linguistic change is unprecedented and distinct from what occurred before the colonial projects starting in the 16th century and the formation of large nation-states in the 18th and 19th centuries. Since then, languages have been lost at an unprecedented pace. This replacement of thousands of languages by a few languages represents a loss of cultural and intellectual diversity to the world. From an individual perspective, language loss represents a shift in identity; from a community perspective, it represents the loss of cultural values, beliefs, traditions, and knowledge that are closely tied to the languages in question. Many scholars, including Joshua A. Fishman, David Crystal, and Leanne Hinton, agree that cultures cannot long survive without the languages that are used to express their more nuanced feelings, emotions, and ideas.

Besides the loss of important linguistic resources to the world, maintaining a community language is nowadays considered a basic linguistic human right to be protected. Around the world, local and indigenous communities have become aware of this problem and are taking action to reverse the course of language loss. Patterns of language loss and extinction are nearly always tied to political, military, or economic takeover or decline. They may be either slow and steady or abrupt, happening within a single generation. In the 20th century, developments in communication and universal education contributed to the decrease in the domains in which local and indigenous language may be used. Today, the phenomenon of globalization is also contributing to the decline in use of local and indigenous languages. Languages of wider communication, such as English, Spanish, and Chinese, are

considered instrumental in conducting business and communicating on a global scale. According to the Endangered Language Fund, if the current patterns of language shift and language loss continue, half of the current languages in the world will be extinct by the year 2100.

Language revival and *renewal* are two of the terms applied in the literature to efforts by communities and advocates to maintain local and indigenous languages in use and halt the process of language loss and extinction. These terms, together with the more general *language revitalization*, are not always defined consistently; although some authors make clear distinctions among them, others choose to use them interchangeably. *Language revival*, in its most strict definition, applies to efforts to revive a language that is no longer in use by any native speakers. In a broader sense, this refers to the process by which members of a speech community try to revive fluency, strengthen existing competence, and expand the language's uses by adding new domains of use. *Language renewal* is referred to as efforts by adult community members to ensure that at least some of them will continue to use and promote a traditional language that has experienced decline in use. An example of this is the Master-Apprentice Language Program in California, in which elderly speakers of native languages act as mentors to adult members of the community, teaching them the language so they in turn help the community in revitalizing the language.

A related term, *language revitalization*, is used to refer to efforts to impart vigor and restore vitality to a language that is experiencing a decline in use. Reinstatement of the transmission of a language across generations may not necessarily be the primary or essential goal of these efforts; they involve increasing the number of users and promoting new uses of the language, by expanding its domains and instituting learning programs. The goals of these efforts usually depend on the particular situation of a language and the community that speaks it. Although the process of language loss and extinction is seldom planned, language revival and renewal efforts usually require deliberate actions by the community, known as language planning.

Factors in Language Revival and Renewal

Endangered languages may still be spoken by all age groups in a community, but there may be a decline in

the proportion of children learning the language at home or a decline in the domains in which the language is used. There may be cases where a language is no longer being learned by children in the homes, with either the parent or grandparent generation as the last fluent speakers of the language. A language may have only a few individuals, or elders, who still know the language and may or may not have a chance to speak it. Or, a language may have lost all its speakers. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) the expert group on endangered languages identifies nine factors for assessing the vitality of a language, including the following: (1) intergenerational language transmission, or whether the language is still in use by all generations, (2) absolute number of speakers, (3) proportion of speakers within the total population, (4) trends in existing language domains, or whether the language is used in all domains and for all functions, (5) response to new domains and the media, (6) availability and promotion of materials for language education and literacy, (7) governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use, ranging from equal support to prohibition, (8) community members' attitudes toward their own language, ranging from all members valuing and supporting the language to no one caring if the language is lost, and (9) amount and quality of documentation, ranging from comprehensive to inadequate.

Although language communities are complex and diverse and a single factor is not sufficient to determine the need for documentation for a particular language, these guidelines taken together may be useful in assessing a language's situation in a society, and helping determine what types of efforts are necessary in the maintenance, revitalization, revival, or renewal of the language.

Another set of factors that may contribute to revival and renewal efforts are offered by David Crystal, in his book *Language Death*. He argues that languages may improve their chances of being maintained if their speakers (a) increase their prestige within the dominant community, (b) increase their wealth, (c) increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community, (d) have a strong presence in the education system, (e) can write the language down, and (f) can make use of electronic technology. The role of literacy and the media in language revival and renewal is controversial, and one that has been extensively argued. Although some consider literacy as an important, even crucial

factor in the revival efforts of a language, others see it as detrimental to a community's oral tradition. The role of the media is also controversial because it exposes formerly isolated communities to the influence of a globalized economy and the pressures to acquire dominant languages. At the same time, the media can function as a powerful tool in aiding the efforts of communities to maintain their community connected and the language in use. The Internet in particular has been reported as useful in both documenting languages and connecting communities and their languages.

Stage-Based Approaches to Language Revival and Renewal

In an effort to conceptualize a course of action to reinstate intergenerational transmission, Joshua Fishman offers a typology and rationale for Reversing Language Shift (RLS) in eight sequential stages through which this can be accomplished, referred to as the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). This scale consists of a continuum of eight stages of language loss in which eight is closest to extinction and one closest to dynamic continued use. Fishman proposes GIDS as an assessment tool to establish the language's situation and, at the same time, as guidelines to determine what course of action is needed to restore the language to the vitality needed for intergenerational transmission. *Stage eight* refers to "nearly extinct" languages with only a few isolated elders who speak the language. At this stage, possible courses of action include documentation through recordings and transcription, master-apprentice programs in which adults learn from the elders, and getting elders connected via telephone and digital media. *Stage seven* happens when only adults beyond childbearing age speak the language. Possible courses of action at this stage include grandparents teaching their grandchildren the language, and the establishment of immersion preschools or "language nests" where these speakers team up with teachers to expose young children to the language. *Stage six* refers to the reappearance of intergenerational oral transmission of the language. Fishman notes that this is a difficult and crucial stage because most languages survive at this level without the need to go to subsequent stages. Courses of action at this stage include developing places in the community where the language is promoted and used, and encouraging families to speak the language at home with and around their children.

Stage five includes the use of literacy in home, school, and community, but without necessarily being present in formal institutions. Courses of action at this stage might include promoting literacy in the language through voluntary programs in schools and other institutions to increase prestige and use. *Stage four* involves the required use of the language in elementary education. At this stage, courses of action include the improvement of instructional methods, developing dual-language programs where children outside the community learn the language, and developing textbooks and literature in the language for content and literacy instruction. This is the first step that may require regular contact and cooperation outside the speech community. *Stage three* involves the use of the language outside the community in places of business and some work environments. Actions that may be taken at this stage are the promotion of the language as the language of work throughout the community and developing vocabulary so that the language can be used in all work environments. *Stage two* is achieved when the language is used by local government and local mass media. Actions at this stage include promoting the use of the written form in government and business, as well as promoting periodicals, radio, and television in the language. *Stage one* refers to the use of the language in higher education, government, and the media (without political independence). Fishman cautions that achieving this stage does not mean the end of problems despite the advantage of reaching this level; rather, problems become more politicized and aggravated. Actions at this stage include teaching a variety of subjects in the language in higher education, promoting publication of literature and public performances (i.e., theater, concerts) in the language, as well as creating awards to promote these efforts. Fishman's model has been adopted and adapted extensively; however, the situation of endangered languages is usually complex, involving several of the stages at the same time, which makes the linear application of his model either difficult or impossible. Further, in some instances, achieving intergenerational transmission is no longer possible but maintaining the language in different domains is.

Leanne Hinton, in the introduction to *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, offers an adaptation of Fishman's model that provides steps toward language revitalization. She notes that these steps may happen simultaneously and may begin even before the language planning first step takes place. In Hinton's model, *step one* involves language assessment

and planning. *Step two* involves reconstruction of the language in cases where there are no speakers left, and *step three* involves documentation when only a few elder speakers remain. *Step four* involves developing second-language learning programs for adults who will become instrumental in later steps. *Step five* involves redeveloping and enhancing cultural practices that promote the use of the endangered language at home and in public. *Step six* involves an intensive language-learning program for children, and *step seven* involves the use of the language in the homes as the primary means of communication. *Step eight* involves expanding the use of the language to different domains within the community, and *step nine* involves doing the same outside the community. Hinton stresses that some of these steps may be outside the desired goals of small communities, though some of the early steps may not be necessary for some communities.

Hinton also describes different approaches used in language revitalization efforts, which include (a) school-based programs, (b) children's programs outside of school, (c) adult language programs, (d) documentation and materials development, and (e) home-based programs. School-based programs include the teaching of the endangered language as a subject, bilingual education, immersion schools and classrooms, and culture programs. Children's programs outside of school include after-school programs and summer intensive language and culture camps. Adult programs include evening classes for adults and their families, community recreation programs, and master-apprentice programs. Documentation efforts are particularly important in the case of seriously endangered languages and they must be carried in conjunction with other measures. Some languages are better documented than others, and having more documentation is always better. Modern audiovisual and digital technology may prove valuable in carrying out these efforts, especially in relation to how people actually use the language. Home-based programs are aimed at establishing transmission across generations, and involve both the parent and the grandparent generations carrying out daily tasks as well as traditional activities in the language. Depending on the language community, some of these efforts will take precedence over others, but all scholars and advocates in this field agree that a combination of measures is most effective in revitalizing a language.

The most famous case of language revival is that of Hebrew, which went from being a liturgical language to a spoken vernacular with the advent of the state of

Israel. Other known cases of language revival and renewal around the world include Catalan and Basque in Spain, Irish in Ireland, Māori in New Zealand, Sami in Norway, Quechua in the Andean countries, and Hawaiian in the United States. Official status granted to many of these languages was one of the measures taken, but this alone is not enough as a combination of official governmental measures and community-driven actions are often necessary to achieve the goals of revitalizing a language. This is especially important given the social nature of language that needs its speakers more than official documents. In many instances, efforts to revitalize these languages achieved no more than halting the decline in the number of speakers, or adding new domains to the language. However, had these measures not been taken, the state of these languages might be different today.

Valentina Canese

See also Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; Language Persistence; Language Socialization of Indigenous Children; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Crystal, D. (2000). *Language death*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Gordon, R. G., Jr. (Ed.). (2005). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (15th ed.). Dallas, TX: SIL International. Available from <http://www.ethnologue.com>
- Hinton, L., & Hale, K. (Eds.). (2001). *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Reyner, J., Cantoni, G., St. Clair, R. N., & Yazzie, E. P. (1999). *Revitalizing indigenous languages*. Flagstaff: Center for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University. Retrieved from http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/RIL_Content.html
- UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages. (2003, March 10–12). *Language vitality and endangerment*. International Expert Meeting on the UNESCO Programme *Safeguarding of Endangered Language*, Paris, France.

Web Sites

- Endangered Language Fund:
<http://www.endangeredlanguagefund.org>

LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN EDUCATION

In dealing with educational language rights in the United States, it is useful to make a distinction between the *right to access* education and the *right to an education in one's mother tongue(s)*. For language minority students, both rights are important for participation in the broader society and staying connected with their home/community language. According to Reynaldo Macías, two basic rights exist: (1) the right to freedom from discrimination on the basis of language, and (2) the right to use one's language in the activities of communal life. There is no legally protected right to choice of language except as it flows from these two rights in combination with other rights, such as due process, equal enforcement of the laws, and so on.

In the United States and other Western countries, rights are usually located in the individual rather than in groups, explains Macías. In international law, all the existing rights are individual rights and freedoms, although their manifestations may involve more than one individual, according to Fernand de Varennes. The idea of language rights generally means something different than freedom of speech. Language rights around the world frequently are ignored in the formulation of educational policies. Unfortunately, even though organizations such as the United Nations have passed resolutions supporting the right of children to instruction in their native languages, member nations, including the United States, do not act on them because these resolutions are not binding, clarifies Tove Skutnabb-Kangas.

In the United States, language rights are largely derived from their association with other constitutional protections, which are also linked to race, religion, and national origin. Bill Piatt argues that some accommodations for the use of minority languages have been made in some legal cases dealing with educational, economic, and political access; the recognition of language rights generally and linguistic accommodations, therefore are on a tenuous legal foundation. This entry describes the orientations and implications of language policies, their historical context, and key court decisions relating to educational language policies.

Policy Orientations and Their Implications

Language policies have a direct effect on language rights. In considering policies, it is useful to note their

functions in either promoting or restricting rights. Traditionally, many scholars—such as Heinz Kloss, for example—limited their analyses to formal policies, or explicit language laws. Language rights in practice are also shaped by *implicit/covert* policies as well as by *informal* practices that can have the same or even greater force than official policies. *Implicit* policies include those that overtly start out to be language policies but have the effect of policy. Arnold Leibowitz explains that *covert* policies, as the word implies, are more menacing because they use English language or literacy requirements as a means of barring someone from social, political, educational, or economic participation.

Promotion-oriented policies are those that use the resources of the government to advance a language. Historically, by the 1920s, English had been officially designated as the language of schooling in the majority of states. Even before the official designation of English, most language resources have flowed primarily into English instruction. The federal and state governments have rarely tried to promote languages other than English in education, except for purposes of strategic national self-interest or defense. A recent exception has been the Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006 (H. R. 4766, 109th Congress), which has authorized funds for the promotion of threatened languages. More typically, governmental educational policies of the past several decades only have sought to assist in communicating with non-English-speaking populations through *expediency-oriented accommodations*. These are also used when, as Kloss notes, the government/state sees a need to communicate with speakers of minority languages to provide a bridge between minority populations.

Historical Context

In the United States, much of the focus on language rights and schooling has centered on immigrant language minorities. Immigration certainly has been an important source of language diversity. Nevertheless, other sources are also important. Historically, the major types of language minorities have been *immigrants*; *refugees*; *enslaved peoples*, who were forcibly brought here; and *indigenous peoples*. Meyer Weinberg explains that enslaved Africans were among the early recipients of attention and experienced the brunt of early restrictions on their language rights and educational rights, and Native Americans were targeted during the latter

19th century with policies designed to eradicate their languages.

Leibowitz reports that in 1790, approximately 23,000 Spanish-speaking people inhabited areas on the North American continent that would later become part of the southwestern United States. Macías has argued that the notion of indigenous peoples should be extended to include (a) those Spanish-speaking peoples who inhabited an area that later became part of the United States, before its national expansion into the region they occupied, and (b) groups that have a historical or cultural bond to the Americas before European colonization. A similar case could be made for those who spoke French or Russian at the time of their incorporation. Thus, for many, language shift to English resulted not from the choice to assimilate, but as a result of involuntary immigration and enslavement, or annexation and conquest. Territorial expansion and forced assimilation aside, immigration was the major source of language diversity in the 19th and 20th centuries.

During the first 130-plus years of U.S. history, a *tolerance-orientated* policy climate prevailed toward speakers of most European languages. Although the federal and state governments did not promote these languages, attempts to restrict them were rare. During the early republic, education among European-origin peoples was largely supported through private and sectarian means. During this period of relative tolerance, German Americans provided support for instruction in German or bilingual instruction in German and English. Some states, such as Ohio and Pennsylvania, with large German-origin populations during the 19th century allowed public-supported education in German and German/English. Terrence Wiley reports that nevertheless, for the most part, local and private stakeholders provided support for instruction in languages other than English as well as bilingual education. African-origin peoples, however, had a different experience given that *restrictive* literacy policies appeared in slave codes in the 1740s. Slaveholders saw literacy as a direct threat to their ability to control those enslaved. The last of the *compulsory illiteracy* laws, which made it illegal to teach literacy, remained on the books until 1865. During the 1880s, Native American children were forcibly wrenched away from their families and required to attend military-style boarding schools where only English was permitted, as Weinberg explains. Attitudes and policies toward speakers of European languages began to change during the World War I era, however, as speakers of German, the second most populous linguistic group at that time, suddenly found

themselves stigmatized and forced to use English, alleges Wiley. During the 1920s and 1930s, Chinese and Japanese community-based schools operated, often meeting resistance from territorial authorities in Hawai‘i and state authorities in California.

School-based language requirements and standards have been used covertly as surrogates for racial discrimination. In Hawai‘i during the 1920s, for example, so-called English Standard Schools were implemented. Placement in these schools was determined by performance on Standard English tests. Students were sorted into “standard,” “nonstandard,” and “feebleminded” educational tracks. Michael Hass claims that without resorting to overt racially based segregation, language proficiency became the means by which a system of racially segregated schooling was established wherein English language proficiency generally correlated with race or ethnicity.

Educational Language Policies in Societal Context

A number of scholars contend that educational language policies are best understood in their relationship to broader societal policies, dominant beliefs, and power relationships between groups. In this regard, Leibowitz concluded that language policies have been used as instruments of *social control*. He argued that official language policies in education are related to larger problems in society, and language was one of many responses. He noted, for example, that although English was used as the official language for specific functions (e.g., instruction at school, and voting), its use was paired with limitations for the use of languages other than English. In addition, legislation and practices in other areas were discriminatory in nature toward linguistic minority groups; this included undisclosed humiliations. Leibowitz highlights how these situations did not relate only to language, but rather to broader issues. He contends that English-only policies imposed on German, Japanese, and Chinese immigrants as well as on Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans corresponded to the general level of *hostility* of the dominant group toward various language minority groups.

Key Court Decisions

The belief that all children deserve the right to educational opportunity in public education received support only gradually. A legal basis for their language

backgrounds being accommodated is much more recent. During the 19th century, the notion that children have a right to publicly supported education gradually gained favor. Even as it did, however, the right to equal educational opportunity was withheld from many children of color, many of whom were also language minorities, as Joel Spring and Weinberg explain. The 1896 Supreme Court decision *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537) affirmed the dogma of segregated, *separate but equal* education, which was not overturned until 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education* (347 U.S. 483). In *Brown*, race was the singular focus, but some language scholars such as Skutnabb-Kangas have made a similar case for the importance of language rights, though this position has found little support in U.S. law.

Meyer v. Nebraska

Following the antirealism of World War I, many states passed laws prohibiting children from studying a foreign language until Grade 6 or Grade 8. Nebraska similarly passed a law prohibiting foreign-language instruction. The intent of these measures was to make foreign languages inaccessible during those ages when children would have the best opportunity for learning and retaining them. By 1923, several appeals challenging these prohibitions had been filed with the Supreme Court, as Piatt explains. The critical case was *Meyer v. Nebraska* (262 U.S. 390 [1923]). Meyer was a parochial schoolteacher who was convicted and fined for breaking the Nebraska law prohibiting foreign-language teaching. He appealed to the Nebraska Supreme Court and lost. The Nebraska court took the position that teaching German to children of immigrants was a threat to national safety and self-interest. However, in 1923, the Supreme Court overturned the Nebraska decision based on the reasoning that in peacetime such an extreme restriction on foreign-language teachers or parents who wanted their children to learn foreign languages. By a 7–2 vote, the Nebraska law was held to be an infringement of the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (as described by I. N. Edwards, Paul Murphy, Piatt, and Wiley).

Murphy explains that although the *Meyer* case ruled that unduly restrictive educational language policies were unconstitutional, it failed to establish little more than a weak precedent for educational rights because the court accepted the view that all citizens of the United States should be required to speak a common

tongue. *Meyer* also affirmed the “power of the state to compel attendance at some school and to make reasonable regulations for all schools. The requirement that they give instruction in English was not questioned . . .” (as cited in Jill Norgren & Serena Nanda, 1988, p. 188). Thus, a major outcome of *Meyer* was to affirm the official status of English language instruction.

Farrington v. Tokushige

A few years after *Meyer*, in a related decision, *Farrington v. Tokushige* (273 U.S. 284 [1927]), the Supreme Court, following *Meyer*, ruled against the territorial governor of Hawai‘i who had attempted to impose restrictions on private or community-based Japanese, Korean, and Chinese foreign-language schools. *Farrington* was important because a large number of such schools had been established in Hawai‘i and in California, as reported by Leibowitz and by Robert Bell. Many of these schools thrived during the 1920s and 1930s, just as similar schools do today. These heritage language schools provided supplemental instruction in native languages to the English-only instruction provided in public schools. During World War II, however, *Farrington* had no impact when the federal government prohibited Japanese instruction in the federal internment camps in which Japanese Americans were imprisoned, as illustrated in U.S. Senate documents from 1943 to 1974.

Lau v. Nichols and Related Cases

The most significant legal case with implications for language minority students’ educational rights since *Meyer* was *Lau v. Nichols*. The case was filed in San Francisco. California, like many other states, had a prior history of discriminating against language minorities. During the late 19th century, segregation of Asian-origin students was legal, and as late as 1943, the California constitution had affirmed legal segregation of schoolchildren of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, or “Mongolian” parentage. This stipulation was not overturned until 1947.

As in many educational discrimination cases, *Lau* was brought as a lawsuit only after failed efforts by parents and community language rights activists to receive appropriate educational programs for language minority children. Li-Ching Wang, a community leader involved in the 4-year litigation, noted that the Chinese American community had held meetings with the San Francisco school administrators

over a 3-year period. They did several studies demonstrating what children who did not speak English needed and developed proposals of several ways to approach these issues and staged demonstrations in protest of district inaction. As a last resort, Chinese American parents and community leaders filed a lawsuit offering as evidence that of 2,856 Chinese-speaking student who needed help, 1,790 of them did not receive any help or special instruction; only 260 of 1,066 of this student population who received special instruction in English had bilingual Chinese-speaking teachers, as Edward De Avila, Edward Steinman, and Wang further explain.

Despite these inequities, the circuit court of appeals sided with the school district concluding,

The discrimination suffered by these children is not the result of laws passed by the state of California, presently or historically, but is the result of deficiencies created by the children themselves in failing to know and learn the English language. (Cited in De Avila, Steinman, & Wang, 1994, p. 16; emphases added)

In 1974, the Supreme Court, however, ruled in favor of the plaintiffs. In writing for the majority, Justice William O. Douglas noted the connections between language and race, ethnicity, and national origin as he concluded,

The failure of the San Francisco school system to provide English language instruction to approximately 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak English, or to provide them with other adequate instructional procedures, denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program and thus violates § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based on “the ground of race, color, or national origin,” in “any program or activity receiving financial assistance. . . .” (*Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 [1974])

Focusing on the issue of the importance of language for educational access, Douglas chided the lower court and school district for implying that schools are not “legally or morally obligated to teach English,” as he concluded,

Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement

that, *before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. . . . (Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 [1974] emphasis added)*

The significance of *Lau* is that it required schools to accommodate children who do not speak English. It did not, however as is sometimes thought, require bilingual education or any other specific educational remedy. Douglas noted, “Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry is one choice. Giving instructions to this group in Chinese is another.”

In the mid- to later 1970s, federal authorities did attempt to outline what approaches could be used to accommodate language minority children. These came to be known as the *Lau* Remedies. These were subsequently withdrawn by the Reagan administration (see work by James Crawford). Nevertheless, using *transitional* bilingual education as a remedy was prescribed in several district court cases, the first of which was *Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools* (499 F.2d. 1147, 1154 [10th Cir. 1974]). Other important district court cases that prescribed transitional bilingual education include *United States v. Texas* (506 F. Supp. 405 [E.D. Texas 1981]) and *Ríos v. Reed* (480 F. Supp. 1978). Significantly, however, neither *Lau* nor related cases such as *Serna* addressed the constitutional issue of equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. This means that language access in education issues have been largely based on legislative protections against discrimination under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, rather than directly on the Constitution.

According to Martha Jiménez, the question of determining whether the school districts have complied with *Lau* was left to federal courts to resolve. The significant case in addressing this issue was *Castañeda v. Pickard* (648 F.2d 989 [5th Cir. 1981]). The importance of *Castañeda* is that it laid out criteria known as the three-part test by which ““appropriate actions”” by school districts ““to overcome language barriers”” could be assessed. These criteria required that any educational remedy for language minority children must (1) be based on sound educational theory; (2) it must have a reasonable plan for implementation, including the hiring of appropriate

personnel; and (3) it must produce positive educational results.

In returning to the distinction between the right to access education and the right to an education in one's mother tongue(s), court decisions in the United States have upheld the former within the context of accommodating language minorities. This is essentially a right of access. To date, the courts have largely sidestepped the issue of the right to education in one's home or community language through public schools. Language minority parents and communities can, however, do so through private and community-based efforts without restriction based on the *Meyer* and *Farrington* decisions.

Terrence G. Wiley

Editor's Note: This entry is based, in part, on Wiley, T. G. (2002). Accessing language rights in education: A brief history of the U.S. context. In J. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical readings* (pp. 39–64). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Federal Court Decisions and Legislation

Further Readings

- Bell, R. (1935/1974). Japanese language schools in California. Public school education of second generation Japanese in California. In *Educational-Psychology, Vol. 1* (pp. 20–23). Stanford University Publications. Reprinted in S. Cohen (Ed.), *Education in the United States: A documentary history* (Vol. 5, pp. 2974–2976). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Crawford, J. (1992). The question of minority language rights. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy* (pp. 225–228). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- De Avila, E. A., Steinman, E., & Wang, L. C. (1994). Historical overview. In Art, Research and Curriculum Associates (ARC), *Revisiting the Lau Decision: 20 years after*. Symposium Proceedings (November 3–4, 1994, pp. 13–21). San Francisco: ARC.
- De Varennes, F. (1999). The existing rights of minorities in international law. In M. Kontra, R. Phillipson, T. Skutnabb-Kangas & T. Várady (Eds.), *Language: A right and a resource approach to linguistic human rights* (pp. 117–146). Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.
- Edwards, I. N. (1923). The legal status of foreign languages in the schools. *Elementary School Journal*, 24(December), 270–278.
- Jiménez, M. (1992). The educational rights of language minority children. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties* (pp. 243–251). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kloss, H. (1998). *The American bilingual tradition*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics & Delta Systems.
- Leibowitz, A. H. (1971). *Educational policy and political acceptance: The imposition of English as the Language of Instruction in American Schools*. Eric No. ED 047 321.
- Leibowitz, A. H. (1974, August). *Language as a means of social control*. Paper presented at the VIII World Congress of Sociology, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Macías, R. F. (1979). Choice of language as a human right—Public policy implications in the United States. In R. V. Padilla (Ed.), *Bilingual education and public policy in the United States* (pp. 39–75). Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University.
- Macías, R. F. (1999). Language policies and the sociolinguistics historiography of Spanish in the United States. In J. K. Peyton, P. Griffin, & R. Fasold (Eds.), *Language in Action* (pp. 52–83). Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Murphy, P. L. (1992). *Meyer v. Nebraska*. In K. L. Hall (Ed.), *The Oxford companion to the Supreme Court of the United States* (pp. 543–544). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Norgren, J., & Nanda, S. (1988). *American cultural pluralism and the law*. New York: Praeger.
- Piatt, B. (1992). The confusing state of minority language rights. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties* (pp. 229–234). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1999). Linguistic diversity, human rights, and the “free” market. In M. Kontra, R. Phillipson, T. Skutnabb-Kangas, & T. Várady (Eds.), *Language: A right and a resource approaches to linguistic human rights* (pp. 187–222). Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.
- Spring, J. (1994). *Deculturation and the struggle for equality: A brief history of the education of dominated cultures in the United States*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- U.S. Senate. (1943–1974). Description of education in the internment camps. From Miscellaneous Documents, 1–142, 78th Cong. 1st Sess. Document No. 96. Segregation of loyal and disloyal Japanese (1943), p. 11. Reprinted in S. Cohen (Ed.), *Education in the United States: A documentary history, Vol. 2* (p. 2977). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Wang, L. (1976). *Lau v. Nichols*: History of a struggle for equal and quality education. In E. Gee (Ed.), *Counterpoint* (pp. 240–259). Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California/The UCLA Asian American Studies Center.

- Weinberg, M. (1995). *A chance to learn: A history of race and education in the United States* (2nd ed.). Long Beach: California State University Press, Long Beach.
- Wiley, T. G. (1999). Comparative historical analysis of U.S. language policy and language planning: Extending the foundations. In T. Huebner & K. A. Davis (Eds.), *Sociopolitical perspectives on language policy and planning in the USA* (pp. 17–37). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

LANGUAGES, LEARNED OR ACQUIRED

As this entry describes, a common debate in language teaching and in linguistics centers on the question of whether languages are learned or acquired. Stephen Krashen used the term *learning* to refer to a conscious process of language development that occurs as a result of direct teaching. In contrast, *acquisition* is a subconscious process of language development that occurs as the result of exposure to meaningful messages in a language. Even though some researchers have argued that there is a continuum moving from acquisition to learning rather than a clear distinction, the two terms are widely used in the research literature, and the distinction seems to be a useful one.

Most researchers agree that many aspects of a child's first language are acquired. Children seem to acquire the phonology of a language. Within a fairly short time, they can understand and produce messages in a language their parents or other caregivers use to communicate with them. In addition to the sounds of the language, children acquire the syntax. Experiments with young children brought up by English-speaking parents show that they understand the difference between "Big Bird is washing Cookie Monster" and "Cookie Monster is washing Big Bird." This research demonstrates that the children recognize that there is a link between the order of the words and the meaning, and that in English, the first noun phrase is the subject or actor whereas the second is the object of the sentence.

Although phonology and syntax appear to be acquired rather than learned, other aspects of a first language, such as the vocabulary, may be learned. However, there is more debate about whether additional languages can be acquired. Similarly, some would argue that written language is learned, but others hold that literacy is acquired in the same way that oral language is. The debate is not simply academic

because the position one holds has clear implications for teaching in bilingual classes.

First-Language Acquisition

Support for the claim that first languages are acquired comes from Noam Chomsky's theories of linguistics. Chomsky, the foremost linguist in the United States, developed a theory referred to as *generative linguistics*. Chomsky was interested in describing language as a set of rules that could be applied to generate all the sentences of a particular language. No limit exists on the number of different sentences that can be expressed in any language, so there must be a finite set of rules capable of generating an infinite number of sentences. For this description, to reflect psychological reality, the number of rules must be relatively small. Otherwise, humans couldn't acquire them.

Chomsky's answer to the question of how children acquire language is that children have an innate capacity for language, which he at first called a *language acquisition device*. This language acquisition device is a specialized area of the brain designed for language. According to Chomsky, humans do not simply have a special cognitive capacity for figuring out language. Rather, humans are born with the basic structures of all human languages already present in the brain. Chomsky calls this innate knowledge of language *Universal Grammar*. Children are not born with knowledge of English or Japanese or any other human language. Instead, they are born with knowledge of those elements that are common to all human languages.

As a result, the task facing the child is not to learn how language works, starting from scratch. Instead, because children are born with an implicit knowledge of language in general, and they have to figure out how the particular language (or languages) they hear functions. For example, all languages have something like prepositions, words that show relationships among things (The book is *on* the table). In such languages as English, these words that show position come in front of the noun, so they are called *prepositions*. In other languages, these words follow the noun, so in those languages, a child would encounter sentences with this pattern (e.g., The book is the table *on*). In such languages, these words are called *postpositions* because they come after (post), not before (pre).

Children are born with the built-in knowledge that the language they hear will have a word to show position. What children must figure out is whether the position word precedes the noun or follows it. This is

a much easier task than starting without any knowledge and having to learn that there are some words that show position and having to learn where those words go in the sentence.

If children have a Universal Grammar, this hard-wired knowledge, then it is not surprising that most children acquire the language that surrounds them. Not all of language, however, is innate. Certainly, children have to learn individual words. Vocabulary can't be built in because it is not completely systematic and predictable. There is no regular connection between sounds of words and their meanings. Even though there are patterns within vocabulary that enable children (and adults) to develop vocabulary knowledge fairly rapidly, learning vocabulary is different from acquiring the phonology or syntax of a language. However, Chomsky's claim is that most of language is innate. He and other linguists base this claim on certain facts: (a) Most children acquire a first language rapidly and without formal instruction, (b) they do this with only a limited amount of evidence, and (c) they do it with only limited feedback.

Second and Written Languages

Stephen Krashen bases his theory of second-language acquisition on Chomsky's theory of linguistics. Krashen claims that the same process that enables a child to acquire a first language applies to a child or an adult acquiring a second language or learning to read and write. Evidence for Krashen's position comes from the fact that most students who attempt to learn a second language in school fail to reach high levels of proficiency and quickly lose their ability to speak the language if they do not continue to use it. Conversely, people who live in an environment where communication takes place in a second language seem to be able to pick up the language naturally and to retain it. In this context, the second language is acquired, not learned. In addition to his acquisition/learning hypothesis, Krashen developed several other hypotheses to account for how second languages are acquired. These include the Natural Order Hypothesis, the Monitor Hypothesis, the Input Hypothesis, and the Affective Filter Hypothesis.

The Natural Order Hypothesis

Krashen reviews research that shows that language, both first and second, is acquired in a natural order. Simply put, some aspects of language appear in

the speech of language learners before other features. For example, babies acquiring English first produce sounds with vowels (usually the low, back "ah" sound) and later add consonants beginning with consonants formed with the lips like *p* or *m*. This helps explain why the first word of many infants is something like *mama* or *papa*, much to the delight of a parent. Sounds like *r* come later. That's why young children might say, like Elmer Fudd, *wabbit* instead of *rabbit*. Other parts of language also appear in a natural order. Statements come before questions. Positive statements come before negatives, and so on.

Researchers in second language found the same phenomenon. The natural order of second-language acquisition differs slightly from that of first language, but there is a definite order. Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt studied Spanish and Chinese speakers acquiring English and looked at the order in which certain morphemes appeared. Dulay and Burt noted that the plural *s* in a word such as *toys* showed up in children's speech earlier than the third person *s* of present tense verbs in sentences like "He plays." Whether researchers look at the acquisition of sounds, word parts, or sentence patterns, they find an order of acquisition that is the same even for children whose first languages are different. The order seems to come from the language being acquired, rather than a transfer of features from the first language.

The Monitor Hypothesis

This hypothesis helps explain the role of learning in the process of language acquisition. Acquired language forms the basis for the ability to understand and produce the language. The phonology, morphology, and syntax are acquired. Acquisition is what enables native English speakers to tell what "sounds right" in the language. They may not be able to explain why "He is married to her" sounds better than "He is married with her," but because native speakers have acquired the language, they can make these kinds of judgments.

Learned knowledge also plays a role in language competence. The rules that people learn can be used to monitor spoken or written output. In other words, people can use these rules to check what they say or write. For monitor use to be effective, language users must have time, they must focus on language form, and they must know the rules. Even in the first language, most people monitor their speech in formal situations such as giving a speech to a large group of

people. To use the monitor effectively, one must have learned the rules. Is it *different from* or *different than*? Unless the speaker has learned the right answer, he or she can't monitor the output well.

Spoken language is difficult to monitor using learned rules because if we start focusing on form, we cannot also focus on meaning. However, editing during the writing process represents an ideal situation to apply the monitor because there is time, and one can focus specifically on the correctness of the language, learned knowledge, to be sure that sentences are complete and words are spelled right. On the other hand, when writers are drafting, they may depend more on their acquired knowledge because too much focus on form may interrupt the flow of their ideas.

The Input Hypothesis

How does acquisition take place? According to Krashen, the key is comprehensible input, messages, either oral or written, that students understand. Not all input leads to acquisition. Krashen says that students acquire language when they receive input that is slightly beyond their current level. He refers to this as $i + 1$ (input plus one). If students receive input that is below or at their current level ($i + 0$), there is nothing new to acquire. However, if the input is too much beyond their current level ($i + 10$, for example), it no longer is comprehensible.

Providing comprehensible input is not an exact science. Teachers can't possibly ensure that everything they say or write will be exactly at the $i + 1$ level for every student. The students in a class are all at different levels of proficiency. Nevertheless, as long as students understand most of what they hear or read in a new language, they will acquire the language. Different students will acquire different parts of the language depending on their current level. Krashen is an especially strong advocate of reading for language acquisition. He cites research showing that reading provides excellent comprehensible input and is the source of one's knowledge of vocabulary, grammar, and spelling.

The Affective Filter Hypothesis

How do affective factors such as nervousness, boredom, or anxiety influence language acquisition? If language is acquired when a person receives comprehensible input, that input has to reach the part of the brain that processes language. That part of the brain is

what Chomsky calls the language acquisition device. Boredom or anxiety are affective factors that can serve as a kind of filter to block out incoming messages and prevent them from reaching the language acquisition device. As a result, even though a teacher may present a comprehensible lesson, some students may not acquire the language of the presentation because their affective filter operates to block the input. Students cannot acquire language that never reaches the language acquisition device. On the other hand, when the filter is open, when students are relaxed and engaged in a lesson, even messages that are not easy to comprehend will trigger the acquisition process.

In sum, Krashen argues that both second and written languages are acquired, not learned, and that the process is the same as for first-language acquisition. Acquisition occurs in a natural order when people receive comprehensible input and their affective filter is low. Rules that people learn can be used to monitor the output, either speech or writing. Although other theorists have pointed to the importance of output and interaction in the process of developing a second language or learning to read and write, most researchers agree that all forms of language are largely acquired rather than learned.

David E. Freeman and Yvonne S. Freeman

See also BICS/CALP Theory; Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism; First-Language Acquisition; Linguistics, an Overview; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Chomsky, N. (1975). *Reflections on language*. New York: Pantheon.
- Dulay, H. & Burt, M. (1974). Natural sequences in child second language acquisition. *Language Learning*, 24(1), 37–53.
- Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practices of language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon.
- Krashen, S. (2003). *Explorations in language acquisition and use*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Pinker, S. (1994). *The language instinct: How the mind creates language*. New York: Morrow.

LANGUAGES AND POWER

Max Weber, a German sociologist and political economist, defined power as the capability of a person or

group of persons to impose their will on others, even against the wishes of those others. Other scholars have noted that power can be manifested in different ways; it can be exercised physically and forcibly or more subtly to sustain oppression and coercion. In many cases, language plays a role as an instrument and as a symbol of power, dominance, and control. Michel Foucault, a French philosopher and social scientist, explains that language reflects the way in which power relations in the social structure function between institutions and sociocultural groups. He believes that those in power have access to special knowledge, and that they use language policies as a means to remain in power. Paraphrasing Weber, the relationship between language and power can be understood as the ability of a person or group to impose their will on others and against the resistance of others. This can be based on a variety of factors, but one of them is the ability of the more powerful group to establish the uses and status of one or more languages. This entry discusses language and power, particularly relative to bilingual education.

Language and Power in Society

An important distinction exists between the notion of the power of a language and the notion of power relations surrounding a language; the former is related to the communicative function that a language carries, and the latter can be related to the symbolic value that speakers give to a language in a community. In the social structure of the United States, power dynamics are most clearly reflected in the unequal value ascribed to one language above all others. In schools, students of minority groups who speak another language are viewed by members of the mainstream group as deficient, incompetent, and members of a lower class. Members of the majority group, even when they are monolingual, are considered more normative because they speak English, the language of power and influence. Spanish is viewed as inferior and less prestigious, as is African American Vernacular English, also known as Ebonics or Black English. Black English is regarded as a substandard version of mainstream English and an impediment to learning.

In every society, the prestigious languages are those spoken by the mainstream group and are usually used in government, official, religious, and economic functions; these languages are usually learned at school.

Less prestigious languages are commonly used for less formal functions and to communicate with family and friends; these languages are usually learned at home. Language and culture are closely linked. Both are an important part of life and identity. In most societies, one language tends to be used as a sorting mechanism of power. That language determines which individuals will have access to benefits, opportunities, education, and other resources commonly available to speakers of the mainstream language. A language can be used to coerce those who speak another language to oblige them to follow the rules established by the group in power. Historically, there have been cases where the uses of languages other than English have been viewed as a symbol of resistance and lack of patriotism as well as a symbol of lack of interest in assimilation to mainstream culture. In some cases, language interacts with the factor of race to create important hierarchies and to act as screens to equal participation. Arguably, this kind of categorizing and sorting led the country to appoint a German American general to lead the Allied Forces in Europe during World War II, while collecting Japanese Americans in internment camps.

Throughout the history of the United States, social science researchers have applied different approaches to explore the power and status that a language might have in society. A technique that has proven useful for this task is documenting the public's attitudes toward a particular language. John Attinasi and James Bradac have concluded that the attitudes people have toward a language will, if such patterns persist over time, influence the status of a given language. Attitudes and assumptions about language may be expanded to determine how people feel about the social, cultural, political, and economic standing of a certain group or culture; these attitudes have influential implications for language policy.

During the 1950s and before, many schools in Texas and California demanded the acquisition of English for Spanish-speaking students as a mechanism of assimilation; students were not allowed to speak Spanish in the classrooms, at lunchtime, or on playgrounds and were often punished for doing so. The story of Native American languages is another example of the power of one language group to oppress others. In the 1800s, Native American boarding schools engaged in physical force and coercion as disciplinary measures to oblige students to speak English and abandon their ancestral languages.

Language and Power Relations in Bilingual Education

How the speakers of the majority language feel about the value of languages is likely to affect the support or lack of support for programs such as bilingual education for language minority youngsters. In the United States, it is not merely the use of two languages that is disdained; it is the *continued use* of two languages by people who learned the “other language” at home rather than at school. Although it is not strongly encouraged, no stigma is attached to having children of the majority group study languages as school subjects.

Attitudes toward the use of more than one language at school have varied throughout the history of the country. More often than not, the nature of these changes has been related to public attitudes toward immigration and the resultant policies on the subject. Other factors such as commerce, globalization, transnationalism, multicultural awareness, and democratization have become important in recent history.

In much of the world, the use of two or more languages is the norm rather than the exception. Many European countries accept and tolerate cultural and linguistic diversity. In the United States, however, the use of a standard form of English in society and education has become a symbol of an immigrant’s willingness to undergo assimilation. Standard English is understood as the use of a homogenized language—vocabulary, grammar, spelling, and pronunciation—and avoidance of regional “accents.” Standard English is also regarded by many as a symbol of a good and proper education.

Today, all school systems in the United States, whether public or private, demand the acquisition of English as mandatory for the integration and adaptation of students to the school context. This type of policy is not universal. In many countries, families can choose what language to use in the education of their children according to their choice of schools conducted in particular languages. Once again, the issue of power is played out in a practice that has become so ingrained in the country that it is hardly recognized as a matter of social control. Whether or not schools value, respect, and provide opportunities for students to learn through other languages underscores how the society regards diversity. Schools that uniformly deny this aspect of education are, in effect, making decisions about the relative importance of languages in society and in human development. The almost complete absence of schools conducted in other languages

makes linguistic choice impossible. Even in schools that employ bilingual education, especially *transitional* bilingual education, minority students who are learning English can be seen as disadvantaged. Spanish-speaking students who are learning English are more likely to be regarded by the dominant group as having a deficit, but native English speakers who study Spanish as a *foreign language* are not viewed in the same way.

With respect to the study of languages, the future may hold different patterns of student participation. Changing demographics, employment trends, globalization, and transnational ties are encouraging parents from mainstream groups to enroll their children in foreign-language immersion programs. Evidence of this is the creation of Chinese, German, French, and Spanish immersion and dual-language programs across the country. These programs begin as early as kindergarten, and students may learn to read and write in their second language before they learn in English. Their purpose is to help young students develop communicative skills in other modern languages and enable them to compete better in the global marketplace. Although this trend may appear benign, it may not be entirely so from the perspective of power relationships and the question of who benefits from such programs and policies. Some scholars suggest that the emphasis on training native English speakers in foreign-language programs does not empower language minority students. Although there are negative views and negative attitudes toward bilingual minorities, bilingual members of majority groups are viewed in a positive and nondiscriminatory way. Language policy researchers Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson are critical of dual-language programs for the mainstream students; their view is that when the students of an English-speaking majority background learn other languages, this group will be favored over other speakers when competing for jobs that require bilingual skills. Other scholars believe it is too early in the history of these programs and efforts to reach a definitive conclusion.

Language, Power, and Public Policy

According to Richard Ruiz, the use of language can be seen from three different perspectives: as a problem, as a right, or as a resource. The definition of what is a problem, a right, or a resource is usually made by those who have the power to enact these ideas into practice. In American society, when language is

viewed as a problem, it is often connected to problems of poverty, underachievement in school, and lack of integration to mainstream culture. When language is viewed as a right, it means that people have the freedom to choose the language they want to use to communicate with others in society. When this view prevails and is supported by those in power, language discrimination may be viewed as analogous to racial or religious discrimination. Language as a resource means that language is used to close the gap that exists among different cultures and groups. In this case, additive approaches to bilingual education are supported because the additional language is viewed as a resource instead of being a problem.

If policies in the United States were to recognize the languages of language minority students as a resource, this could improve the status of those languages and those who speak them. In the United States, current global and transnational trends promote the education of foreign languages among majority groups, but the use of foreign languages within minority groups is devalued. Guadalupe San Miguel, a scholar in the field, considers this orientation to be a major inconsistency and a paradoxical point of view in the United States. Although it may be paradoxical, the views and policies connected with these sentiments underscore the need of those who hold power to maintain it. Hence, the paradox might be explained by some degree of threat that is experienced by members of the cultural and linguistic majority. It appears to be related to issues of immigration control and a felt need to control more effectively who will enter the country and under what conditions. It may also involve fear of the influence that new immigrants may come to exert on other aspects of the society: cultural identity, social economic standing, and access to the resources of the society. In the United States, context language has been used as a tool to create social distinctions between groups. The trepidation of the majority society to support widespread dual-language education may originate in the fear, pure and simple, that the English language may change in unacceptable ways because of heavy immigration. The point has not been lost: The more power, status, and prestige the speakers of a language have, the higher status their language will have in that society.

Luis Xavier Rangel-Ortiz

See also Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Ebonics; Heritage Language Education; Language Policy

and Social Control; Spanish-Language Enrollments; Status Differences Among Languages; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Acuña, R. (1988). *Occupied America: A history of Chicanos*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Akkari, A. (1998). Bilingual education: Beyond linguistic instrumentalization. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 22(2, 3, 4), 103–125.
- Attinasi, J. J. (1983). Language attitudes and working class ideology in a Puerto Rican barrio in New York. *Ethnic Groups*, 5, 55–78.
- Beebe, L. M. (1988). Five sociolinguistic approaches to second language acquisition. In L. M. Beebe (Ed.), *Issues in second language acquisition: Multiple perspectives* (pp. 41–77). New York: Newbury House.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bradac, J. J. (1990). Language in social relations: language attitudes and impression formation. In H. Giles & P. Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology* (pp. 387–412). New York: Wiley.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power* (2nd ed.). London: Longman.
- Foucault, M. (1971). *The discourse in language*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Giles, H. (1992). *Current and future directions in sociolinguistics: A social psychological contribution*. In K. Bolton & H. Kwok (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics today: International perspectives* (pp. 361–368). London: Routledge.
- Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Macgregor-Mendoza, P. (2000). Aquí no se habla Español: Stories of linguistic repression in Southwest schools. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), 355–368.
- Portes, A., & Rumbault, R. G. (1996). *Immigrant America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, 8(2), 15–34.
- San Miguel, G. (2004). *Contested policy. The rise and fall of federal bilingual education in the United States 1960–2001*. Denton: University of North Texas Press.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Phillipson, R. (1995). *Linguistic human rights: Overcoming discrimination*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4(2), 249–283.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). The study of discourse. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as structure and process* (pp. 1–34). London: Sage.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

LANGUAGE SHIFT AND LANGUAGE LOSS

Every year, all over the planet, languages die. Most of us are unaware of this even when it occurs in our own country. This entry reviews and summarizes two important concepts in the study of language survival and disappearance: language shift and language loss. Language death is often the ultimate result of this progression. Because of its obvious meaning, it will be discussed only briefly. Definitions of *language shift* and *language loss* will be followed by more extensive discussion, including efforts to stop or retard language loss.

Language shift can occur in an individual or within a community. For an individual, *language shift* can generally be defined as a loss in language proficiency or a decreasing use of that language for different purposes. This leads, in turn, to a linguistic atrophy caused by the non-use of a language. For a community, the term refers to a change from one language to another (e.g., immigrants in the United States tend to shift from the use of another language to English). As the shift becomes permanent, fluency in and mastery of the first-acquired language—Spanish, Chinese, Korean, or other—usually declines.

Language shift is usually talked about concomitantly with *language loss*, which is the process of losing proficiency—either limited or completely—in a language whether by an individual or a language community. A total and irreversible language loss may be described as language death.

Language death is total language loss—when there are no longer any speakers of that language. When the last native speaker of the language has died or the language is no longer used as a medium of communication, the language is considered “dead.” Language

death generally occurs when the older generation stops passing the language on to its children, the children refuse to speak the ancestral language, or when the speakers shift to using another language. In the United States, language death is usually linked to indigenous language minority communities such as Native Americans and Native Alaskans. In Alaska, of the 20 native languages still spoken, only 2 are being taught to the next generation. Since the arrival of the Europeans, hundreds of Native American languages have disappeared. Linguist Michael Krauss forecast that 45 Native American languages would lose their last native speakers by the year 2000, 125 by 2025, and 155 by 2050.

Many scholars and linguists are working actively to record languages before the languages die, whereas others are trying to revive endangered languages by creating language immersion schools for them, and encouraging parents and grandparents to pass the language onto their children and grandchildren. According to James Crawford, 90% of existing languages worldwide are likely to become extinct in the next century; only 10% of languages (approximately 600 languages) have a secure future. These dire predictions are echoed by the two most important scholars who advocate for language revival and language rights today: Joshua Fishman and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas.

Language Maintenance

Language maintenance also can take place within an individual or a community. Language maintenance occurs when language shift is staved off. It exists when speakers of a language (both adults and children) maintain proficiency in a language and retain the use of the language in various domains. A good sign of language maintenance is when older generations continue passing the language on to their children.

Many factors can influence whether a language is maintained or lost. Colin Baker, an authority on the subject, believes that 10 critical factors explain why some languages are kept and others lost: (1) number and density of speakers, (2) supply and resupply through immigration, (3) proximity to homeland and communication with homeland, (4) attitude toward homeland and rate of return, (5) stability of immigrant community (growth/decay), (6) economic stability of the group, (7) social mobility of the group, (8) economic utility of the mother tongue (native language), (9) level of education in the mother tongue,

and (10) intensity of group identity with the mother tongue in the face of negative forces, such as discrimination or linguistic restrictionism.

Going further, Baker argues that other factors that affect language maintenance or loss of native or heritage languages are the following: (a) the presence or absence of *mother tongue* (MT) institutions (e.g., media, schools, community organizations, leisure activities); (b) the strength of cultural and religious activities in the MT; (c) the extent to which the MT is a recognized language of the homeland; (d) the salience of the MT as a marker of ethnic, family, or community identity; (e) the importance of the MT as a language for instruction; and (f) the degree of acceptance of the majority language in instruction.

Other research on heritage language maintenance has looked at variables such as gender, language attitudes, birth order, and speaker social networks as factors explaining why some maintain their heritage language but others lose it. Most of the important factors, however, are those identified by Baker.

Language Shift in the United States

Given Baker's emphasis on various factors why some languages are kept and others lost and his six factors that affect this process, it is natural to wonder if some immigrant groups are better at maintaining their native or heritage language than others are, or if maintenance is facilitated by the dominant society, for some language groups but not for others.

Based on Baker's list of factors, one might assume that Spanish speakers in the United States are better able to maintain their native or heritage language because there is a large number and density of speakers, a continual supply or resupply of immigrants, and close proximity between Mexico and the United States; this is a different scenario than that of Vietnamese speakers, who are much fewer in number and density of speakers, there is no continual supply or resupply of immigrants from Vietnam, and the distance between Vietnam and the United States is great. Russell Young and MyLuong Tran, researching a Vietnamese American group in California in 1999, found that a three-generation model of language shift holds true, even though an overwhelming majority of the parents surveyed reported that Vietnamese was the only language spoken at home. Although the children communicate with their parents in Vietnamese, a definite shift could be seen. More than half of the parents reported

that the children were using either English only, or a combination of Vietnamese and English in their interactions with their peers.

Interestingly, in 2006, researchers Ruben Rumbaut and Frank Bean at the University of California–Irvine, and Douglas Massey at Princeton University, found that Spanish speakers in southern California also follow the three-generation model of language shift and loss, and that by the third generation, most Hispanics speak English only. The researchers state that this pattern of language shift and loss holds true for other immigrant groups in the United States, such as Europeans and Chinese. Thus, despite the differences in the strength of factors as cited by Baker that may help some groups maintain their languages, the bulk of literature and research suggests that all language minority groups in the United States are continuing to follow a three-generation model language shift and loss process. This suggests that the maintenance of languages other-than-English is not propitiated; instead, cultural pressures actively discourage it. Evidence indicates that language maintenance in the United States is openly discouraged by social and educational policies of linguistic restrictionism.

Calvin Veltman, an American sociologist, demographer, and sociolinguist, asserts that one key misperception by many in the United States is that today's immigrants, unlike immigrants of yesteryear—especially Spanish speakers—are successfully resisting assimilation into American culture, not learning English, and holding onto their native languages. Some have even argued that immigrants are so good at maintaining their native languages that the dominance of the English language is threatened in the United States. This fear may stem from seeing and hearing the use of Spanish on billboards, on television, in automated phone messages, at grocery stores and other establishments, and in government documents (e.g., voter registration, driver's license applications). Veltman argues that no rejection of the English language is involved. Instead, the open use of Spanish does not mean that today's immigrants are better at maintaining their native languages than immigrants of previous generations but, rather, indicates that a large, continuous stream of Spanish-speaking immigrants is coming to the United States.

Overall, the literature regarding heritage language maintenance among immigrant groups reveals a three-generation model, with the first generation being dominant in the heritage language and slowly acquiring

English, the second generation speaking English in the school and other public domains and speaking the heritage language at home with family members, and the third generation becoming dominant in English with little, if any, proficiency in the heritage language. Thus, many grandchildren of immigrants become English monolinguals and are not able to speak with their grandparents who speak only the ancestral language. Many immigrants experience language shift and loss before the third generation, and it is not rare to find that this can happen to some immigrant children within one generation.

Consequences of Language Shift and Loss

That some children can lose their native or heritage language within one generation is particularly noteworthy because some immigrant parents may lose the ability to communicate effectively with their children. In a study by Lily Wong Fillmore and colleagues, more than 1,000 immigrant and American Indian families were interviewed to determine the extent to which family language patterns were affected by their children's early learning of English in preschool programs. The study found that as immigrant children learned English, the patterns of language use changed in their homes and that the younger the children were when they learned English, the greater the effect. An important aspect of this study is that immigrant children who attended Head Start programs became the change agents who determined what language would be spoken at home. The study also found that even though many of the parents were not fluent in English, if the children wanted to speak English at home, the parents would accommodate them by speaking English—even if the parents were not comfortable in that language. Young children, it appears, are powerful actors in the linguistic choices that go on in their communities.

Some public policies have unintended linguistic consequences. Evidence from the Wong Fillmore study suggests that as young children learn English, they lose their heritage languages. Some may argue that the Head Start program has been successful because it achieved its goal of helping the students get a “head start” by teaching them English so that they would not fall behind their peers. Persons concerned with language loss may argue, however, that the Head Start program contributes to the shift and eventual loss of immigrant languages, when it does not include

a language-maintenance component. It is not clear that a government-funded program such as Head Start should be responsible for the language cleavage that develops when children are no longer able to speak to their parents or grandparents. It can certainly be argued strongly that this is a parental prerogative. An interesting aspect of this research is that when parents were asked, “Are you worried about your children losing their heritage language?,” many were not concerned about heritage language loss until after their children had stopped speaking their heritage language. By then, of course, it may have been too late for the families involved.

There are many arguments for language maintenance. One of the benefits of language maintenance is to prevent such consequences of language shift and loss as increased friction and conflict between immigrant parents and their children because parents are no longer able to pass on wisdom because of language and cultural barriers. The relationship between ethnic identity and heritage language learning was studied by Kiyomi Chinen and Richard Tucker. In a sample of Japanese American students, Chinen and Tucker assessed students' perception of their language skills in Japanese and their ethnic identity. The study findings revealed that both variables were strongly related.

Some scholars have used the ecological model argument (the beauty of linguistic diversity), whereas others give more pragmatic reasons such as that we are living in an increasingly global world and that speaking more than one language gives us a competitive edge in business. Others have argued that language maintenance and bilingualism are good because the United States needs people who can speak foreign languages for military purposes, and others argue for bilingualism because of its cognitive benefits.

Currently, immigration has been a hot topic in politics and legislation. Topics such as stricter enforcement of the U.S.–Mexico border, building a wall along the U.S.–Mexico border, and President George W. Bush's proposed guest worker program all have implications for language shift and language loss with respect to Spanish. Given a growing nativism in the United States, it is not surprising that legislation such as California's Proposition 227, Arizona's Proposition 203, and Massachusetts' Question 2 were passed; their effect has been, in essence, to restrict bilingual education programs in these states. By reducing the use of other languages and bilingual education programs, these measures have a powerful effect on the shift and loss of important languages. Indigenous language

groups have not been the targets of this spate of legislation. They have been able to develop their own language immersion programs such as the Navajo Immersion Program at Ft. Defiance Elementary School in Arizona and the Ayaprun Elitnaurviat Immersion School in Alaska.

Some immigrant groups do not depend on the public schools to teach their heritage languages. Instead these groups (e.g., Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese) have organized weekend heritage language schools in their local communities to teach both the heritage language and culture. In particular, the Chinese and Korean communities have been particularly effective in creating weekend and after-school heritage language schools for their children. Many of these heritage language schools are organized in conjunction with local churches, temples, and community organizations.

Educators and community leaders now recognize that the phenomena of language shift and language loss are real and dramatically affect the lives of immigrant children and the future of their families. Various groups are attempting to address this need by creating resources such as John Webb and Barbara Miller's book *Teaching Heritage Language Learners: Voices from the Classroom* to help language teachers understand the different needs of heritage language learners, compared with those learning a language as a foreign language. The University of California, Los Angeles, has created the National Heritage Language Resource Center, whose focus is the development of effective pedagogical approaches to teaching heritage language learners by creating a research base and developing curriculum, materials, and teacher education resources. These institutional efforts provide useful resources to address issues of language shift and language loss in the United States. All are fairly recent; it remains to be seen how useful these will be in helping language communities restore their respective languages.

Ha Lam

See also Baker, Colin; Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Crawford, James; English for the Children Campaign; Fishman, Joshua A.; Krashen, Stephen D.

Further Readings

Baker, C. (2001). Languages in society. In C. Baker (Ed.), *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- Chinen, K., & Tucker, R. G. (2005). Heritage language development: Understanding the roles of ethnic identity and Saturday school participation. *Heritage Language Journal*, 3(1), 27–59.
- Crawford, J. (2000). *At war with diversity: U.S. language policy in an age of anxiety*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (1972). *The sociology of language*. Rowley, MA: Newbury.
- Hinton, L., & Hale, K. (Eds.) (2001). *The green book on language revitalization in practice*. New York: Academic Press.
- Kouritzin, S. G. (1999). *Face(t)s of first language loss*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Krauss, M. (1992). Statement of Mr. Michael Krauss representing the Linguistic Society of America. In U.S. Senate, Native American Languages Act of 1991: Hearing before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs (pp. 18–22).
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). *Immigrant America: A portrait* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Rumbaut, R., Massey, D., & Bean, F. (2006). Linguistic life expectancies: Immigrant language retention in southern California. *Population and Development Review*, 32(3), 447–460.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic genocide in education—or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Veltman, C. (1983). *Language shift in the United States*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Webb, J. B., & Miller, B. L. (Eds.) (2000). *Teaching heritage language learners: Voices from the classroom*. Yonkers, NY: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6, 323–346.
- Young, R., & Tran, M. (1999). Vietnamese parent attitudes toward bilingual education. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 23(2–3), 225–234.

LANGUAGES IN COLONIAL SCHOOLS, EASTERN

In the history of education in the eastern United States, we find a tradition of cultural and linguistic diversity that predated the arrival of English-speaking settlers. Nearly 2,000 languages were spoken in the Western Hemisphere when the first European explorers arrived. Though the English language was

important for participation in community life as part of a family, a congregation, and in the marketplace, other languages, including Dutch, German, Scandinavian languages, and indigenous languages were also common and important. This entry reviews a complex dialectic tension between English and other languages in education in selected Atlantic Coast colonies from the late 1500s to the birth of the nation in the late 1700s.

Virginia and New England

The original purpose of the colonization by English speakers of what is now roughly equivalent to Virginia in the late 1500s was economic gain. Only after work had begun on developing the land and infrastructure and learning how to survive in this new environment did women and tenants follow and families form to create a need for formal education in Roanoke and in a second settlement, Jamestown, also in Virginia. Over time, the purpose shifted from a search for gold to providing food for survival, and there was no clear understanding of a relationship between education and either of these purposes.

In the Virginia colonies, the trappings of community life—including families, government, and religion—contributed to a vision of using education to convert the children of Indians and settlers to the English language and culture. The vision was not realized, but it indicated recognition of an English colonial experience that would depend on self-sufficient agricultural and trading communities, the planting of families, and the development of English institutions that would educate families.

Intent on learning from the failures of the Virginia colonies, John Winthrop set out to establish a Puritan plantation in New England that would be profitable and of service to the church and the commonwealth. The Pilgrims came in 1620 for religious freedom, to preserve their cultural identity, and to convert others to their way of life. Education was conducted by the family and the churches, rather than by a school or college. Both the Puritans and the Pilgrims came to the colony as a community, but the Puritans also brought with them a vision of a community that modeled Christian charity. Within this mission, the education of the sons played an important role in transmitting an English-speaking intellectual heritage and serving as an agency for the pursuit of an English cultural ideal.

New Amsterdam

In 1624, the Dutch established New Amsterdam in what is now Manhattan, the Hudson River Valley northward to what is now Albany, New York, and western Long Island. New Amsterdam was a commercial trading post, and Dutch-speaking inhabitants were apparently more occupied, at least early on, with survival and building thriving businesses than with educating their children. By 1638, the first elementary school was established, and in 1652, the first formal instruction in the classics was introduced. The Dutch were the most numerous but there were speakers of other languages in that colony, including the English, French-speaking Belgians, Swedes, Finns, French, Portuguese, and Africans. Though government, education, architecture, and churches were characteristically Dutch, official communication was normally in more than one language.

Eventually, the English captured New Amsterdam, and the inhabitants continued using their languages and practicing their cultural traditions. Language instruction fell to the church, but in New Amsterdam, language instruction was multilingual. It happened in many different languages. Where there were Dutch schools, instruction continued in Dutch, even after the English conquest in 1674. During the first 30 years of English rule, education was relatively open. Though the colony was governed in English, there was a willingness to permit diversity of belief, worship, instruction, and language.

New Sweden

The Swedes, with Dutch support, founded New Sweden in 1638 as a commercial trading center in the territory where Wilmington, Delaware, southeastern Pennsylvania, and southern New Jersey now are. The project failed after 17 years, and the Dutch took over in 1655, followed by the English a decade later. Although the Swedes attempted to preserve their language and culture under English domination, they gradually took on English language and ways.

Like neighboring Pennsylvania, New Sweden was a colony without an established church. Most young people in New Sweden received their vocational education via apprenticeships. The Bible and the catechism were the only frequently read books, and book learning in Swedish, or any of the other languages represented in the colony, was generally left to the

religious authorities. Young Swedes learned to read the Bible and catechism in Swedish. The language of instruction was Swedish to ensure its preservation in the colony. Instruction and literacy in Swedish was of lower priority, though, than was ensuring enough provisions to survive the winter.

Some assert that respect for education was slow in coming. As the need for education shifted from religious and cultural goals toward commercial ones, the Swedes began to take on the English language ways. Under English domination, older Swedes resisted assimilation into the English way of life. However, younger Swedes grew so accustomed to the English language that they became reluctant to express themselves in Swedish. Israel Acrelius, provost of the Swedish churches in America, saw this language confusion as a symptom of a more basic conflict of culture between the Swedish and the English during the colonial period.

As early as 1654, the Scotch-Irish began to establish themselves in New Sweden. However, their first academies were more noted for their students' enthusiasm than their academic achievement. Later, the academies focused more deeply on reason and theological knowledge based in Presbyterianism. English- and Welsh-speaking Quakers also established schools so that their sons and daughters learned reading, writing, and arithmetic. As the settlers improved their economic conditions, they saw to it that their children received an elementary education. In some cases, teachers were purchased as indentured servants, an arrangement reflecting the low status of people in the teaching profession. Over time, teachers opened their own schools. Vocational education, including professions such as law and medicine, was provided within the family or by apprenticeship. The first Swedish-language school in the colony was opened before 1700 in the Old Swedes' Church. During the last half of the 18th century, the leading educational institution was the Wilmington Academy, which was built in 1765. Before 1791, no provision was made for free schools. In Delaware's state constitution of 1791, provision was made for establishing schools, and in 1796, an act was passed by the legislature applying all moneys received from marriage and tavern licenses to a school fund, paving the way for a public school system.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania was founded in 1681 by the English as a holy experiment. English- and Welsh-speaking

Quakers and German Protestants organized their own communities within Pennsylvania in which they preserved their respective languages and cultures. The first German arrivals were predominantly Mennonite and Amish and were joined later by Lutherans and Reformed and other Protestant sects. Presbyterian Scotch-Irish followed in the early 1700s. In 1756, an estimated third of the population was English- or Welsh-speaking Quaker, another third German, and among the rest were speakers of English, Scottish, Scotch-Irish, French, Celtic Irish, Dutch, and Swedish.

In 1683, a Pennsylvania ordinance provided that all children be instructed in reading and writing until age 12. Thereafter, they should be taught a trade or skill so that they become self-sufficient adults. However, this apparently straightforward requirement would be a challenge because of the linguistic diversity of the colony. Of all the immigrant groups, the most challenging to the English in Pennsylvania were the Germans because, of all the non-English-speaking groups, the Germans were the most numerous. Because of a fear that the English would be Germanized instead of the Germans Anglicized, various measures to control Germans were recommended, but not implemented, including the prohibition of German-language publications, the establishment of English language schools, the introduction of an English language literacy requirement, and encouragement of intermarriage of English and Germans. This fear was also instrumental in the establishment of charity schools that provided for the cultural Anglicization of the Germans.

Money to support the establishment of these schools was raised by the English in Holland and Scotland. Some maintain that the most important impact on the Germans of these efforts was the stimulation of their own effort to preserve the German language and culture. Though the Germans maintained separate schools and churches and a college to train their own religious and civic leaders to preserve the German language and culture, they eventually recognized the necessity to read, write, and speak English.

Within Diversity, English Predominates

A number of language and cultural dynamics bear on colonial education. First, education was a family enterprise for which the family looked to the church for assistance. Clergy provided children instruction in the home language, and the Scriptures and catechism

were the primary texts. Second, in some cases, everyone in the colony spoke the same language. In other cases, many different languages were used. Third, the purpose of education was to transmit the language and culture. Its purpose was not to educate for vocation. Fourth, public schools as we know them were not commonplace, and where something like a public school did exist, its purpose was to Anglicize rather than preserve indigenous or other languages and cultures. Fifth, the early settlers did not take financial responsibility for establishing public schools. Sixth, the northern colonists' primary motivation for coming to the New World was to escape religious persecution, and the southern colonists' primary motivation was generally to achieve economic well-being. The middle colonists' motivation reflected varying degrees of both. In Pennsylvania, especially, the English invited oppressed Europeans with the promise of a better life, but there were pressures to live that better life in English. Seventh, although education was considered important in the northern colonies to preserve the English language and religious culture, it was of lesser importance in the middle colonies and of least importance in the southern colonies. In short, although the English speakers were not ardent promoters of their language, they apparently outdid everyone else, who seemed not to notice that their own languages were slowly eroding in favor of English.

Finally, the settlers depended on continuing financial support from their homelands to support educational activities designed to preserve their languages and cultures. The English also relied on the homeland for financial support to Anglicize other settlers. Perhaps the English sources of support were more generous. Rarely was an effort made to learn the language of the indigenous people, though on occasion such attempts were made.

Just as it is important to consider what was today's immigrants' prior history in their countries of origin, it is also important to consider the social context of the early settlers. The English shared a common heritage with the Dutch, the Spanish, the French, and others on the European continent. Notwithstanding the rivalries of royal families, the concept of the nation-state had not yet hardened into the strict lines of demarcation that came about in the 18th and 19th centuries accompanied by nationalistic fervor. Upper-class English read the Bible and the literature of great thinkers from Ancient Greece and Rome, and the peasant class was beginning to enjoy secular pursuits, including

Shakespeare's dramas. The English also embraced the ideas of contemporaries such as Erasmus (a Dutchman) and Montaigne (a Frenchman), among other continental Europeans. Also, the English culture itself was changing. For example, there were struggles between Protestant and Catholic, Anglican and Puritan, scientist and humanist, among others, in England. These struggles played themselves out to a certain extent in the New World as well and merit consideration when pondering language and education policies and practices in the eastern colonies.

Particularly pertinent is the struggle between medieval and Renaissance thinking that was taking place in Europe at the time of the North American explorations. Though Renaissance thinking may have motivated the settlers to make the journey to the New World, medieval thinking still operated strongly in their worldviews. Lawrence Cremin reports that the English, above all in Europe, were the earliest to capitalize on the great information and communications technology of the age: the printing press. The printing press was possibly the most important invention in ushering in the Renaissance era in northern Europe. Though a German invention, there was no German state organized to harness the power of the press. The European English were better organized to produce and use print materials to facilitate the transformation of their citizenry to critical thinkers, learners, and leaders. They were also better organized to support the development of print media to Anglicize others in the New World. An interesting parallel today is the prevalence of English on the Internet where, once again, the technology comes with English thrown in, free of charge.

New situations encountered in the New World required a rethinking of the medieval worldview. Edward Gray and Norman Fiering assert that the prevailing explanation in Europe at that time regarding language diversity involved the Biblical account of the Tower of Babel: With the fall of the Tower of Babel, 72 mutually unintelligible languages arose. When the settlers encountered many more indigenous languages in the New World, they needed new ways to align the Biblical story with the new reality. When they found an abundance of languages and cultures in non-Christian North America, the European settlers interpreted the language diversity that they found as an indication of social decay. European settlers learned Native American languages and with the indigenous people developed pidgins such as Pidgin

Delaware as tools more geared to Anglicization of Native American peoples than to mutual understanding. Another purpose served by learning indigenous languages and pidgins was to satisfy the settlers' real need to know more about their new environment by learning about it from the indigenous peoples who had already experienced it. With this knowledge, they would be better prepared to survive the cold, harsh winters. In neither case was the indigenous peoples' concept of well-being a primary consideration. Learning and using indigenous languages was not a school-based activity. Where it did occur, it usually happened in the harsher environments of the receding frontier as the settlers moved west.

Some might argue that the English used their resourcefulness heavy-handedly in new social and physical situations they encountered in the New World. For instance, in the early days of the new nation, African slaves were denied access to education in any language because of fear that they would be able to read the abolition literature, thus threatening the economic balance in the South. Though linguistic and cultural diversity existed in the colonies, a linguistic and cultural pluralism that placed English and other languages at parity with each other never took root in institutional educational settings. The education historian Joel Spring goes one step further. He argues that educational practices during the colonial period paved the way for using schools to impose English language and culture on others throughout U.S. history.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also German Language Education; Languages in Colonial Schools, Western

Further Readings

- Acrelius, I. (1966/1874). *A history of New Sweden*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms.
- Axtell, J. (2000). Babel of tongues: Communicating with the Indians in eastern North America. In E. G. Gray & N. Fiering (Eds.), *The language encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800: A collection of essays* (pp. 15–60). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Cremin, L. A. (1970). *American education: The colonial experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Goddard, I. (2000). The use of pidgins and jargons on the East Coast of North America. In E. G. Gray & N. Fiering (Eds.), *The language encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800: A collection of essays* (pp. 61–78). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Gray, E. G. (1999). *New World babel: Languages & nations in Early America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gray, E. G. & Fiering, N. (2000). *The language encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800: A collection of essays*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Munroe, J. A. (1978). *Colonial Delaware: A history*. Millwood, NY: KTO Press.
- Spring, J. (2005). *The American school: 1642–2000* (6th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

LANGUAGES IN COLONIAL SCHOOLS, WESTERN

From the arrival of Hernán Cortés in Mexico in 1519 to 1821 when Mexico won independence from colonial rule, Spain actively sought to Christianize and “Castilianize” native populations. The Spanish sought to expand the Spanish empire and culture, including their language, to the farthest reaches of the New World. In this version of colonial education, bilingual instruction in mission schools was used much more than in the English colonies and their Native American neighbors. This entry examines that phenomenon in brief fashion.

To achieve their colonizing goals, the Spaniards brought Catholic missionaries to conduct the work of Christianization. Every military excursion also brought missionaries; the sword and the cross traveled together. Spanish missionaries established chains of missions throughout the Americas that defined colonial life for 300 years. The mission system became the single most powerful vehicle for achieving control of the landscape of New Spain. Language, religion, education, culture, law, social customs, economy, and even clothing all flowed from the missions. Little wonder that they played such a key role in establishing Spanish as the lingua franca in New Spain, and in creating an enduring Mexican presence in the American territories.

With the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the United States took possession of the southwestern states. Under the new English-speaking nation, *mestizos*—the term used to describe the offspring of Spanish and Indians—experienced a fleeting tolerance for their culture and language for

several decades, but the advent of mandatory school attendance laws ultimately ended non-English languages from the schools. The push for Americanization ushered in deep-seated prejudices. In an ironic twist of fate, the language of the Spanish conquerors would become a primary identity marker for *mestizos*, later known as Mexicans, Hispanics, and Latinos. The Spanish language would serve as the unifying force for the steady influx of other Spanish speakers migrating to the United States. The tenacity of these groups in retaining Spanish would remain a symbol of resistance to total assimilation into the American mainstream.

Background

Spain was among the most powerful nations in the world in the late 15th century. With the expulsion of the Moors and Jews from Spain, it garnered special favor from Pope Alexander I, who granted the Spanish crown authority over the Catholic Church under its domain. In 1493, a year after Columbus's first voyage to the Americas, the pope divided the unexplored territories in the Western Hemisphere, ceding to Spain North America, Central America and a large portion of South America, including the islands of the Caribbean. A steady stream of Spanish explorers fanned out into the New World, laying claim to the new frontier in the name of Spain. Cortés and his men arrived in Mexico City in 1519. In the name of Christianity, they destroyed the indigenous civilization in the valley of Mexico and implanted Spanish colonial control in what would be known as the "New Spain."

Genesis of the Mission Model in Mexico

After settling in Tenochtitlán (the Aztec capital), Cortés petitioned King Carlos V for missionaries, soldiers, masons, carpenters, and other skilled workers to help establish more permanent settlements in Mexico. The Flemish Franciscan Brother Peter Van der Moere of Ghent (known in New Spain as Pedro de Gante) spent the first few years in Texcoco, second largest city after Tenochtitlán, before moving to the latter to establish a school.

Gante found a hostile climate in Tenochtitlán, where Cortés wanted the school. The bloody and violent overthrow of the capital had left the Aztecs distrustful of the conquerors. Despite Spanish power

at his disposal, Pedro de Gante realized that teaching the Aztecs would be a monumental challenge. Further, he understood that changing the culture and customs of an entire nation required a more organic approach. This meant that it was more essential to educate the masses than the privileged classes. Teaching the common man had potential for uplifting cultural values from the ground up and changing the oppressive treatment of women and children. Convinced that his educational plan was sound, he agreed to open a school in 1527.

Eager to make Gante's school endeavor successful, Cortés overreached. He ordered his men to round up all the young boys they could find and hold them within the mission enclosure. Parents objected vehemently, and the boys rebelled in anger. Teaching religion to more than a thousand boys held against their will was an unsatisfying and frustrating situation. Gante was nearly overcome with frustration and was tempted to return to Flanders. His vow of obedience, however, obliged him to ponder his plight carefully.

Fusion of Spanish and Native Cultures

After futile attempts to teach the defiant students and after much reflection, Gante arrived at an important insight: He needed to integrate Aztec culture as a link to the boys' lived experiences to pique their interest in learning. Having lived in the region of Texcoco for 3 years, he had observed Aztec enthusiasm for music, dance, and performance. Wasting little time, he began with singing and dancing lessons. To the boys' surprise and delight, Gante himself participated in the dancing and singing. Demonstrating respect for their culture earned him the boys' trust. As a way to manage the large group, Gante selected 20 of the brightest students to assist with the teaching. They received special instruction before Gante's introduction of the lesson to the whole class. In this way, he was able to manage the large group of students. The student leaders' fluency in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, and their intimate knowledge of Aztec cultural traditions contributed to their own conversion.

Without conceding basic tenets of Catholic doctrine, Gante incorporated culture and art in his instruction, allowing an outlet for creative expression. His approach proved effective in maintaining student interest. Centuries later, in the context of the United States, the idea of adapting instruction to

native cultures would become a prime tenet of bilingual and multicultural pedagogy.

Treatment of Indigenous Languages

Communication with indigenous people was daunting. But, unlike English-speaking settlers in the United States who worked at eradicating Indian languages, Spanish missionaries embraced the native languages of their converts as tools for teaching. For those early clerics, it was self-evident that success in converting the natives required two basic principles: First, learn the native language, and second, use the native language for instruction. Imposing Spanish would have been viewed as a sign of arrogance and disrespect, inciting greater resistance to conversion. Aside from its pedagogical merit, dealing with natives in their mother tongue reflected a sign of good will and served as a method of self-preservation for the friars who worked in hostile surroundings. Gante had studied Nahuatl in Texcoco where he also started recording the Nahuatl sounds using the Latin alphabet. In this way, he developed a written alphabet for Nahuatl that he later used to write a book on Catholic doctrine.

Breadth and Scope of the Missions

The typical mission structure was designed as a quadrangle. It included a church, a private residence for the priests, a mission school, a dormitory on one side for boys, another on the opposite side for girls, a kitchen, infirmary, and several workrooms. In the expansive American frontier, missions also functioned as garrisons, providing shelter, food, and protection for the Christianized Indians against the abuses of soldiers and civilians, warring tribes, and other European settlers. Missions were made possible by royal land grants situated in prime, strategic locations. Spanish monarchs and wealthy lay patrons paid for the creation and operation of the mission schools in an early form of school-community partnerships. Viceroyalty in the various regions of New Spain exercised authority over church and state matters, paying missionary salaries, setting administrative policies, providing military protection, and enforcing colonial law.

Organization of Mission Life

The missionaries' long-term goal was to establish independent Christian towns where property, resources, and

labor served the common good and operated under their absolute control. Although missions were not militarized, nor were natives (with few exceptions) physically forced to convert, but once baptized, converts were required to live in the mission complex. They were forbidden to leave or have contact with outsiders. Mission Indians lived under constant supervision, following a strict monastic-like lifestyle that included prayer, catechism, academic instruction, work, chores, meals, and recreation. Boys were taught agricultural and industrial skills; girls were taught sewing, cooking, quilting, weaving, spinning, and other domestic skills considered essential for marriage. Catholic holidays and liturgical celebrations broke the monotony of everyday life.

Missionaries raised horses, cattle, and other domestic farm animals brought from Spain. Neophytes were taught farming, cattle raising, ranching, and whatever agricultural and industrial skills were needed for the day-to-day operation of the mission complex. Missionaries also planted indigenous crops and myriad European vegetables, herbs, and fruits. In time, the missions became profitable enterprises, raising a substantial number of cattle and producing an abundance of vegetables, grains, and fruit for themselves as well as for sale to the locals.

Academic Curriculum

Along with the practical skills necessary for the operation of the mission, students were taught counting, reading, and writing in Nahuatl. Latin and Spanish as foreign languages were added later. Because of the clergy's strong tradition and talent in music, song, and musical instruments, these fine arts were also incorporated in the early curricula of the mission schools. In effect, each mission became a microcosm of Spanish civilization. This organization of Spanish missions in Mexico proved so successful that elements of it were incorporated into the state laws of California, Texas, New Mexico, Louisiana, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Even today, several of these states retain elements of Spanish law side-by-side with English common law that prevailed on the Atlantic seaboard.

The power and influence of the Franciscan missionaries over the early colonial settlements and emerging towns became a source of envy among the increasing Spanish population and secular clergy that ministered to persons outside the missions. Missionary

priests had a monopoly over the missions. Under pain of excommunication, no one could interfere in their work—not even secular priests charged with the spiritual ministry of civilians. Autonomy over the operation of the missions allowed missionaries to exert great power and influence. As each mission became self-sufficient, colonial authorities petitioned the king for secularization of the missions. Secularization entailed transferring control of the missions to civilian authorities and secular clergy. Lacking the educational background, discipline, organizational skills, goals, and earned respect of the missionary priests, civilians failed to keep the missions prosperous and intact. Ultimately, most of the missions declined and fell into dysfunctional remnants of their former glory.

Duplicating the Mission Model in the United States

As the French and English competed for territories in the American frontier, the Spanish moved quickly to establish missions in those regions as a way to retain the land for Spain. Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries moved into Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. There, they emulated the mission model they had developed in Mexico and the state of Baja California. Frontier missions, however, were difficult to sustain because they were located in isolated areas and far from Mexico's protection. Missionaries lived in hostile surroundings and suffered extreme hardships trying to make them prosper. Many missions were destroyed or razed, but others, notably those in California, endured and still exist, albeit with different goals. They serve as a reminder of the singular, most powerful vehicle for the transmission of Spanish/Mexican culture.

Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas

Juan Ponce de León landed in the southeast territory of the United States in April 1513. He named it *la Pascua Florida*, commemorating Easter Sunday, the day of his arrival. The territory of *La Florida* extended from present-day Florida north to the Chesapeake Bay. De León explored the territory up to the Carolinas and attempted to establish a colony in what is now Charlotte Harbor in 1521, but the Calusa Indians attacked his party, seriously wounding him, and forcing him to retreat to Cuba, where he

later died. Jesuit missionaries established a mission in St. Augustine, Florida. From there, they proceeded north, building missions among the Apalachees in Georgia and the Carolinas. Missionary efforts to convert the natives, however, met with limited success because of adverse conditions, Indian resistance, and difficulty in confining Indians to the missions. Positioned on the Atlantic coast, *La Florida* was a dangerous front line because the area served as a primary entry into mainland territory for the steady influx of European explorers. Missions in Florida doubled as forts, providing a modicum of safety for missionaries, their converts, and Spanish civilians against English and French invaders.

In 1573, Franciscan missionaries replaced the Jesuits in Florida, and although, they, too, faced great challenges, they were more successful in establishing enduring missions. They organized a school for the children of the soldiers in the local garrison. As they had done elsewhere, missionaries planted crops and raised livestock, providing essential food staples. Few details exist concerning the inner workings of mission schools in *La Florida*, but recent archeological discoveries of Indian-language Bibles and catechisms written with Spanish phonetics are proof that the missionaries provided Catholic doctrine in at least some of the indigenous languages of the region. Although those languages became extinct, the Indian-language books survived.

More than one hundred Spanish missions were established from 1526 to 1702 in what are now the states of Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas. At various intervals, however, each mission was abandoned because of inadequate resources, inability to protect themselves, epidemics, Indian resistance, and annihilation of the friars. English colonists wrestling for control of Florida also pillaged and destroyed a number of missions in this area. The English and their Indian allies committed atrocities against the Spanish Apalachees in Georgia and the Carolinas, killing the missionaries and capturing Hispanicized Indians as slaves for the thriving plantations in South Carolina. The city of St. Augustine, founded in 1565, holds the distinction of being the oldest town in the United States. Franciscans maintained a mission at St. Augustine that later evolved into the first school for Whites. This school existed one year before the arrival of the English in Jamestown and operated 30 years before an English language school was established in North America.

New Mexico, Texas, and Louisiana Territories

During this Spanish/Mexican era, New Mexico, Texas, and western Louisiana were part of a sprawling territory that explorer Juan de Oñate called “the Kingdom of Saint Francis of the New Mexico.” In 1540, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado explored the territory north of New Spain in the area now known as West Texas. Eight Franciscan missionaries who accompanied him chose to stay behind to begin the conversion of the natives, but failed to establish permanent settlements in Texas. In 1558, Oñate led another group of Franciscans to New Mexico, where they founded the first permanent settlement, Mission San Gabriel, in what is now San Juan Pueblo. They worked among the Pueblo Indians. For more than a decade, this settlement served as the capital of New Mexico before the capital was moved to Santa Fe. By 1598, Franciscans had operated mission schools for 75 years.

In Taos, Pecos, and Santa Fe, missionaries set up more schools where they taught catechism, reading, writing, and music, including agricultural and industrial arts. Pueblo Indians in Santa Fe and nearby pueblos learned new techniques for their various crafts. It is difficult to determine the exact number of mission schools opened in the territory of New Mexico, but according to archives, there were at least 59 friaries with each friary housing one or more schools.

Franciscans converted and taught a large number of natives in the New Mexican territory, but faced ongoing resistance. Even as the Franciscans reached their “golden era” of mission work, the Indian pueblos rebelled against Spanish colonization, killing 21 Franciscans and 400 civilians and soldiers. As a result, the missionaries moved to Albuquerque, where they established other mission schools. In Albuquerque, the friars introduced horses, cattle, and sheep, teaching the Indians to breed and care for the animals. The friars also introduced Indians to improved methods of spinning and weaving. Hostile Indian tribes eventually destroyed the missions and pushed the Catholic friars to present-day El Paso, Texas. In small towns and villages within the current Texas border, the friars established 26 missions and outposts. The semi-nomadic lives of Texas Indians worked against the cloistered life required of converts. Indians rebelled, and the Spaniards failed to establish enduring settlements throughout the vast territory of Texas, with the exception of El Paso, San Antonio, and the Rio Grande Valley.

Texas missions did not flourish as well as those in California but were instrumental in creating the foundation for the strong presence of Spanish and Mexican culture that exists today. By the late 1700s, a large number of Indians in Texas were fully assimilated into the Spanish and Indian culture of the towns, becoming devout, Spanish-speaking Catholics. With their Spanish names given to them by the missionaries, they were indistinguishable from other mestizos of the region. A testament of Pedro de Gante’s philosophy of education and the staying power of Spanish was evident as late as 1890 to 1898 in the El Paso public schools’ requirement that English-speaking teachers pass a Spanish exam to teach the large number of Spanish speaking students.

California

Father Junípero Serra led a team of Franciscan missionaries into present-day California in 1769. They founded a chain of 21 missions along the west coast of California, from present-day San Diego near the Mexican border to San Francisco. Each mission was located one day’s horseback ride from the other, along a trail named *La Calle Real* (the Royal Highway). In California, as elsewhere, missionaries were not all saintly, equally kind, or above reproach. Those who demonstrated genuine concern for the physical, spiritual, and intellectual welfare of the Indians, however, quickly earned their trust and cooperation. Other missionaries who took more authoritarian approaches, resorting to force and exploitation, faced Indian resistance, retaliation, and revolts.

Teaching took place in various Indian languages, but proved a constant challenge. In some cases, there was a different language every 10 to 15 miles. Records indicate that at Mission San Francisco, the friars taught in five different native languages. For the most part, California mission schools followed a traditional curriculum similar to the one designed in Mexico. As the neophytes became more fluent in Spanish, the missionaries used both the native language and Spanish in their instruction. Indian converts attended schools in the missions where they were confined for the duration of their schooling. Girls were required to reside in the monastery. At night, they were locked inside the *monjerío* (nunnery), which served as their living quarters, and were supervised by a *maestra* (female teacher). A misnomer, the *monjerío* was not a convent. The girls were neither preparing to become

nuns, nor did they remain there for life. Alongside mission schools, colonial towns across the Spanish/Mexican territories had secular clerics and Catholic nuns who ran private Catholic schools for the children of Spaniards and Creoles in the community. Instruction in those schools was in Spanish.

All missions were completely secularized in the late 18th century. Along with secularization, a royal decree required that all schools in the empire abandon the use of native languages and institute Spanish as the official language. Many Franciscan missionaries throughout the Spanish settlements in U.S. territories ignored the new policy and quietly continued using the native languages. Some missionaries in Texas welcomed the new directives, arguing that Hispanization was so complete in some towns that there was little need for Indian languages. California missions were among the largest in the Spanish empire. San Luis Rey Mission, for example, sprawled across 90,000 acres of land. In the mid-1830s, it owned 50,500 head of cattle, approximately 29,000 sheep, 5,000 horses, and an enormous number of pigs, goats, and other domestic animals. Franciscan missionaries wielded so much economic power over the Indians and Catholic laity, and the missions had accumulated so much wealth that those two factors alone intensified the push for total secularization. Most California missions still exist in their original or restored condition, and although they were secularized, many continue to operate as viable Catholic churches. An excellent example of this longevity and continued service is the church at San Luis Rey near present-day San Diego.

Arizona

Franciscan missionaries arrived in Hopi land in 1630. They endeavored to establish the Mexican mission model in there too, beginning with *la doctrina* (Catholic doctrine) and following with basic reading and writing skills. Instruction was reserved for Christian converts; others were not included. Brighter students were taught Latin and Spanish in addition to the basic curriculum. The task of evangelization was not easy; missionaries faced great obstacles. In due time, however, they built a monastery in the center of Hopi territory. The isolation of the missions made them easy targets for Indian raids. Fearing this constant danger, the Franciscans ordered Spanish soldiers to build a garrison for their

protection and the protection of their wards. Hopi Indians objected to their militarized encroachment and stormed the construction site, killing the priests and their converts, and destroying the monastery.

Southern Arizona missions were originally founded by Jesuit missionaries who worked in the northern part of Mexico in the area of present-day Mexican states of Sonora, Durango, Chihuahua, and Sinaloa, but their missions extended into a portion of Arizona. On the Mexican side, the Jesuits founded mission schools and colleges. Indian resistance was generally the rule. Many had witnessed multiple atrocities against their people, so they fought back, ultimately killing all the Jesuit missionaries.

Despite their losses and constant attacks from the Tarahumara and Yaqui Indians, the Jesuits persisted. By 1691, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino stretched the missionary work into the territory of the Pima Indians along the Gila River in Arizona. Father Kino brought another cleric and a team of Sonora Indians to help with the construction of the mission and instruction of the natives in this region. Pleased with the initial response, he took hundreds of head of cattle from Sonora to help support the mission. Father Kino specialized in teaching adult Indians. His genuine affection for Indians was known throughout the territory. In his youth, the Pueblo Indians referred to him affectionately as *El Padre Negro*. Later they nicknamed him *el viejito* (the old one) and sat around for hours listening to his stories and teachings. Kino used visual aids to teach his converts until he mastered their languages. He also organized a children's school. The Jesuits remained in Arizona for 100 years before the pope expelled them from all the territories. Franciscan missionaries took over their work in southern Arizona.

Conclusion

The Spanish established hundreds of missions throughout the vast territories of New Spain. Those missions operated schools and churches that served as effective tools for social reproduction of Spanish culture, solidifying and expanding the Spanish empire, and spreading the Spanish language among indigenous peoples. Many mission settlements became large profitable enterprises, giving missionaries tremendous influence and control over the lives of people within the mission and the surrounding areas. The Spanish were successful in establishing Christian towns and

colonizing millions of indigenous peoples. Mestizos became the majority in Mexico and a large segment of the population in the expanding American colonies. When the U.S. Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, most people within what is now the United States were probably Spanish speakers—from the Californios on the West Coast to the Spanish-speaking Apalachees in Georgia and the criollos of Florida.

Unlike the English, who intentionally worked at eradicating indigenous languages and cultures, and rejected the notion of mixed racial unions, the Spanish were interested in saving their souls. Catholic doctrine and royal policies dictated that indigenous peoples were human beings with rights, deserving protection by the Spanish crown and its representatives. This dictate was not always obeyed; abuses abounded throughout the empire. Three centuries of mounting resistance from Creoles and Mexican elite against Spanish exploitation erupted in 1810 with Father Miguel Hidalgo's call for independence from Spain. Although mestizos outnumbered the Spanish 10 to one, the bloody battle for independence lasted 11 years, ending in 1821. The new Republic of Mexico, however, was unable to retain possession of the huge expanses of land in what is now the U.S. Southwest. With the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Mexico lost those territories to the United States. Despite this loss, missions were instrumental in building an enduring Mexican cultural presence. Today, the missions that are still standing are chiefly museums and historical points of interest throughout the Southwest.

In Mexico, secularization also changed the role and function of the missions. Secularization brought with it the end of Indian schooling by the Spanish. The Spanish crown had ordered colonial schools throughout the empire to serve exclusively for Spanish-speaking children. The king's directive was not closely followed in the frontier colonies, but pressure to shift the academic curriculum for Indians to an industrial curriculum began to mount. Often, the deep-seated prejudices of the Spanish and, later, of the Mexican elite began to question whether advanced studies for Indians (and the lower classes) were essential when they were unlikely to use such knowledge. Furthermore, the elites argued that Indians were better suited for agricultural and industrial skills. In many communities, those colonial attitudes are still evident in the public education system in Mexico,

which serves the poor and rural descendants of the early residents of the Spanish missions.

Maria de la Luz Reyes

See also Languages in Colonial Schools, Eastern; Language Socialization of Indigenous Children; Native American Languages, Legal Support for; Spanish, the Second National Language; Spanish Loan Words in U.S. English

Further Readings

- Blanton, C. K. (2004). *The strange career of bilingual education in Texas, 1836–1981*. Kingsville: Texas A&M University Press.
- Cardenas, M. L. (1984). *Legacy of Mexico to the philosophy of American education*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Heath, S. B. (1972). *Telling tongues: Language policy in Mexico, colony to nation*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Palfrey, D. H. (1998). *Mexico's colonial era, Part II: Religion & Society in New Spain*. Retrieved from http://mexconnect.com/mex_/travel/dpalfrey/dpcolonial2.html
- Weber, D. J. (1992). *The Spanish frontier in North America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Wright, R. (2001). Spanish missions. In *The handbook of Texas online*. Retrieved from <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/SS/its2.html>

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

Language socialization refers to the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge and practices that enable them to participate effectively in a language community. Based on concepts related to language acquisition and anthropology, language socialization theory is a theory of language learning that argues that one learns language and culture simultaneously. In other words, when someone learns a language, by definition that person is also learning culture. From a language socialization perspective, language and culture are inseparable; that is, one is simultaneously learning language (linguistic knowledge) and acquiring socio-cultural knowledge (how to use language in context).

Language socialization theory differs from other theories of socialization in that it argues that language is the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated, and therefore

reproduced. Specifically, language socialization theory developed as a response to other theories of first-language acquisition prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s that did not consider the sociocultural context, and instead focused on the internal, cognitive aspects of language learning.

Initially, language socialization theory was developed as an explanation for infants' and young children's development of their first language. Early scholars and the main architects of this theory, Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin, examined the process of first-language acquisition in a cultural context through detailed ethnographic studies of small, often isolated monolingual societies. From these studies, a view emerged explaining that the process of learning a language is a social activity that relies on the building up of routines of interactions. This early work, although not directly focused on issues of bilingualism and bilingual education, paved the way for other studies that directly addressed the issue of how language socialization in the home could differentially affect the experiences of children when they attend school.

Beginning in the 1990s, a second generation of studies in language socialization broadened the scope of research to look explicitly at the processes of socialization in cultural contexts other than the home environment. These studies focused on understanding the processes of language socialization in bilingual and multilingual contexts. This entry describes the development of language socialization theory.

Roots of Language Socialization Theory

Language socialization theory portrays a developmental process through which children learn how to speak like adults do, and therefore, they learn to become adults. Ochs and Schieffelin, drawing on the work of linguistic anthropologists Dell Hymes and John Gumperz, characterized societies as having a fairly fixed and predetermined set of norms, values, and rules for behavior, which children acquire through their interactions with adults in the process of everyday life. Through participation in everyday social interactions, children engage in and internalize the practices of the society. Over time, through practice in routines and regular activities, children become more and more skilled in the social practices considered appropriate in their communities. For example, through their participation, children learn when it is

appropriate to speak or be silent, when it is appropriate to tell jokes or be serious, and when it is appropriate to talk about certain topics and not others. In addition to "when" children also learned "how" to speak, joke, and be serious. In other words, as young children interact with their caregivers, they simultaneously acquire the necessary social and language skills needed to develop a specific cultural view of the world that shows them how to behave appropriately in their society or community.

Although the initial conceptualization of language socialization theory rested on the analysis of isolated communities, an early work by Shirley Brice Heath showed the importance of language socialization theory for bilingual education in the United States. In her ethnographic study titled *Ways With Words*, Heath compares the language socialization practices in three communities and extends the study of language socialization from the home to the school. In this study, Heath demonstrates the ways in which children in two different working-class communities are socialized into "ways with words," ways of using language that form the heart of what it means to be a competent member of their home communities. Heath then moves on to show how these "ways with words" are incompatible with the sets of expectations of schoolteachers in elementary schools. Particularly, because these expectations derive from schoolteachers' own home "mainstream," middle-class ways of using words to accomplish or carry out social interactions.

This and other works view the concept of "home-school differences" as an important explanation for the lack of success in school by nonmainstream students, including bilingual and English language learners. Associated with the concept of home-school differences was also a clear call for working with teachers, so that they might become aware of the sociocultural differences between children. This knowledge may help teachers change their attitudes toward minority children and adjust their classroom practices to reduce the disadvantages children from different sociocultural backgrounds face when they attend school.

Second-Generation Language Socialization Theory

In more recent years, language socialization research has broadened to encompass studies of second-language socialization and bilingual language socialization,

thus making a more direct link to issues of bilingualism and bilingual education. Some of the insights presented here have emerged through the analysis of bilingual and multilingual communities. This is because communities in which two or more codes (be they languages or language varieties) exist together for whatever reason, they do so inevitably with issues of difference, dominance, or conflict that surround the languages and the speakers of those languages. By examining language socialization in contexts where different social practices come into contact or conflict with one another, these studies highlight the focus on social practice that is the hallmark of language socialization research. A review by Robert Bayley and Sandra Schecter provides an overview of a wide-range study on language socialization in bilingual and multilingual contexts. This work addresses some concerns with the early model of language socialization and offers a variety of extensions.

The first extension of this research, exemplified by Heath, was an extension of the focus of studies on larger, less isolated communities, concerned with studying language socialization practices beyond the scope of the home community, in cases where two or more codes come in contact with one another. This is precisely what happens in the case of language minority children entering language majority schools.

Another extension of the research was to examine the process of socialization not only in childhood, but also as an ongoing process throughout the life span. Adolescence, in this extension, takes on a particular importance because this is when individuals in modern societies find themselves at the intersection between childhood and adulthood. In this period, social identity formation becomes central; hence, extending the scope of socialization beyond childhood entails a shift from seeing socialization as a developmental process to one that sees socialization as practice.

From this perspective, individuals engage in social practices that reflect their identity in age-appropriate ways throughout the life cycle, and in response to the social environment in which they find themselves. In essence, this extension suggests that language socialization is not simply a developmental process leading to adulthood, but rather a component of what it means to be human, namely to be a member of a group. For instance, the practices required to be a “good 5-year-old” are not the same as those required for an adolescent, a young adult, or a senior citizen. The extension suggests that a variety of factors related to identity

help shape what particular behaviors are appropriate for which members of a society. For boys and girls to be considered competent boys and girls, they must behave in quite different ways; likewise, teenagers and senior citizens engage in different behaviors appropriate to their identities and positions in a community. All of those shifts in social practices, in routines of behavior, over time are examples of the language socialization processes. Studies of language socialization also extend to examine the process by which individuals learn the language and the sociocultural practices needed to become competent tool-and-die operators, folk dancers, middle-school students, university professors, meat packers, baseball players, and so on.

An additional extension of recent work in language socialization is the view that cultural norms and practices of communities are far from static or predictable. Rather, communities are indeed always changing to some degree because the individuals who are their members are capable of change. The source of such change can come from broad macrolevel social historical processes at the level of the society and even transnational influences; or it can also come from local level shifts in practices that may permeate a community from the inside. Hence, the process of language socialization is considerably more complex because individuals not only engage in routine practices but must also be aware of how they are changing over time. One example of this research is Don Kulick's *Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction: Socialization, Self and Syncretism in a Papua New Guinean Village*. Kulick examines how macrosociological processes influence language choice, and how the shift to monolingualism in Tok Pisin among children in Papua, New Guinea, occurs.

An additional extension of language socialization research, one drawn particularly from research in bilingual and multilingual settings, shows how the norms and values that dictate and define the language and other social practices also shift over time from one small community to another. *Language as Cultural Practice: Mexicanos en el norte*, by Schecter and Bayley, examines the different ways in which Mexican American families practice and define their culture, and the ways in which both monolingual and bilingual Spanish and English practices form part of that culture. Individuals at different stages of their lives, to be considered members of a community, engage in different practices; along with them, communities change over

time. This social practice view of language socialization allows a more fluid and multifaceted conception of socialization and those social identities associated with it.

Finally, second-language socialization studies have examined cases where language socialization does not occur. These studies employ the same methods for examining social groups, and the same underlying concepts of how it is through social practice that individuals can be in a position to negotiate, challenge, contest, reject, or transform existing social practices in contexts that they find themselves in. Patricia Duff addressed this topic in a research study that is particularly relevant to bilingual and second-language education. Duff examined behaviors of resistance to school-imposed norms and social practices that fail to incorporate or value the language and social practices of language minority youth.

In sum, language socialization theory outlines a view of language learning as embedded in the social practices in which language is used. Through the close examination of everyday routines and practices of individuals in various contexts and communities in which they find themselves, we can learn how and when, in the case of bilingual populations, individuals use the various language codes at their disposal. By extending the scope of research to the broader social processes in which these everyday activities and practices occur, we can also provide explanations for the maintenance and shift of languages in bilingual contexts, as well as the ways in which languages map onto, or construct different social identities, including ethnic and linguistic identities.

Juliet Langman

See also Communities of Practice; First-Language Acquisition; Home/School Relations; Language and Identity; Language Learning in Children and Adults; Languages and Power; Language Socialization of Indigenous Children; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Bayley, R., & S. Schecter (Eds.). (2003). *Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual societies*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (1993). Critical ethnography of a Sri Lankan classroom: Ambiguities in student opposition to reproduction through ESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 28, 601–626.
- Crago, M. B. (1992). Communicative interaction and second language acquisition: An Inuit example. *TESOL Quarterly*, 26, 487–505.
- Crago, M. B., Genesee, F., & Allen, S. M. (1998). Power and difference: Bilingual decision making in Inuit homes. *Journal for a Just and Caring Education*, 4, 78–95.
- Duff, P. (1996). Different languages, different practices: Socialization of discourse competence in dual-language school classrooms in Hungary. In K. Bailey & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Voices from the language classroom: Qualitative research in second language education* (pp. 407–433). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Duff, P. (2003). New directions in second language socialization research. *Korean Journal of English language and Linguistics*, 3, 309–339.
- Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic variation as social practice: The linguistic construction of identity in Belten High*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Garrett, P., & Baquedano-Lopez, P. (2002). Language socialization: Reproduction and continuity, transformation and change. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 339–361.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected readings* (pp. 269–293). Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books.
- Kulick, D. (1992). *Language shift and cultural reproduction: Socialization, self and syncretism in a Papua New Guinean village*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and socialization in a Samoan village*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, E. (1993). Constructing social identity: A language socialization perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26, 287–306.
- Ochs, E., & B. Schieffelin. (1984). Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories and their implications. In R. Schweder & R. LeVine (Eds.), *Culture theory: Essays in mind, self and emotion* (pp. 276–320). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schecter, S. R., & Bayley, R. (2002). *Language as cultural Practice: Mexicanos en el norte*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Schieffelin, B. B. (1990). *The give and take of everyday life*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). Language socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 163–191.
- Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (Eds.). (1986). *Language socialization across cultures*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Watson-Gegeo, K. (2004). Mind, language, and epistemology: Toward a language socialization paradigm for SLA. *The Modern Language Journal*, 88, 331–350.

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS CHILDREN

The acquisition of language is a universal and fascinating aspect of human development. Language socialization research shows that when acquiring a first language, children are simultaneously acquiring the cultural and social knowledge necessary for becoming competent members of their respective families and communities. From an indigenous perspective, the mother language serves as a basic and fundamental source of identity, sacredness, and strength of an individual, family, and community. This entry begins with a general overview of indigenous peoples, their languages and their cultures, and outlines some of the ways that indigenous children of the United States, Native Americans (also known as American Indians), Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians are socialized into their homes and cultures.

Indigenous Peoples, Languages, and Cultures

Indigenous peoples around the world and in the United States differ in a number of striking ways, such as governance, culture (i.e., dress, art, and ceremony), genesis theories, acculturation, and languages. Presently indigenous peoples constitute 4% of the world's population; they also speak an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 of the 6,000 world's languages (as reported by Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine). In the United States, indigenous peoples equal 4.3 million or 1.5% of the total population and represent more than 560 autonomous indigenous nations, including Chippewa, Lakota, Jemez Pueblo (Walatowa), Diné (Navajo Nation), Inuit, Eastern and Western Cherokee, Tohono O'odham, Caddo, Eastern Pequot, Seminole, and Oneida. There are 175 U.S. indigenous languages, which range in various degrees of vitality from a handful of elderly speakers of Pii Paash, a Yuman language, also known as Maricopa (Arizona), to more than 178,000 speakers of Navajo, an Athabaskan language, whose use stretches from the sub-Arctic to the U.S. border with Mexico.

Equally important to understand about indigenous languages is that most of them predominately remain oral languages with cultural knowledge and traditions being orally transmitted among generations; however, language vitality in each community (and family) varies. For most communities that have a written language, mother-tongue literacy is reserved primarily for schools. For example, Zuni is a language isolated in New Mexico, which is spoken by 90% of the 10,000 Zuni members; however, only an estimated 5% of the population is able to read and write the language. Similarly, mother-tongue literacy has existed for nearly 100 years among the Navajo and is currently taught in model language education programs reservation-wide, yet their distinct child socialization practices and patterns remain primarily oral. This is not to say that mother-tongue literacy is not important but, rather, that the socialization of children essentially remains an oral process in indigenous cultures.

Language Socialization Research

Language socialization research is, in general, influenced by the fields of anthropology, sociolinguistics, psychology, and sociology—all of which critically examine human development and human nature, including language acquisition and language and cognitive development. This entry takes a sociolinguistic perspective, strongly influenced by the work of Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky. In this theoretical view, through various interactions with adults and other cultural experts, young children tacitly, yet actively, absorb social knowledge; they internalize what they acquire from these external activities to make it their own. Vygotsky referred to this sociocognitive process as *internalization*, where an external interaction is transformed into internal mental functioning. In his view, through their verbal and nonverbal sociolinguistic interactions with experts (adults), children come to know who they are in relation to others in their world. In other words, they are acquiring a self-identity in a world of social meaning.

According to Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin, language socialization research is concerned with how children and other novices are socialized through language and how they learn to use it in their homes and communities. Thus, language socialization research provides insight into the sociolinguistic and cultural world of children before they enter school. This research is critical because it can assist educators who

may be unaware of the language and cultural resources that ethnic and linguistic minority children bring from home, including Native American children. Because these children do not behave linguistically and socially as mainstream English-speaking children do, educators can mistakenly perceive them as having learning difficulties, or may underestimate their abilities to understand when they are actually learning and using language in culturally appropriate ways. Susan Phillips's classic study, for example, illustrated how disparities between the Anglo teacher discourse and the Warm Spring Native students' discourse negatively affected the learning and achievement of culturally and linguistically diverse children. As critical as this sociolinguistic research was, there continues to be a dire need for additional contemporary studies of language socialization of indigenous children.

Language Socialization in Home and Community

Populations around the world have found ways to socialize their children according to their realities and the logic of their languages. Through these socialization practices, a group's youngest members acquire the means to carry this cultural knowledge into the next generation. Experts assume that when children are socialized, they will eventually acquire the home language as well as the beliefs, values, and precepts embedded in it, the means with which to communicate with family members, to function successfully in the world of the home and family first, and eventually the social world of the larger community, including school. What do indigenous socializers (caretakers) believe indigenous children should learn? How do they believe children acquire this "local knowledge?" Do they need to be taught, and if so, who teaches them? People will be able to answer these questions from their own linguistic and cultural experiences and from their perceptions and beliefs about the nature of children, their abilities, and their roles in the cultural world; this is where the discussion now turns.

Beliefs and Perceptions of Children

A renowned native speaker of the Lakota language, Beatrice Medicine, explained that the Lakota word for children, *wakanyeia*, is derived from "wakan," meaning sacred, and reflects the Lakota belief of the sacredness of children. She further explained that

Lakotas socialized in the Lakota language and culture believe that an unborn child is a highly intellectual spiritual being, preparing to enter the physical world and that before being born, the child has preselected his or her parents and caretakers. Simultaneously or respectively, children are considered sacred blessings by parents and family members, and therefore, young children are respected and treated as capable of understanding both the physical and spiritual nature of life. Similar perceptions of children are held by the Pueblo people of New Mexico. A Pueblo grandfather, when asked about his views of children, replied, "Every child is sacred because we don't know what is destined for this child; therefore, we treat every child with equal value" (as reported in research conducted by Mary Eunice Romero-Little). This epistemology of human existence frames the Lakota, the Pueblo, and other indigenous societies and guides them throughout their lives, including how they carry out their "sacred trust" for children. In other words, how they care for, nurture, and value their youngest members.

Becoming Indigenous: Cultural Plans for Socializing Children

Across indigenous cultures and communities, a number of common threads are interwoven to create the cultural plans that guide the socialization of children. One core thread prevalent throughout most indigenous societies is the belief and value of "respect"—respect for the human interconnections with land, water, sky and, one's relations. Respect is reflected in many forms through language and ways of speaking, as indicated by sociolinguist Dell Hymes, and as Leanne Hinton has shown among the Wintu Indians of California:

Many of the verbs that express coercion in our language—such as to take a baby to (the shade), or to change the baby—are formed in a way that they express a cooperative effort instead. For example, the Wintu would say, "I *went with* the baby," instead of, "I *took* the baby." . . . They never say, and in fact they cannot say, as we do, "I have a sister," or a "son" or a "husband." Instead, they say, "I am sistered" or "I live with my sister." To *live with* is the usual way in which they express what we call possession, and they use this term for everything that they respect. (p. 62)

Culture and socialization practices influence the way children behave linguistically and socially, how

they express their feelings and emotions, and how they understand their world. For example, greetings—whether in English or in the native language—are the means for showing respect to others and acknowledging one’s interconnectedness with others. This is illustrated in the following vignette of a young Pueblo girl learning through Keres, the communal language, the important forms of greetings and acknowledgments and the proper way of interacting with others:

A four-year-old girl and her mother enter the house. The mother greets the adults (several women and a couple of men) inside the house. Immediately, at the sight of the youngster, the adults in the house give special attention to her. They greet the young girl with smiles and expressions of verbal delight. The shy young girl does not smile or respond; she clings on to her mother and hides behind her dress. The mother continues to greet the women with her daughter clinging on to her leg. She appears not to mind her clinging child. After greeting each person, the mother sits down on a bench across from several women who are busy rolling out dough for pie-crust bottoms. The mother whispers in her daughter’s ear as one of the women smiles at the young girl and says in Keres, “How are you, my little one? Do you want to help?” The young girl hugs her mother and does not respond. Her mother gives her daughter a little push and instructs her, “Go say hello to your aunt.” The young girl refuses to go or to respond. The mother then takes her daughter by her hand and walks her over to the women working at the table. Together they approach each of the women. The mother models for the daughter the proper verbal greeting and the proper nonverbal gestures (a hug or a handshake). Gradually, with a hesitant smile, the young girl holds out her hand to each of the women and with the assistance of her mother, greets everyone present in the house. The women are delighted and tell the young girl in Keres, “Come help us. Here’s some dough.” (Romero-Little, p. 175)

As this young girl grows older, through guided practice and numerous opportunities for peripheral participation, as characterized in the model proposed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger in the home and communal context, she will learn appropriate social and linguistic practices.

For indigenous children, who, from birth—and in some indigenous cultures, *before* birth—grow up with

many familial and community caretakers throughout their lives, special cultural events and daily sociocultural activities (such as illustrated in the previous vignette) collectively contribute to the development of their self and communal identities. Language plays a central role in shaping their perspectives of themselves and kinship (another common thread in the socialization of indigenous children), namely how one is related to others and how to properly acknowledge and interact with them. “Knowing the people” is identified by a young Pueblo parent as being vital to her daughter’s development of a sense of self and communal identity: “I want her to know the people. I want the people to know her. And, of course, I want her to learn the language. But I think that those relationships are really going to help that part out. So, we try and teach her who people are” (as reported in Romero’s study). Likewise, David Sing, Alapa Hunter, and Manu Meyer report that Native Hawaiian children are instilled with the *ohana* (family) and community when they participate in practices in the “Hawaiian way,” such as learning hula, making rope out of *hau* or carving stones for *ulumaika*, chanting, and through storytelling or “talking story”—all of which are embedded with life lessons and traditions.

Through their intrapersonal and interpersonal sociolinguistic interactions with their caretakers, children acquire the knowledge of relationships, in particular the prominent role carried out by the extended family and grandparents. For instance, in the Kiowa society, a Plains Indian nation of Oklahoma, young children learn to use language in ways that acknowledge the various extended relations, especially their connections with elders, which constitute the core (or circle) of their social and cognitive worlds, as illustrated in the following story told by a Kiowa man who was asked who his most important childhood caretakers were:

As a young boy growing up, I became excited and charmed by my grandfather . . . I can remember feeling attached to this powerful man and proud to be part of his family—his circle. My other relatives were also important in my care and upbringing. I can still remember with fondness as my mother or grandparents would introduce me to an older woman at a powwow or church and say, “this is your grandma.” It was not until the eighth grade that I came to the realization I only had one set of biological grandparents. The images and cohesiveness of this extended

circle played a powerful role in my development.
(Rogers, n.d.)

In many indigenous societies, one is related to many individuals in many ways that extend beyond one's blood relations. Children must learn this tapestry of social, cultural, and religious relationships early in their lives.

Patricia García contends that one way that parents socialize a child on the importance of language and other cultural practices is through attitudes toward language and practices that may not be overtly taught; they are often displayed in daily interaction or communication. This is exemplified in the socialization of Alaska Native children, as reported by the Alaska Native Language Center. In Alaska Native villages, daily life and much of the daily learning of both children and adults evolve around essential seasonal subsistence activities such as hunting, fishing, berry picking, and so on. Each summer, for instance, children accompany their families to fish camps for months at a time. While at the fish camps, children are integral contributors to the myriad tasks for preparing fish for the winter food supply. From morning to dusk, the entire family is busy catching, cutting, cleaning, and drying the fish. Young children, if not directly engaged in a task, are silent participants. They listen, observe, and quietly internalize the daily activities of others. In this way, they learn the important things they will need to know when it is their turn to take on these responsibilities and to pass them on to the next generation.

Conclusion

Children, including indigenous children, come to school with well-established ways of communicating, and particular forms of knowing and learning that are framed through their languages, cultures, and socialization experiences. In this socialization process, which is part of a culture and begins well before children enter school, are found methods for imparting what a community truly believes children ought to learn and may not resemble the language and literacy practices of schools. This is not to say that indigenous families do not value and promote the knowledge and skills taught in mainstream schools. Quite the opposite, they value them as much as mainstream families do. As witnessed in this entry, however, what is taught in school is only a small part of what indigenous

children must learn if they are to be successful in and beyond their own community. First, these children must learn how to relate to others in their own cultural world and become skilled at carrying out their duties and responsibilities as members of their cultural community; they must also acquire the cultural literacy to do this. For this reason, indigenous peoples faithfully carry out cultural plans for their children. Thus, in a deep sense, the language socialization process is key to an indigenous people's cultural and linguistic survival. The family and community goals for indigenous children reach far beyond the form of literacy shaped and promoted by formal schooling. Although their early socialization may differ from those of mainstream children, indigenous children are provided with many rich and meaningful opportunities to acquire the cultural symbols and intellectual traditions, which according to Rebecca Benjamin, Regis Pecos, and Romero, are important and vital for the development of their personal and collective identities and, equally important, for ensuring their bilingual and bicultural competence and successes beyond their cultural worlds, in mainstream schools.

Mary Eunice Romero-Little

See also Acculturation; Enculturation; Home/School Relations; Language and Identity; Language Socialization; Native American Languages, Legal Support for

Further Readings

- Alaska Native Language Center. (2002). *Alaska Native ways: What the elders have taught us*. Portland, OR: Graphic Arts Center.
- Benjamin, R., Pecos, R., & Romero, M. E. (1997). Language revitalization efforts in the Pueblo de Pueblo: Becoming "literate" in an oral society. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Indigenous literacies in the Americas: Language planning from the bottom up* (pp. 115–136). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- García, P. (2005). Case study parental language attitudes and practices to socialize children in a diglossic society. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8(4), 328–344.
- Hinton, L. (1994). *Flute of fire*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Ludescher, S. L. (2000, April 21). Zunis stress native tongue, *Gallup Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.gallupindependent.com/1999-2001/4-21-00.html#anchor3>
- Medicine, B. (1985). Child socialization among Native Americans: The Lakota (Sioux) in cultural context. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 1(2), 23–28.
- Nettle, D., & Romaine, S. (2000). *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the world's languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1984). Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories. In R. Shweder & R. LeVine (Eds.), *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self and emotion* (pp. 276–320). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Park, E., & King, K. (2003). *Cultural diversity and language socialization in the early years*. ERIC Digest, Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics. EDO-FL-03–13.
- Phillips, S. (1983). *The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.
- Rogers, B. (n.d.). *A path of healing and wellness for native families*. Your Native Resource for Quality Training. Accessed January 16, 2007, from <http://www.nativewellness.com/article.htm>
- Romero-Little, M. E. (2003). *Perpetuating the Pueblo way of life: language socialization and language shift in a Pueblo community*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Education, Language, Literacy, and Culture, University of California at Berkeley.
- Sing, D., Hunter, A., & Meyer, M. A. (1999). Native Hawaiian education: Talking story with three Hawaiian educators, *Journal of American Indian Education*, 39(1), 4–13.
- Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. (1985). *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (2000). The loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory into Practice*, 39(4), 203–210.
- Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

20th century at the high school and university levels rose and fell consistently with societal ideologies that affected our collective outlook on cultural and language diversity. Interest in foreign-language study has sometimes coincided with policies associated with national defense. More often, however, opposition to immigration and perceived threats to a national American identity have contributed to devaluing the study of certain foreign languages in schools. The see-saw effects of less-than-decisive policies and public sentiment have had a negative affect on foreign-language study. This entry examines some of these changes during the last half of the 20th century, the period that parallels the contemporary history of bilingual education.

By the end of the 20th century, only 60% of post-secondary institutions had foreign-language requirements for graduation. The United States is one of the few countries in the world, perhaps the only one, where it is possible to receive a university education without any foreign-language requirement. Historical data illustrate the worsening of this situation over time.

Language Enrollments in Schools in the 20th Century

Estimates for foreign-language enrollments from 1900 to 1920 indicate that most students were enrolled in foreign languages, primarily Latin, followed by German, French, and Spanish. Latin was often a requirement for admissions to liberal arts colleges. After World War I, German language enrollment fell dramatically, although it experienced a comeback in the 1930s. During this period, there was also a shift from colleges primarily offering courses in Latin to “modern language instruction” that eventually outpaced the classical languages. From the 1920s to the 1950s, foreign-language instruction overall fell in the United States as the country became more isolated and xenophobic. In addition, an increasing number of students turned to fields of study other than languages.

The launch of the world’s first artificial satellite, *Sputnik*, by the Soviet Union in 1957 resulted in a renewed, albeit short-lived interest in foreign-language studies, especially at the federal level. The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) was passed in 1958 to encourage the advancement of education in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. One purpose of NDEA was to encourage the teaching of languages designated as “critical” or “strategic” by

LANGUAGE STUDY TODAY

Although the United States is a nation of diverse languages and populations, foreign-language study has had a checkered history in the nation’s schools and colleges. Foreign-language enrollments during the

government entities and the Modern Language Association (MLA). The immediate purpose, however, was to move the United States ahead of the Soviet Union during the space race through better education. This had a direct impact on foreign-language enrollments, and by 1960, 86% of postsecondary institutions had foreign-language requirements. Although language enrollments continued to rise throughout the 1960s, enrollment fell off in the 1970s as a result of many colleges removing their foreign-language requirements for reasons that are not altogether clear.

In 1978, President Jimmy Carter created the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies to investigate whether the United States was maintaining its commitment to the 1975 Helsinki Accords on foreign-language study and also address the concerns of the State Department and National Security Council regarding the nation's capability in foreign-language training and research. The commission discovered persistent problems at all levels of foreign-language instruction, including inadequate training of teachers, insufficient administrative support, a lack of imaginative curricula, poor coordination, and a lack of sound criteria for measuring progress in these fields. The commission made 65 recommendations; however, by the end of the 20th century, few of those recommendations had been implemented. Despite national reports detailing the need for Americans to be competent in languages and cultures other than their own, only a handful of states had mandated foreign language be taught in schools and only 60% of postsecondary institutions had a foreign-language requirement.

Enrollment Numbers in Universities and High Schools

Since 1958, the MLA has conducted surveys every 4 years to track foreign-language enrollment in postsecondary institutions. The last survey conducted in the 20th century was in 1998. In the 1960s, foreign-language enrollment was at an all time high with 17% of students enrolled in a foreign language (Table 1). The top five languages that accounted for 95% of the foreign-language enrollment were French, Spanish, German, Russian, and Latin (see Table 2). Since the 1960s, the choice of which foreign language to study has shifted significantly. Although French was the most popular foreign language in 1960, its enrollments experienced a steady

Table 1 Modern Foreign-Language (MFL) Enrollments Compared With Higher Education Enrollments, 1960–1998

<i>Year</i>	<i>College Enrollments</i>	<i>MFL Enrollments</i>	<i>%</i>
1960	3,789,000	642,896	17.0
1965	5,920,864	1,034,877	17.5
1968	7,513,091	1,125,594	15.0
1970	8,580,887	1,101,659	12.8
1972	9,214,820	1,002,030	10.9
1977	11,285,787	933,468	8.3
1980	12,096,895	924,372	7.6
1983	12,464,661	966,013	7.8
1986	12,503,511	1,003,234	8.0
1990	13,818,637	1,184,489	8.6
1995	14,261,781	1,138,772	8.0
1998	14,507,000	1,194,648	8.2

Source: Draper & Hicks (2002).

decline. German and Russian, along with French, also saw a steady decline in enrollment numbers (Table 3). Although still a popular foreign language, by the end of the 20th century, French was far outpaced by Spanish (see Table 2). In 1998, Spanish accounted for more than half of all foreign-language enrollments. Foreign languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, and Korean also saw major increases in enrollment (see Table 3). In 1998, Japanese became the fifth most commonly taught language, and Chinese the sixth.

Although the actual number of foreign-language enrollment is currently at an all-time high, the past 40 years have demonstrated the waxing and waning interest in foreign-language study in the United States. Throughout the 1960s, enrollment remained on a steady incline, reaching more than a million students by 1965. Then, during the 1970s, enrollment declined before increasing again in the 1980s and 1990s. This growth in foreign-language enrollment numbers, though, has not been consistent with the total growth of college enrollments. College enrollments have outpaced foreign-language enrollments. Since the mid-1980s, foreign-language enrollments have stayed at approximately 8% of total college enrollments compared with 16% 40 years ago.

Foreign-language study at the high school level also shifted throughout the 20th century. Beginning

Table 2 Enrollments in the Leading Foreign Languages by Decade

	1960	%	1970	%	1980	%	1990	%	1998	%
Spanish	178,689	27.8	389,150	35.3	379,379	41.6	533,944	45.7	656,590	56.0
French	228,813	35.6	359,313	32.6	248,361	27.3	272,472	23.3	199,064	17.0
German	146,116	22.7	202,569	18.4	126,910	13.9	133,348	11.4	89,020	7.6
Italian	11,142	1.7	34,244	3.1	34,791	3.8	49,699	4.3	49,287	4.2
Japanese	1,746	0.3	6,620	0.6	11,506	1.3	45,717	3.9	43,141	3.7
Chinese	1,844	0.3	6,238	0.6	11,366	1.2	19,490	1.7	28,456	2.4
Latin	25,700	4.0	27,591	2.5	25,035	2.7	28,178	2.4	26,145	2.2
Russian	30,570	4.8	36,189	3.3	23,987	2.6	44,626	3.8	23,791	2.0
Ancient Greek	12,700	2.0	16,679	1.5	22,111	2.4	16,401	1.4	16,402	1.4
Hebrew	3,834	0.6	16,567	1.5	19,429	2.1	12,995	1.1	15,833	1.4
ASL	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1,602	0.1	11,938	1.0
Portuguese	1,033	0.2	5,065	0.5	4,894	0.5	6,211	0.5	6,926	0.6
Arabic	541	0.1	1,333	0.1	3,466	0.4	3,475	0.3	5,505	0.5
Total	642,728		1,101,558		911,235		1,168,158		1,172,098	

Source: Draper & Hicks (2002).

Table 3 Change in Enrollments in Leading Foreign Languages

	1960	1998	% Change
Spanish	178,689	656,607	267.5
French	228,813	199,370	-12.9
German	146,116	89,537	-38.7
Italian	11,142	48,947	339.3
Japanese	1,746	42,978	2361.5
Chinese	1,844	28,652	1453.8
Russian	30,570	23,877	-21.9
Hebrew	3,834	15,520	304.8
Arabic	541	5,969	1003.4
Korean	168	4,775	2742.5

Source: Draper & Hicks (2002).

Table 4 Top Five Foreign-Language Enrollments in U.S. Public High Schools, 1900–2000

Year	High School Enrollment	Language Enrollment	%
1900	519,251	377,517	73
1910	915,061	762,273	83
1922	2,230,000	1,224,275	55
1934	5,620,626	1,995,322	35
1948	5,399,452	1,169,974	22
1960	8,649,495	2,342,028	27
1970	13,301,883	3,779,346	28
1982	12,879,254	2,909,778	23
1990	11,099,648	4,256,925	38
2000	13,457,780	5,898,138	44

Source: Draper & Hicks (2002).

in 1958, the MLA began tracking high school foreign-language enrollment. Eventually, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, a division of the MLA, assumed data collection. In the early part of the 20th century, foreign-language enrollment was at an all-time high with 83% of students learning Latin, French, German, or Spanish (Table 4). Foreign-language enrollments reached an all-time low after World War II but have increased since then. Although enrollment

numbers steadily declined, during the 1900s and until the middle of the century, Latin was the foreign language of choice. As the popularity of Latin declined, Spanish quickly became the most popular foreign language. Spanish now accounts for almost 70% of all foreign-language classes being taught in high school. In 2000, 43% of students were enrolled in a foreign language. Spanish, French, German, Italian, and Latin account for 96% of all foreign-language enrollments (Table 5).

Table 5 High School Enrollments in the Top Foreign Languages

<i>Year</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>%</i>
1900	0	0	40,503	11	74,252	20	262,752	70	0	0
1910	6,406	1	90,591	12	216,869	28	448,383	59	0	0
1922	252,000	21	345,650	28	13,385	1	613,250	50	0	0
1934	348,479	17	612,648	31	134,897	7	899,300	45	0	0
1948	442,755	38	253,781	22	43,195	4	429,174	37	0	0
1960	933,409	40	744,404	32	150,764	6	654,670	28	20,026	1
1970	1,810,775	48	1,230,686	33	410,535	11	265,293	7	27,321	1
1982	1,562,789	54	857,984	29	266,901	9	169,580	6	44,114	2
1990	2,611,367	61	1,089,355	26	295,398	7	163,923	4	40,402	1
2000	4,057,608	69	1,075,421	18	283,301	5	177,477	3	64,098	1

Source: Draper & Hicks (2002).

Language Organizations

Various organizations are dedicated to the study and teaching of modern languages in schools in the United States. These include the MLA, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), and the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL). Throughout the 20th century and continuing in the 21st century, these organizations have been dedicated to the study and promotion of foreign languages and language issues in the United States.

Founded in 1883, the MLA is a scholarly organization that provides opportunities to share findings and teaching experiences as well as discuss trends in the study of languages. The ACTFL was founded in 1967 by the MLA and remains the only national organization dedicated to the improvement and expansion of the teaching and learning of all languages. This organization has been involved in developing proficiency guidelines and national standards for foreign languages. CAL was established in 1959 as a private nonprofit organization working to improve communication through better understanding of language and culture. CAL is also involved in the National K–12 Foreign Language Resource Center. The resource center was established in 1994 as a collaborative effort between CAL and Iowa State University and funded by a grant from the U.S. Department of Education. The center seeks to improve foreign-language education in Grades K–12 through professional development of K–12 foreign-language teachers.

Conclusion

Despite the support of organizations devoted to foreign-language instruction and the rising numbers of enrollments in foreign languages, language study in the United States overall remains inadequate. Research shows immersion programs to be the best method of language learning, yet those programs remain scarce, and most schools only require a minimum of foreign-language study that limits proficiency to beginning levels. Because of the autonomy of schools in choice of instructional program, both at the secondary and postsecondary levels, foreign-language learning is often disjointed and precludes any meaningful competence. The assumption of most language programmers in schools is that languages are best taught in classrooms three to five times a week in the same way as are all other subjects. There is no research to show that this is actually the optimum arrangement for teaching and learning languages. This is coupled with the consistent problems of funding shortages, inadequate in-service training and lack of quality materials for language instruction.

Foreign-language study in schools in the 20th and 21st centuries has been greatly affected by the lack of commitment to language diversity at the local, state, and national levels. Despite the advent of globalization at the end of the 20th century, the United States embraced a monolingual English-only language policy for schools and society.

Current foreign-language enrollments document how many students are enrolled at a particular time.

Although only 8% might be enrolled when the survey is given, it does not mean that only 8% of students have received foreign-language instruction. Currently, 60% of universities have a foreign-language requirement, meaning that at least 60% of students will graduate with some foreign-language study.

Larisa Warhol

See also Audio-Lingual Method; Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus; Communicative Approach; Defense Language Institute; National Defense Education Act of 1958; President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies

Further Readings

- Draper, J., & Hicks, J. (2002). *Foreign language enrollments in public secondary schools, Fall 2000*. Available from the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages Website, <http://eric.ed.gov>
- Plottel, J. (1960). Foreign language entrance and degree requirements for the BA degree in accredited colleges and universities. *PMLA*, 75, 4, Part 2: *Supplement*. 14–28.
- Welles, E. B. (2002). Foreign language enrollment numbers: Some (mis)interpretations explained. *Modern Language Journal*, 86, 253–255.
- Welles, E. B. (2004). *Foreign language enrollments in United States institutions of higher education, Fall 2002*. Retrieved March 15, 2007, from <http://www.mla.org/adfl/bulletin/v35n2/35>

LATINO ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH

The U.S. Bureau of the Census reported that, in the last official census, the number of persons who speak Spanish at home rose from 10.2 million in 1980 to 24.7 million in 2000. This growth has sparked concerns among some critics of bilingual education who fear that Spanish has become pervasive and that some proportion of Latino students will not learn English if they are permitted to participate in bilingual education for a protracted time. The assumption of these critics is that bilingual education detracts from the immigrants' desire to learn English, particularly in the case of Latinos, by far the largest of the immigrant groups. Research with

Spanish speakers, however, challenges the myth that Spanish-speaking immigrants, their children, and their grandchildren resist learning English. This entry reviews what is known about Latino attitudes toward English, and possible reasons for beliefs held by some that Latinos in the United States do not want to learn English.

The Importance of Language Attitudes

Attitudes are difficult to measure because unlike other attributes, such as height and weight, they cannot be observed directly. An attitude represents internal thoughts, feelings, and behavioral tendencies that vary with time and context. An attitude can be a predisposing factor, and it can also be an outcome. Those with positive attitudes toward learning a language before they start learning it may succeed in their studies. Also possible is that through language study, language learners will develop a positive attitude toward the language they are learning. Conversely, a learner with a negative attitude about a language may experience more than the usual problems learning that language.

Colin Baker describes various types of language attitudes. According to Baker, some may be loyal to their own language and hold a less generous attitude toward a minority or immigrant language. Others may have favorable attitudes to both their own and another language. They may also have particular attitudes to a language variation, dialect, or speech style. Other attitudinal targets include strategies of language instruction and the notion of learning a new language in itself. These differences color people's identity with respect to the society in which they are situated. Attitudes associated with these differences, have myriad implications for how people of varying language backgrounds, abilities, and motivations accommodate each other when interacting with one another in a given language.

Josiane Hamers and Michael Blanc suggest that attitudes appear to be associated with the speakers' desired future for themselves and their group within a given society. Immigrants who opt for the identity of their adopted homeland may favor quick assimilation. Those who opt for preserving their ethnic identity may favor a cultural pluralism that permits them to maintain their cultural heritage. These differences

have implications for bilingualism. Baker also mentions research indicating that people may also have integrative or instrumental attitudes toward a language other than their own. Those with positive integrative attitudes may want to learn the second language because they want to identify with its speakers, participate in their cultural activities, and form new friendships. Persons with positive instrumental language attitudes may want to learn the second language for utilitarian purposes, such as finding a better job, improving their career prospects, passing exams, performing well on the job, or helping their children with schoolwork. The same person might also have instrumental language attitudes in some circumstances and integrative language attitudes in others.

Baker further emphasizes the importance of situating the study of language attitudes in its parent discipline, the social psychology of attitudes. To neglect to do so would place language attitudinal studies at risk of reaching poorly defined, naïve conclusions, which might place researchers and consumers of research at risk of replicating previous mistakes. To do so could place us in danger of overgeneralizing apparently similar language attitudes experienced by others earlier in history, and applying conclusions that might have been poorly conceived to current situations. One such potentially harmful conclusion is the assumption that Latino people who are loyal to Spanish have poor attitudes toward English.

Research on Latino Attitudes Toward English

Recent research about Latino attitudes toward English using direct means such as attitude questionnaires is limited. Baker asserts that certain attitudinal instruments, such as attitude-to-bilingualism questionnaires, can fail to reveal subconscious or socially undesirable attitudes. Another weakness has been the implicit assumption in some designs that a favorable attitude toward one language excludes the possibility of a simultaneous favorable attitude toward another language.

Given the difficulties associated with using direct means to research attitudes, researchers typically rely on indirect methods. One generally accepted indirect research strategy is the *matched guise technique*, where respondents listen to the same person read the same passage in different languages or with different accents or styles within a language.

Respondents do not know that the same person is reading and are asked to make judgments about the speaker. The matched guise technique has proven useful in identifying listeners' attitudes about the speaker according to three dimensions: the speaker's competence, his or her personal integrity, and his or her social attractiveness.

Another indirect research method is surveys. Despite their weaknesses, surveys can provide insights into community thoughts, beliefs, and preferences about their own and other languages. Especially pertinent research about Latino attitudes toward English are the following survey results: Calvin Veltman's work, published in 1988 by the Hispanic Policy Development Project; the 1991 Gallup Study of Attitudes toward English as the Official Language commissioned by the U.S. English organization; the Southwest Voter Research Institute 1996 *Latino Issues Survey*; and two surveys conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center in 2002 and 2004.

Veltman reported that by the time Latino immigrants have been in the United States for 15 years, three-quarters of them reported using English on a regular basis. His research also pointed out regional differences with respect to the speed of language shift from Spanish to English. In Texas and New Mexico, Latinos "migrated" from Spanish to English more slowly, and in Colorado, Latinos "migrated" more quickly. Age also made a difference. Not surprisingly, immigrants who arrived at an older age migrated to English at slower rates than did younger Latino immigrants.

In the 1991 Gallup study, 42% of Latino respondents responded in favor of making English the official language, but 78% of non-Latino respondents favored this option as well. Only 34% of Latinos reported in favor of limiting bilingual education to the period when children are learning English, but 54% of non-Latinos did. Forty-five percent (45%) of Latino respondents reported a belief that maintaining immigrant languages and cultures should be a private concern, and 71% of non-Latinos reported similarly. Some might conclude from these statistics that Latinos as a group think differently from non-Latinos, but such a conclusion may overgeneralize other factors associated with these statistics, such as the age of the Latino respondents, the length of time of residence in the United States, and citizenship status. Carol Schmid reported that the small sample of Latinos in this study makes it difficult to analyze the data and reach defensible conclusions.

Table 1 Hispanic Attitudes Toward English Language in the United States

	<i>Citizens</i>	<i>Noncitizens</i>
Percentage that support . . .		
Making English the official language of the U.S.	37.1	23.2
Eliminating bilingual education	12.2	7.5
Eliminating ballots in Spanish	10.1	9.2
Eliminating the use of Spanish in government	8.7	5.4
Percentage that will use a ballot in English	83.5	54.7

Source: Schmid, C. (2001). *The politics of language: Conflict, identity and cultural pluralism in comparative perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Schmid also reports that Latino respondents to the *Latino Issues Survey*, though generally in opposition to making English the official language of the United States, did not have unanimous opinions on this matter. When asked if they would use a ballot in Spanish or in English to vote, 83.5% of U.S. citizen Latinos and 54.7% of noncitizen Latinos reported a preference for an English language ballot.

The Pew Hispanic Center surveyed Latino opinion on education and civic engagement and included questions about attitudes toward English. Respondents were asked whether they thought immigrants have to speak English to assert they are part of American society. They were also asked whether teaching English to immigrant children is very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all.

Latino respondents reported that immigrants have to speak English to be a part of American society and that English should be taught to the children of immigrants. The endorsement of the English language, both for immigrants and for their children, was strong among Hispanics of all backgrounds in socioeconomic status, party affiliation, fluency in English, or length of residence in the United States. How long Latinos had been in the United States, however, did make a slight difference in their attitudes. Latino immigrants are slightly more likely to say that immigrants have to learn English than are native-born Latinos. Most Latinos—across socioeconomic status

and levels of education—viewed it essential that immigrants learn English.

Latino and other respondents also reported that it is important that English be taught to children of immigrant families. Latinos held stronger views than either non-Latino Whites or Blacks. This support was equally high regardless of party affiliation, income level, or language ability. Foreign-born Latinos were stronger in their opinion that English be taught to immigrant children than were U.S.-born Hispanics. The Pew survey also reported another telling statistic: Among Latinos, only 2% held the view that teaching English to immigrant children was not important, whereas 27% of non-Latinos held this view.

Evidence from the Pew Hispanic Center’s 2002 survey about civic engagement suggests that Latinos who speak both Spanish and English prefer to use English. Although many native-born Latinos can speak Spanish, few reported strong reading capacities in Spanish. In nearly all job settings, bilingual Latinos use English. Fewer than 10% of all

Table 2 Percentages of Responses to the Question, “Do immigrants have to speak English to say they are part of American society, or not?”

<i>Total of Latino Respondents^a</i>	<i>Answer</i>	
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Nativity		
Foreign born	57	41
U.S. native born	52	46
Primary language		
English	55	43
Bilingual	52	46
Spanish	56	40
Party affiliation		
Democrat	52	33
Independent	58	28
Republican	64	16

Source: From Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation (2006). *Hispanic attitudes toward learning English*. Conducted April 21–June 9, 2004. Retrieved from <http://pewhispanic.org/factsheets/factsheet.php?FactsheetID=20>

Notes: ^aN = 2,288 Latino Adults Nationwide; Margin of Error = +/-2.83; Island-born Puerto Ricans are identified as Foreign Born.

Table 3 Percentage of Responses to the Question, "How important is the goal of teaching English to the children of immigrant families? Is it...?"

Answer	Total Sample ^a						
	Race/Ethnicity				Party Affiliation		
	Total	Latinos	Whites	Blacks	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Very Important	87	92	87	83	86	90	89

Answer	Total Latinos ^b							
	Nativity		Primary Language			Party Affiliation		
	Foreign Born	Native Born	English	Bilingual	Spanish	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Very Important	96	88	88	92	96	92	92	91

Source: Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation. (2004). *National Survey of Latinos: Education*. Conducted August 7–October 15, 2003. Retrieved from <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=25>

Notes: ^aN = 3,421 Adults Nationwide, Margin of Error = +/-2.43.

^bN = 1,508 Latinos, Margin of Error = +/-3.03, Island-born Puerto Ricans are identified as Foreign Born.

bilingual Latinos obtained news information solely in Spanish, and fewer than 20% used Spanish exclusively at home. Because the home is considered the ultimate domain for imparting language ability from one generation to the next, it was not clear in 2002 whether English-Spanish bilingualism will remain prevalent in future generations of native-born Latinos. This finding reconfirmed what Veltman reported in 1988.

On a related topic, respondents also commented on the importance of assimilating into a dominant culture. Seventy-three percent of Latinos surveyed reported it somewhat or very important for Latinos to change so that they blend into the larger society, as for example, in the image of the melting pot of cultures. Fifty-five percent reported that an immigrant has to speak English to say they are a part of American society. Fifty-four percent felt that one must be a U.S. citizen, 65% indicated that one must vote in U.S. elections, and 79% reported that one must believe in the U.S. Constitution to demonstrate that they are part of American society. However, among all Latinos, 87% reported it very, or somewhat, important to maintain their distinct cultures, and 93% reported it very,

or somewhat, important that future generations of Latinos living in the United States speak Spanish.

Conclusion

The research suggests positive language attitudes among Latinos toward English. What the evidence does not show are the reasons for these positive attitudes. There are insufficient data to suggest which factors are at play within the Latino community in encouraging these attitudes. The data are also insufficient to suggest which contextual factors outside of the Latino community, such as inaccurate understandings of non-Latino people, influence these attitudes and people's perspectives on them.

Given historical accounts of immigrant speakers of languages other than English in the United States, some may conclude that today's Latino experience follows a different trajectory from that of previous immigrant groups. However, historical accounts about other immigrant groups' experiences in the United States may be incomplete. Accounts of our non-English-speaking European ancestors' struggles with English may have failed to adequately capture the

unobservable and therefore not reportable, which is now so vividly articulated simply through prolonged, immediate contact with today's Latino community in everyday life.

Also absent from historical records are comprehensive studies such as Veltman's and the Pew Hispanic Center's. Perhaps a previously held, implicit expectation that newcomers would learn English and relinquish their native languages precluded surveying immigrant opinion on the matter. Factors such as the nativist attitudes that surfaced at various times in U.S. history among those already in the United States when the newcomers arrived sometimes go unnoticed. Also, many of us grew up in an era when immigration to the United States was at its low point. This era was not the norm that we might tend to believe. Amnesia about these realities may have colored our understanding of the past and its similarity to the present. Today's Latinos' positive attitudes toward English and Spanish remind us that one can have positive attitudes about more than one language, and more accurate recollections of our past might lead us to conclude that our ancestors may have felt the same way although scientific research was not conducted to help us find this out. With this realization, the question becomes less of a question, and the evidence becomes less of a surprise.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Accommodation Theory, Second-Language; Acculturation; Assimilation; Language Loyalty; Second-Language Acquisition; Social Bilingualism

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- Hamers, J. F., & Blanc, M. H. A. (2003). *Bilinguality and bilingualism* (2nd ed.) New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation. (2004). *National Survey of Latinos: Education*. Conducted August 7–October 15, 2003. Retrieved from <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=25>
- Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation. (2006). *Hispanic attitudes toward learning English*. Conducted April 21–June 9, 2004. Retrieved from <http://pewhispanic.org/factsheets/factsheet.php?FactsheetID=20>

- Schmid, C. (2001). *The politics of language: Conflict, identity, and cultural pluralism in comparative perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Southwest Voter Research Institute. (1996). *Latino issues survey*. San Antonio, TX: Author.
- U.S. English/Gallup Opinion Poll. (1991). *A Gallup study of attitudes toward English as the official language of the U.S. Government*. Princeton, NJ: Gallup Organization.
- Veltman, C. (1988). *The future of the Spanish language in the United States*. New York: Hispanic Policy Development Project.
- Wyman, M. (1992). *Round-trip to America: The immigrants return to Europe, 1880–1930*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

LATINO CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Historically, much of the civil rights struggle in the United States has concerned the constitutional rights, legal status, and treatment of minority groups that are marked off from the majority by race, religion, or national origin. For the Latino population, civil rights struggles emerged in the mid-1800s over constitutional rights to property, citizenship, treatment, and the very meaning of their community. By the early 1900s, however, a shift began to take place in matters of economic, educational, and political equality. Mexican Americans—the largest group within the Latino population in the United States at the time, with a long history of discrimination, segregation, and second-class citizenship since the end of the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848—led the struggle. To understand and appreciate the struggle for civil rights by Mexicans and other Latinos, one must consider the historical relationship of this community to the majority group in power. Although the term *Latino* is used widely today in conjunction with the civil rights movement, the primary reference group and examples in this article are drawn mainly from the Mexican American community. This entry briefly reviews early struggles by Mexican Americans in education and how these struggles helped pave the way for the Latino civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Particular attention is given to the relationship between the movement and the emergence of bilingual education. It is important to note, however, that Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and others also played important roles in promoting bilingual instruction.

Historical Antecedents and Early Education Struggles

The Mexican American community gained a more visible legal status in the United States after the Mexican American War ended in 1848. As a result of the war, Mexico ceded more than half of its territory to the United States. The vast territory lost by Mexico to the United States and known in U.S. history books as the “ceded territories” comprises what are now the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, California, Nevada, and parts of Utah. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war, made certain assurances to the Mexican population living in the conquered land. The treaty set forth the terms by which the former Mexican citizens and their property would be incorporated into the United States. Former Mexican citizens had as long as a year to choose their preference for citizenship—Mexico or the United States. Staying in the United States meant accepting U.S. nationality and citizenship. Most chose to remain on the land where they had settled and consequently became citizens of the United States. Their property was supposed to be respected as covered in Articles VII and IX of the Treaty, but many violations of these assurances occurred, and property was lost or stolen. Legal battles to recover property continue. Some Chicano scholars argue that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, a legal document between two sovereign nations, guaranteed the civil rights, language, and religious freedom of the Mexican population who became United States citizens. The relevance of this argument surfaced in at least one desegregation school case in the 1940s and will be discussed in the next section.

Following the Mexican American War, the integration of Mexican Americans into the U.S. society between 1848 and 1915 has been characterized by political historians as one of a “politics of resistance.” Mexicano struggles throughout the Southwest centered on maintaining control of their property as well as efforts to maintain a cohesive and culturally distinctive communal identity. The tradition of bilingual instruction, prevalent at the time in California and New Mexico, contributed to the maintenance of community. But public sentiment toward bilingual schooling began to turn in the late 1800s. In Texas, for example, arguments for English-only pedagogy emerged, although, as Carlos Kevin Blanton documented, legislation with criminal punishments did not take hold

until after World War I in the context of American nativism fed by the war and increased immigration. Some of the antibilingual sentiment was directed at Mexican Americans. But as hostility increased toward Germany, German became as unpopular as Spanish in state laws and in the public schools.

The first major wave of Mexican immigration that significantly increased the Mexican population in the United States occurred at the turn of the 20th century, pushed by the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and pulled by the economic expansion of the agricultural and industrial sectors in the United States. Children of these immigrants started attending school in large numbers, and by World War II, many of them became soldiers; of these, many fought and died in Europe.

After the enactment of mandatory school attendance laws in the 1920s and 1930s, the public schools emerged as the primary institutions charged with the task of preparing students for productive adult roles in society, including the inculcation of American values and the ability to speak English. Unfortunately, opportunities to pursue long-term schooling were limited for most Mexican students. The predominant policy of segregation and Americanization initiated differential treatment and discrimination based on race, ethnicity, and national origin.

The legal precedent for separate but equal facilities upholding racial segregation was decided by the Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. The interpretation of this decision was extended to racial segregation in schools and applied to African American, Mexican American, and Native American students. During the first half of the 20th century, Mexican American children were subjected to the practice of segregation into either “Mexican classrooms” or into separate “Mexican schools.” Chicano historian Ruben Donato estimates that by 1930, 85% of Mexican children in the Southwest were attending either separate classrooms or entirely separate schools. Anglo community and education leaders believed that the practice of segregating Mexican children from their White counterparts was best to train them for their expected station in life, Americanize them, and teach them English. Many Mexican parents engaged in struggles protesting segregation and discriminatory educational practices. Among the practices used to discriminate against Mexican American children was punishing them for speaking Spanish on the school grounds at any time and for any reason. As late as 1968, when the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held

hearings in Texas relative to these practices, one of the witnesses produced a “Spanish Detention Slip,” which he explained was used in his child’s school to document that the child was being punished for speaking Spanish. This was the same year that the Bilingual Education Act was passed in Congress as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).

Desegregation Cases in Texas and California

Some political scientists argue that from 1915 to the 1950s, the Mexican American community pursued accommodation as a strategy to integrate into U.S. society. Given the nativist sentiments against German Americans and Mexican Americans deriving from World War I and the Mexican Revolution, many Mexican Americans did seek greater assimilation and cultural integration. This period saw the rise of the (hyphenated) Mexican-American generation and the birth of civic organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the American GI Forum. Note that at least in the case of these organizations, the word *Mexican* did not appear in their names. The Mexican-American generation sought to integrate by practicing their patriotism, serving in the armed forces, adopting American ideals, acculturating, and working within the system. Working within the political system meant standing up for their civil rights. Examples of these struggles are provided by several desegregation court cases, three of which will be discussed here.

The first milestone case was the 1930 *Independent School District v. Salvatierra* in Del Rio, Texas. A group of Mexican American parents sued the Del Rio Independent School District for illegal racial segregation. Attorneys for LULAC represented the parents in court. School officials reasoned that because Mexican Americans spoke Spanish, it was pedagogically necessary to segregate them, especially in the first three grades to teach them English. The judge hearing the case ruled in favor of the school district, noting that if the existing pedagogical segregation was limited to the first three grades, it was not inherent racial discrimination. In essence, the judge found *de jure* segregation illegal, yet in practice *Salvatierra* maintained pedagogical segregation as a legal loophole for *de facto* racial segregation.

The second historic case—*Alvarez v. Lemon Grove*—took place in California and was also decided in 1931. Mexican parents sued the school district of Lemon Grove for illegal racial segregation. School officials made a similar argument, claiming that it was necessary to segregate Mexican American students to facilitate their English language development and Americanization. In this instance, the court ruled in favor of the Mexican community on the grounds that separate facilities for Mexican American students were not beneficial to Americanization or to their English language development.

The third landmark case, *Méndez v. Westminster School District*, was decided in a California federal court in 1947. The court ruled that the school had illegally segregated Mexican American students from Whites, yet they were not legally classified as separate races. Moreover, the judge who heard the case found no statute or congressional mandate that permitted school boards to segregate Mexican American students and stated that the Fourteenth Amendment and the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had guaranteed Mexican Americans equal rights. The *Méndez* case provided renewed inspiration to terminate segregation, especially in Texas where LULAC and the American GI Forum led the effort challenging the legality of pedagogical segregation. New cases were filed in 1948 (*Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District*) and 1957 (*Hernandez v. Driscoll*). Attorneys for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund were carefully following these cases because they all contributed in some way to the epic Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Court found the schools guilty of *de jure* segregation in Texas, however, many school districts resisted changing the practice of pedagogical segregation well into the 1960s, arguing that they were justified on pedagogical grounds because of students’ limited English proficiency. The language question did not become a central civil rights issue until the 1960s and 1970s.

Shifting Sentiments Toward Native-Language Instruction

The decade of the 1960s ushered in an important change not only in the methods of teaching non-English-speaking children through use of the native language, but also in the type of leadership emerging from Latino communities, which differed significantly from the accommodationist politics of previous

generations of Mexican Americans. After the enactment of Title VII of ESEA and the successful experiment of refugee Cuban children in bilingual schools in Florida, the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare began to fund programs experimenting with bilingualism and native-language instruction. Other factors that entered into this different mind-set included increased immigration from Asia and Latin America, and a gradual rethinking of assimilation and ethnicity. This political and cultural context influenced some leaders and language scholars to shift their thinking away from an exclusive English-only pedagogy to the emergent technique of English as a Second Language (ESL), which was more sympathetic to native languages. Early experimentation and research with native-language instruction and ESL in New York and Florida illustrated the promise of this new approach. Bilingual education followed close behind and eventually became the program of choice among Mexican American civil rights activists.

New York and other northeastern cities had experienced an influx of Puerto Rican workers and families since the 1930s. Puerto Rican children attending public schools encountered the same English-only pedagogy as did Mexican Americans in the Southwest. This schooling practice contributed to low educational attainment and high drop-out levels among Puerto Rican youth. In the late 1950s, concerned Puerto Rican community leaders and professionals in New York began to organize to address discrimination and push for educational equity. As a result of these efforts, the civic organization ASPIRA was founded in 1961 to address the high drop-out rate and push for the empowerment of the Puerto Rican community. The increased number of Puerto Rican children in New York City schools coupled with the reported failure of English-only instruction, and pressure from ASPIRA prompted school officials to initiate native-language instruction programs. In 1963, the superintendent of schools, Calvin Gross, advocated native-language instruction to help develop the bilingual and bicultural capabilities of Puerto Rican children to the benefit of the city, nation, and a multicultural world.

South Florida provided a different example regarding the incorporation and instruction of Latinos into American society and its educational system. Miami and Dade County Public Schools experienced an influx of Cuban refugees following the 1959 Cuban Revolution. The arrival of thousands of Spanish-speaking Cuban exiles prompted the national and

local government and school officials to act. The state of Florida had no constitutional obligation to provide political refugees with services in education and other areas as it would for its citizens. Yet on political and moral grounds, the state accepted them as a group and provided all or some of the rights they had enjoyed in Cuba, including education in their native language. The sympathetic reception by Florida toward the Cuban refugees combined with the advocacy of Cuban refugee leaders prompted the federal government to provide aid to facilitate their settlement and assimilation. In 1961, the Cuban Refugee Program was established through the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Through this program, incoming refugees were registered and a determination made of their eligibility for support and services. Various forms of assistance were provided, among them providing Spanish and English instruction to refugee children in Dade County schools, as well as vocational training to adults. From the start, a concerted effort was made by the school district to train teachers in English language instruction techniques and in developing appropriate materials for teaching English language arts to Spanish-speaking students. In 1963, the Dade County School Board approved the funding and implementation of a bilingual education project to serve both Cuban and American children. Based on the willingness of school administrators and teachers and the support from the Cuban American and Anglo American communities, the bilingual education project grew into a broader concept of two-way bilingual education for both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking students. English-speaking children learned Spanish and Spanish-speaking children learned English. The Mexican American experience with bilingual schooling, however, was different in style and substance.

Emergence of *Movimiento* Leadership

In the 1960s, educational attainment for Mexican Americans in the Southwest ranked among the lowest of all ethnic groups. Moreover, the practice of punishing students for speaking Spanish on school grounds continued. This practice went hand-in-hand with English-only pedagogy and was meant to shame the speaker into speaking English. The prevailing belief among educators in the Southwest was that if students learned English, abandoning their native language and culture, they would assimilate into American society faster and more effectively. The Mexican-American

generation had embraced aspects of this conviction as an avenue to assimilation and social mobility. However, evidence showed that even after having learned English and given up Spanish, Mexican Americans continued to suffer the effects of years of segregation, discrimination, poverty, and powerlessness, without much hope of improvement. Furthermore, leaders saw that African American and other groups were getting more response from the federal government than Mexican Americans were. Inspired by the confrontational politics of the civil rights and antiwar movements, a new generation of Mexican American leaders began to change their politics. The new leadership drew much of its energy from Mexican American students and youth who had grown disenchanted with the traditional Mexican American political groups and organizations that had pursued the politics of accommodation. The leadership of this new Chicano generation espoused a greater sense of ethnic pride and cultural distinctiveness and preferred to self-identify as *Chicano* instead of the hyphenated *Mexican-American*. They also felt that Spanish was integral to their cultural distinctiveness and sought to have it recognized more openly and used more widely in schools. The preferred self-identification term *Chicano* served as a statement of the politics of identity and as a statement of self-affirmation and community empowerment. In rejecting the accommodationist style of their parents' generation, the style of the Chicano generation was more confrontational, grounded in activism and action, and formed the basis of their philosophical outlook, designated by the term *chicanismo*. The philosophy held that to be a Chicano or Chicana meant someone who fought for the rights of the Mexican American community and against Anglo-American bigotry, not merely seeking to integrate themselves into the society as their parents had done. Chicanismo was also concerned with the loss of Spanish and with cultural erosion, the lack of economic and social mobility, discrimination, and lack of educational equity.

In 1966, following a walkout by Chicano leaders from an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and a call for more direct intervention, President Lyndon B. Johnson created the Inter-Agency Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish Speaking and named Vicente Ximenez to head the cabinet-level agency. Ximenez coordinated another conference in El Paso in 1967 that focused on Mexican American issues. Mexican Americans presented papers at the conference advocating the

inclusion of Mexican American culture and language in schools on an equal basis with Anglo culture. Some of the young leaders who participated in these events grew disaffected with what they saw as all talk and no action. This group of alienated Chicano leaders organized their own *Raza* (literally meaning "the people") unity conference in El Paso and called for more self-determined efforts. A series of other *Raza* unity conferences were held in Texas and the Southwest, which brought members of different Chicano organizations and regions together to exchange ideas and strategies for addressing the problems facing Mexican Americans.

Among the central concerns discussed at these gatherings were political mobilization, cultural nationalism, the plight of Chicano education, and the need for bilingual education. Chicano leaders sought to gain representation at all levels of political life and called for governmental action on behalf of their group in education, health, housing, and employment. Fearful of the crumbling Hispanic support, the Johnson administration responded to the pressure from the different wings of the civil rights movement with programs under the banner of the Great Society and the War on Poverty. The passage of Title VII, known as the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968, was a component of the Great Society's antipoverty efforts through education. Although it was poorly funded, initially, supporters of Title VII believed that it was not just a linguistic tool in the education of non-English speakers but also a mechanism of empowerment and integration for language minorities into the mainstream. For Mexican Americans and other Latinos, the passage of the Bilingual Education Act created the potential of "additive" practices of bilingual education, which countered the Americanization and English-only "subtractive" approach extant since the late 1800s. Although the full promise of the Bilingual Education Act did not materialize, bilingual education supported by Title VII was a significant step forward in making possible a more meaningful relationship between schools and Latino communities. This noninstructional aspect of bilingual education has yet to be evaluated.

Armando L. Trujillo

See also Americanization and Its Critics; Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s; Languages in Colonial Schools, Western; *Méndez v. Westminster*; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

- Alvarez v. Lemon Grove, Superior Court, San Diego County, No. 66625 (1931).
- Delgado et al. v. Bastrop Independent School District of Bastrop County et al., No. 338 (W. D. Tex., 1948).
- Beebe, V. N., & Mackey, W. F. (1990). *Bilingual schooling and the Miami experience*. Coral Gables, FL: Institute of Interamerican Studies, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami.
- Blanton, C. K. (2004). *The strange career of bilingual education in Texas, 1836–1982*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Donato, R. (1997). *The other struggle for equal schools: Mexican Americans during the civil rights era*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Garcia, I. M. (1997). *Chicanismo: The forging of a militant ethos among Mexican Americans*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Griswold del Castillo, R. (1990). *The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A legacy of conflict*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Hernandez v. Driscoll CISD, Civ. A 1384, U.S. District Court, (S.D. Tex., 1957).
- Independent School District v. Salvatierra, 33 S.W.2d 790, 791 (Tex. Civ. App. 1930).
- Jenkins, M. (1971). *Bilingual education in New York City*. New York: New York City Board of Education.
- Konvitz, M. R. (1961). *A century of civil rights*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Méndez v. Westminster School District, 64 F. Supp. 544 (S.D. Cal. 1946), aff'd 161 F.2d 774 (1947).
- Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).
- Trujillo, A. L. (1998). *Chicano empowerment and bilingual education: Movimiento politics in Crystal City, Texas*. New York: Garland.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (1970). *Stranger in one's land*. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Clearing House Publication No. 19. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

LAU V. NICHOLS, ENFORCEMENT DOCUMENTS

Lau v. Nichols was a landmark federal court case filed in 1970 by parents of native Chinese-speaking students in San Francisco. The families argued that a lack of special support services for learning English violated their children's rights to an equal educational opportunity. In 1974, the Supreme Court found

unanimously for the plaintiffs, finding that students who do not speak English are entitled to special accommodations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. An important antecedent document in the case was a May 25, 1970, memorandum sent by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) in the then-Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the Department of Education) to school districts around the nation. That memorandum anticipated the ruling in *Lau* by several years. It outlined the special responsibilities of public schools toward these students. The "May 25th Memorandum," as it is generally known, was not actually part of the *Lau* decision, but it was given higher visibility and status by that ruling.

The *Lau* decision and its effect on education policy have been much discussed among educators and school policymakers for more than 30 years. Important changes have taken place in the last 20 years, if not to the letter of the law in *Lau*, certainly to the tenor and vigor of enforcement efforts by the federal government. To fully understand the actual and potential impact of the *Lau* decision, it is useful to examine a number of supporting documents that trace the history of enforcement of the *Lau* ruling by the OCR. This entry reviews each of these documents briefly and relates them to the evolving interpretation and enforcement of *Lau*. Readers should be mindful that new rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court or actions by the Congress can affect the status of these policy documents later.

In chronological order, the pertinent documents to be reviewed here are the following:

1. The "Lau Remedies" issued by the OCR in 1975
2. The proposed *Lau* enforcement regulations published in the Federal Register in August 1980, as a Notice of Proposed Rulemaking
3. Guidance and policy memorandum by the director of OCR issued in 1985
4. Policy Update on Schools' Obligations Toward National Origin Minority Students With Limited-English Proficiency, issued in 1991

The *Lau* Remedies, 1975

Following the *Lau v. Nichols* decision, the *Lau* Remedies were published in 1975 under the title "Task-Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under *Lau v. Nichols*." This document gave

districts guidance regarding how to identify English language learners (ELLs), which types of programs ELLs should be placed in; existing criteria, and standards for teacher qualifications. Moreover, the Remedies stated that when students' civil rights were violated, bilingual education should be implemented (they did not, however, require bilingual education in all cases). The Remedies found three types of programs suitable for ELLs: (1) bilingual/bicultural, (2) multilingual/multicultural, and (3) transitional bilingual education (TBE).

The Remedies are organized into nine sections: (1) Identification of Student's Primary or Home Language, (2) Diagnostic/Prescriptive Approach (identify the nature and extent of each student's educational needs and then prescribe an educational program utilizing the most effective teaching style), (3) Educational Program Selection, (4) Required and Elective Courses (must show that required and elective courses are not designed to have a discriminatory effect), (5) Instructional Personnel Requirements (instructional personnel must be linguistically/culturally familiar with the backgrounds of the students to be affected), (6) Racial/Ethnic Isolation or Identifiability of Schools and Classes (not educationally necessary nor legally permissible to create racially/ethnically identifiable schools to respond to student language characteristics), (7) Notification to Parents of Students Whose Primary or Home Language Is Other Than English (districts have the responsibility to notify parents of students identified as ELLs), (8) Evaluation (plans must include both a product result; and process evaluation-periodic evaluation throughout implementation), and (9) Bilingual/Bicultural Program (a program which utilizes the student's native language and cultural factors in instructing, maintaining, and further developing all the necessary skills in the student's native language and culture while introducing, maintaining, and developing all the necessary skills in the second language, English).

As noted by researcher Kenji Hakuta, the federal government emphasized a policy of implementing transitional bilingual education throughout the 1970s and moved away from English immersion toward the maintenance of native language and culture. The OCR largely used the *Lau* Remedies as a vehicle for this shift in program implementation. During this period, the number of bilingual education programs in the country grew substantially. James Crawford asserts that although schools in Alhambra, California, for instance, had no bilingual programs in 1977, OCR

citations for civil rights violations resulted in the district's implementation of 120 bilingual programs by 1987. These included instruction in Spanish, Vietnamese, Cantonese, and Mandarin at various levels. Although the *Lau* Remedies recommended native-language instruction, these programs had never been regulated by the OCR. Rather, complaints about violations of *Lau* were resolved based on recommendations to schools and districts, rather than requirements.

Notice of Proposed Lau Regulations, 1980

In August 1980, the Department of Education under Education Secretary Shirley Hufstедler published a Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (NPRM) titled "Nondiscrimination Under Programs Receiving Federal Assistance Through the Department of Education, Effectuation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." This would have replaced the *Lau* Remedies with more stringent requirements for schools educating ELLs. The changes would have mandated that all schools serving a certain number of ELLs from the same language background provide bilingual education as the program of choice for such children. When President Ronald Reagan took office, however, these proposed regulations were withdrawn. James Crawford cites Education Secretary Terrel Bell, who called the proposed regulations "harsh, inflexible, burdensome, unworkable, and incredibly costly . . . an intrusion on state and local responsibility." The Reagan administration promised to issue new, less intrusive regulations in the near future, but never published such rules in the Federal Register for public comment.

Since 1981, bilingual education programs have endured considerable scrutiny and opposition in policy making, with several judicial decisions as key exceptions. Today, OCR compliance issues are addressed on a case-by-case basis, although the process for filing complaints and recommendations is still viable and available. The May 25, 1970, Memorandum affirmed in the *Lau* decision and Title VI are still referenced in nearly all investigations decades later.

Guidance and Policy Memo, 1985

A memorandum titled "Policy Regarding the Treatment of National Origin Minority Students Who Are Limited English Proficient," initially published December 3, 1985, by the Assistant Secretary for Civil

Rights updated the May 25, 1970, OCR memorandum mentioned at the beginning of this entry. This document outlines the procedures OCR followed, during the mid 1980s in applying the standards affirmed by the Supreme Court in the *Lau* case, and in Title VI compliance reviews. The memo provides the background information presented in this entry and further reviews OCR's current procedures for conducting compliance investigations. It states that districts may use any method or program that has proven successful for educating language minority students, but that districts are expected to evaluate and modify programs that do not meet expectations. The memo lists two general areas in determining Title VI compliance: (1) whether an alternative program is needed for language minority students, and (2) whether the alternative program is likely to be effective in meeting the needs of language minority students. If English language learners are not able to participate effectively in the instructional program, an alternative should be implemented. The memo references the factors that influence the success of various approaches and pedagogies, including student characteristics, such as age and previous schooling, and school characteristics, such as the number of students from shared language backgrounds. In determining Title VI compliance, the OCR set forth an analytic framework including (a) whether an alternative program is necessary, and (b) whether the alternative program is likely to be effective.

Need for an Alternative

Determining whether students are served by programs may be based on a number of factors. Exiting criteria for placement in programs based on English proficiency levels may permit placement in regular instructional programs, and past academic records may be predictors of the assistance provided in alternative programs. Information for screening may include language assessment instruments, information from parents, or interviews. These methods may vary based on the number of students from shared language backgrounds, ages of students, size of school district, or availability of assessment tools. Districts may show that students placed in regular instructional programs do not need alternative programs for assistance, or that students can be transferred to alternative programs for a portion of the school day if necessary, for additional educational support. Although OCR may find schools that do not provide alternative programs to be

in violation of Title VI, the absence of formal identification, assessment, and a formal program may not constitute violations. For example, schools with low numbers of language minority students or in which a recent influx of ELLs has occurred may not be expected to have formal procedures or programs in place.

Whether the Alternative Is Effective

Within this second portion of the analytic framework, the memo outlines three questions: (1) Is the alternative program based on a sound design? (2) Is the alternative program being carried out in such a way to ensure the effective participation of the language minority students as soon as reasonably possible? and (3) Is the alternative program being evaluated by the district and are modifications made in the program when the district's evaluation indicates they are needed? For the first question, the OCR avoids making educational judgments about decisions made by local educational agencies. Factors that would be considered by OCR in compliance reviews include (a) whether at least some experts deem the program based on sound educational theory (an expert is an individual qualified for judgment based on experience, training, and objectivity), (b) whether there is an explanation for how the program meets the needs of language minority students (including a description of the program's components and activities and a rationale explaining how the program expects to meet students' needs), and (c) whether the district has implemented a plan approved by OCR (previously accepted plans remain valid).

Regarding how the program is being carried out, districts in compliance must have appropriate staff in place (training, qualifications, and experience should be consistent with the program) and adequate resources (timely availability of equipment and instruction material but limited finances do not constitute Title VI violations). Districts faced with such challenges as teacher shortages will not be penalized because the OCR will not place unrealistic expectations on districts. For program evaluation, districts are in compliance with Title VI when students are taught English and mainstreamed into regular instructional settings within a reasonable period. OCR approaches compliance concerns with caution, given the expertise of local education agencies in ensuring the efficacy of alternative programs. There are no regulations for data collection regarding alternative programs for districts. The 1985 memo stated that OCR expects districts to

maintain accurate information about program implementation and effectiveness based on student progress.

In closing, the 1985 memo specifically states that OCR does not require a particular educational approach for compliance with Title VI. Legally, programs are deemed adequate if strategies have worked or promise to work based on the recommendations of experts. This memorandum was reissued without change on April 6, 1990.

Policy Update, 1991

In 1991, the OCR published the “Policy Update on Schools’ Obligations Toward National Origin Minority Students with Limited-English Proficiency” memorandum, which represents the most comprehensive recent formal extension of the *Lau* Remedies. This document cites two equally important memoranda, May 1970 and December 1985; the three of them were “designed for use in conducting *Lau* compliance reviews.” The memo cites *Lau* and the *Lau* Remedies as well as the court cases *Castañeda v. Pickard*, *Keyes v. School District No. 1*, *Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District*, and a handful of less well-known cases in its guidance.

Notably, much of the document references the *Castañeda* case’s standard, which is a three-pronged test for ensuring adequate educational support for language minority students (see below). This test requires that the program meet three standards: (1) It must be based on a sound educational approach, (2) the approach must be implemented effectively, and (3) adequately trained staff must be provided for the program within a reasonable amount of time. For the first prong, the policy update lists the following approaches as acceptable: transitional and developmental bilingual education, bilingual/bicultural education, structured immersion, and English as a Second Language (ESL). Addressing proper implementation (second prong), the document reads, “A recipient must either hire formally qualified teachers for LEP [limited English proficient] students or require that teachers already on staff work toward attaining those formal qualifications.” Minimum qualifications for bilingual staff include ability to speak, read, and write in both languages and instruction in bilingual methods. Teachers in programs other than bilingual must complete training and demonstrate mastery of methods for this program. Districts should “use validated evaluative instruments—that is, tests that have been shown to accurately measure the skills in question.” Also reviewed under implementation

requirements are exit criteria for language minority and LEP students, special education programs, gifted/talented programs, and other specialized programs. For program evaluation (the third prong), the memo again references *Castañeda*, requiring that schools modify programs if they are unsuccessful and that programs are evaluated regularly to ensure student improvement. Formal programs should set achievement goals or demonstrate that students are overcoming language barriers. Further, programs are permitted to segregate ELLs from the mainstream population, but they must do so in the least segregative manner possible. Finally, the document states that the OCR will continue to use the *Castañeda* standard in reviewing complaints against schools’ obligation to ensure educational equity for ELLs.

Educators, families, and researchers in the field have raised concerns regarding the English-only movement given the *Lau* and *Castañeda* cases. In 1998, the OCR published “Questions That May Be Raised by Proposition 227” regarding California’s English-only initiative. This document repeatedly references the *Lau* decision, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, and the May 25, 1970, Memorandum and states that placing ELLs in mainstream classes without additional assistance is a violation of *Lau*. The list of questions includes whether the Department of Justice or Department of Education will play a role in litigation challenging Proposition 227; the reply ensures that both will continue to monitor the implementation of program models post-227 and “whether children with limited English proficiency are provided realistic opportunities to succeed academically, consistent with federal civil rights requirements.” Citing *Lau*, the document states that districts cannot limit special support for ELLs to one year and that if parents opt out of a program, districts must ensure that students have an equal opportunity to meet their needs relevant to learning English. This clarification notwithstanding, issues of *Lau* compliance in the context of the voter initiatives in Arizona, California, and Massachusetts are far from settled. In the years immediately after passage of the initiatives, OCR has given great latitude to these states to seek forms of compliance that they themselves design and allowed time for these to be tested.

Sarah Catherine Moore

See also Affirmative Steps to English; *Castañeda* Three-Part Test; Civil Rights Act of 1964; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Appendix C

Further Readings

- August, D., & Hakuta, K. (1997). *Improving schooling for language-minority children: A research agenda*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Baker, C., & de Kanter, A. (Eds.). (1983). *Bilingual education: A reappraisal of federal policy*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
- Hakuta, K. (n.d.). *Lau site map*. Retrieved from <http://www.stanford.edu/~kenro/LAU/LAUsitemap.htm>
- Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Nondiscrimination under programs receiving federal assistance through the department of education, effectuation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964* (Notice of Proposed Rulemaking). Fed. Reg. 45, 152 (Aug. 5, 1980).
- Office for Civil Rights (1970). *Identification of discrimination and denial of services on the basis of national origin* (May 25th Memorandum). Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1970.html>
- Office for Civil Rights. (1975). *Task-force findings specifying remedies available for eliminating past educational practices ruled unlawful under Lau v. Nichols (Lau Remedies)*. Retrieved from <http://www.stanford.edu/~kenro/LAU/LauRemedies.htm>
- Office for Civil Rights. (1985). *Policy regarding the treatment of national origin minority students who are limited English proficient*. Retrieved from http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1990_and_1985.html
- Office for Civil Rights. (1991). *Policy update on schools' obligations toward national origin minority students with limited-English proficiency*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1991.html>
- Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District, 724 F. Supp. 698, 713 (N.D. Cal. 1989).
- U.S. Department of Education. (2005). *Limited English proficient resources*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/ellresources.html>

LAU V. NICHOLS, SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT'S RESPONSE

The January 1974 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* was instrumental in guaranteeing linguistic minority students an education that is equal in

quality to that of their English-speaking peers and has become synonymous with education rights in the United States. This entry describes the *Lau v. Nichols* case and the manner in which the San Francisco Unified School district (SFUSD), defendant in the case, responded to the legal mandate imposed on it by the U.S. Supreme Court, and subsequently, on remand, by the U.S. District Court in San Francisco.

The *Lau* decision was the outcome of a case brought against the SFUSD by a group of community members and parents of Chinese-speaking children. The parents claimed their children could not gain the same benefit from instruction in English as their native-English-speaking peers, and on this basis took legal action against the SFUSD for its failure to provide those students with an equal access to the district's instructional program. This was a class action suit. That is, parents and community members who brought the suit did so not only on behalf of their own children, but also on behalf of all children who might be suffering the same lack of access for the same reason. The plaintiffs did not seek a specific solution to the problem. Instead, they asked that the Board of Education of the SFUSD be directed to rectify the situation by the best means possible.

The original case, filed in federal district court, relied on the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1974. The latter excludes recipients of aid that discriminate against racial groups from participation in federal financial assistance. The parents claimed that these children, who were attending school in a district that received a significant amount of federal financial assistance, were being denied equal protection under the law because of their national origin. This case demonstrates the complicated and unpredictable nature of the pursuit of language and other rights through the courts.

Although *Lau* is perhaps the most pivotal of all language rights cases, it followed an unusual course through the judicial system and had a somewhat unlikely outcome. The original claims made by the parents (who were the plaintiffs in this case) were rejected by two lower courts. Neither the district court nor the court of appeals found the school district to be in violation of the students' rights. The Supreme Court's seldom-granted agreement to review the court of appeals decision led to the landmark nature of the case.

The court of appeal's argument in denying the parents' claim was that the school district was not responsible for the preexisting condition of lack of knowledge

of English. It reasoned, “Every student brings to the starting line of his educational career different advantages and disadvantages caused in part by social, economic and cultural background, created and continued completely apart from any contribution by the school system” (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1973). The parents bringing this case were not satisfied with this outcome and continued to pursue a solution to the problem. Although a case that is lost in the court of appeals cannot be appealed directly, plaintiffs who lose a case at that level can request that the Supreme Court review the decision by filing a petition for writ of certiorari. This petition presents arguments about why the Court should grant the writ; that is, why it should review the case. These petitions are usually denied. In this case, however, the Court decided to grant the petition because of “the public importance of the question presented” (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1974).

After reviewing the case, the Supreme Court found in favor of the plaintiffs and returned the case to the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California (a process known as “remand”), directing that court to fashion an appropriate solution, by directing the San Francisco Board of Education to “apply its expertise to the problem and rectify the situation” (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1974). The agreement between the SFUSD and the court, known as the consent decree, was the district’s plan to provide all students access to a meaningful education. It became, and remains, pivotal to how schools provide students who do not speak or understand English with a meaningful education.

To craft an appropriate plan for the education of English language learners, the district contracted with the Center for Applied Linguistics, a group of educators and researchers with significant expertise in the area of English learner education. The Center for Applied Linguistics and a group of parents and community members recruited by the district called the Citizen’s Task Force worked together to develop a “Master Plan for Bilingual-Bicultural Education in the San Francisco Unified School District.” This detailed plan took more than a year to prepare and consisted of four volumes when it was finally submitted to the court in May 1975.

The plan detailed in this consent decree became the blueprint for the education of English language learners not only in the SFUSD but also in much of the United States. Kenji Hakuta points out in a timeline titled *Evolution of Important Events in California* that the California Legislature passed the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act in 1976,

which was the first state legislative act that mandated school districts provide language minority students with equal educational opportunities, despite their limited proficiency in English. Unlike federal legislation, which left decision making regarding how to ensure equal educational opportunity to district discretion, the California legislature asserted the right of English language learners to bilingual education.

Following is a summary of the plan, developed by the Citizen’s Task Force in collaboration with the Center for Applied Linguistics and described in the consent decree between the plaintiffs and the San Francisco Unified School District.

The Master Plan

The consent decree stipulated that the SFUSD would implement a master plan for bilingual-bicultural education for the major language groups in the district—Chinese, Filipino, and Spanish—and established a formula for defining a “major” language group. The decree also stated that students from all such groups would be provided a bilingual education program to correct the problems identified in the proceedings. The decree further stated that the district would provide English as a Second Language (ESL) and other special programs for students from other language groups and would provide bilingual instruction for students from the less common language groups whenever feasible.

The plan provided detailed descriptions and definitions of the various program aspects, including instructional alternatives and techniques that could be used along with sample schedules and descriptions of how classroom organization and teacher and instructional aide time might be allocated. The plan also included criteria for choosing among different instructional options in different situations and provided a similar level of detail with regard to choosing appropriate instruments for assessing students’ English and primary-language skills and for the preparation and certification of teachers for bilingual-bicultural education.

The master plan included a detailed timeline for implementation of each aspect of the program and specified that information about the progress of this implementation would be submitted to the court. Finally, the consent decree stipulated that the district would gather and report detailed information about the program to the court on an annual basis. This information-gathering and accountability for what the district would do to remedy the situation for linguistic minority students, how it would do this, and the way it would

report progress of implementation of the solution were key aspects of the agreement. The specific information required of the district included the following:

1. Information about program participation and nonparticipation for students who speak a language other than English at home, as well as the numbers of these students and a description of the process for identifying them
2. A detailed description of these programs, how students are recruited for and assigned to them, identification of the school sites that maintain “model bilingual programs” for the major language groups, and those school sites that have other types of bilingual classes described in the master plan
3. Information about language skills and professional preparation of teaching and other staff and about their assignment to bilingual or other types of classes

This information-gathering became the model for data collected by the federal government and by many states. In addition, the consent decree required that the school board appoint a group of individuals from the community, the community council, including parents of both program participant and nonparticipant children, to serve as advisors regarding the plan and to assist in monitoring its implementation. The decree also stipulated that the district would provide assistance to and cooperation with the activities of the community council. Finally, the consent decree established a process for parents and others to express any objections to how the district was implementing the plan, for the district to respond to these objections, and for resolving disagreements between the two.

Conclusion

Although it has been somewhat eroded by recent interpretations of applicable law, the *Lau* case remains a key language-rights decision. With this case, the judicial system debated the question of whether schools must address the unique education needs of children who do not speak or understand English. The Supreme Court was unequivocal in affirming the rights of these children to have these needs addressed and school districts' legal obligation to do so. Moreover, the Court's finding that treating all children the same does not constitute an equal education for students who do not speak or understand English was an important precedent with regard to

educating English language learners in the nation's public schools. At the same time, the case's nonprescriptive approach shifted the policy and political debate about how to address the needs of these students and set a precedent for allowing school districts to determine how they will address this issue at the local level. Agreement by the school district to use chiefly a bilingual education approach further helped establish the preferred instructional modality for serving these children.

Julie Renee Maxwell-Jolly

See also Affirmative Steps to English; Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Chacón-Moscone Legislation; Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling

Further Readings

- Center for Applied Linguistics and Citizen's Task Force on Bilingual Education. (1975, February 25). *A masterplan for bilingual-bicultural education in the San Francisco Unified School District in response to the Supreme Court decision in the case of Lau v. Nichols*, (Parts 1–4). Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Center for Applied Linguistics and Citizen's Task Force on Bilingual Education. (1975). *A master plan for bilingual-bicultural education in the San Francisco Unified School District*, (Part 4), Appendix A. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Center for Applied Linguistics and Citizen's Task Force on Bilingual Education. (1975). *A master plan for bilingual-bicultural education in the San Francisco Unified School District*, (Part 4), Appendix D. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act, California AB 1329 (1976).
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, Pub. L. No. 88–352, July 2, 1964, 78 Stat. 241 (Title 28, Sec. 1447; Title 42, Sec. 1971, 1975a–1975d, 2000a *et seq.*).
- Del Valle, S. (2003). *Language rights and the law in the United States: Finding our voices*. In Bilingual Education and Bilingualism Series. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hakuta, K. (n.d.). *Evolution of Important Events in California Bilingual Education Policy*. Retrieved from <http://faculty.ucmerced.edu/khakuta/policy/ELL/timeline.html>
- Lau v. Nichols*, 483 F.2d 791 (9th Cir. 1973).
- Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Tech Law Journal. (2007). *Online Glossary definition for certiorari*. Retrieved from <http://www.techlawjournal.com/glossary/legal/certiorari.htm>

LAU V. NICHOLS, THE RULING

Editor's Note: *This entry summarizes the ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court in Lau v. Nichols. This case is multifaceted. For a more complete explanation of the impact and significance of the case, please consult the entries listed under "See Also . . ." and the text of Lau v. Nichols reproduced in Appendix C.*

In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a landmark decision in *Lau v. Nichols*. The Court ruled that Chinese-speaking students in San Francisco had a right to a better education than they were currently receiving, that the San Francisco Unified School District was responsible for providing them a more "meaningful" education, and that the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Education had the authority to compel the San Francisco Unified School District to provide such a program. More than 30 years after this historic decision, it continues to be widely discussed by experts and stakeholders, many of whom believe that the promise of the *Lau* decision has not yet been fulfilled.

The U.S. Supreme Court has dealt only infrequently with issues of language and language policy. In its history, only a handful of cases involving language have been decided by the Court. This is hardly surprising given the overwhelming prevalence of English in U.S. society. With the exception of Spanish, which is spoken by more than 30 million Americans, few languages are likely to have a continuing effect on as many cities and regions of the country during this century. The language group involved in the *Lau* case was a group of Chinese-speaking students attending the San Francisco schools. At the beginning of the 21st century, Chinese is the second-largest language community in the United States, second only to Spanish.

This entry describes fundamental concepts and issues of the ruling, the significance of the case, and recent developments regarding the case.

Fundamental Concepts and Issues

The decision by the Supreme Court to hear *Lau v. Nichols* on appeal from the Ninth Circuit Court in San Francisco was not made to resolve a language policy issue but, rather, a civil rights issue. During its 30-year history, the *Lau* case has come to be viewed as an important statement of equity for millions of public school students who come to school speaking languages

other than English. The case was not intended to be dispositive on the question of whether bilingual education is preferable to English as a Second Language (ESL) or vice versa, even though the case became inextricably embroiled in that debate. The *Lau* case was concerned with civil rights rather than language rights. The ruling made it abundantly clear that school leaders and policy-makers are required to operate school programs with due cognizance of the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a measure that has now undergone modification by the more conservative justices who were subsequently appointed to that Court.

Several legal concepts are important for a full understanding of the current and future status of *Lau*, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (CRA) of 1964, and related topics. Among the most important of these are "disparate impact," "private right of action," "coextensiveness," and "intent to discriminate" under the Equal Protection Clause. The future of civil rights protection under *Lau* and Title VI of the CRA will continue to evolve because of the impact of these terms and others. Interested readers are urged to consult legal sources to remain abreast of developments in this area.

Two fundamental issues went before the Supreme Court in *Lau*. The first of these was whether the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the U.S. Department of Education) has the authority to regulate the services offered by schools receiving federal assistance with respect to services to non-English-speaking students. Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended in 1968, provided funding for the creation and operation of bilingual education programs based on proposals submitted by school districts. Title VII of Elementary and Secondary Education Act was the proverbial carrot and Title VI of the CRA was the stick. The Court reviewed the legislative history of Section 602 of the 1964 CRA, which imposed on all federal agencies the responsibility for ensuring nondiscrimination in programs and activities involving federal financial assistance. The second and equally important issue was whether the educational program of the San Francisco Unified School District, at the time, violated Section 601 of the 1964 CRA. This issue was also decided in favor of the plaintiffs. Upon reviewing the findings of the lower courts, the Supreme Court reversed the lower court rulings and remanded the case back to the federal district court to fashion an appropriate remedy. The remedy that eventually issued from a citizen's advisory committee was bilingual education.

The San Francisco Unified School District adopted that recommendation.

Significance of the Decision

Perhaps the most important aspect of *Lau* was the ringing endorsement it provided for the idea that children who have language characteristics different from those of the mainstream population must be educated with proper cognizance of those differences. The Supreme Court asserted that it is not enough to provide the same education to children who are different; opportunity for one group may mean a denial of opportunity for another. In much of the litigation brought by African American children against the schools after *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, plaintiffs sought access to school programs already available to majority group students. In the main, desegregation cases sought access by Black students to the same curriculum and school activities available to White students. In *Lau*, the opposite was true; a remedy could only be said to exist if differentiated instruction were made available. *Lau v. Nichols* made clear that equality is not synonymous with sameness. What is good for one group of children may be inappropriate for another. In the language of the decision,

There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. . . . We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.

Another important message in *Lau* was that schools have a responsibility to teach those academic skills they require of their students before they can graduate from high school. At the time of *Lau*, high-stakes graduation tests were not as common as they are today. California, however, required that high school students must demonstrate a strong command of the English language to graduate. The Supreme Court did not question California's right to require this:

§ 8573 of the [California] Education Code provides that no pupil shall receive a diploma of graduation from grade 12 who has not met the standards of proficiency in "English," as well as other prescribed

subjects. Moreover, by § 12101 of the Education Code (Supp. 1973) children between the ages of six and 16 years are (with exceptions not material here) subject to compulsory full-time education.

Elsewhere, the opinion stated,

This is a public school system of California, and § 71 of the California Education Code states that "English shall be the basic language of instruction in all schools." That section permits a school district to determine "when and under what circumstances instruction may be given bilingually."

Having noted the available options, the Court went no further. It mandated the district to ensure that schools teach English effectively to students who speak other home languages. The Court was explicit on this point:

Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education.

This posture by the Supreme Court supports conceptions of school accountability that have currency today. We can only speculate whether the use of high-stakes testing in English for graduation would be viewed in the same way today by the courts, if that requirement were to be challenged on the grounds that it violated the spirit of *Lau* absent an effective instructional program for teaching English. To our knowledge, no such case has yet been brought. Under the current interpretation of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) 2001 legislation, the requirement of passing a test in English and other subjects appears to sit squarely on the shoulders of students rather than serve as a test of the viability of the instructional program and its promise to facilitate a good command of English. As the requirements of NCLB continue to evolve, it is possible that a legal challenge of this type could take place. In addition, considerable controversy exists concerning the degree to which children who do not yet have a command of English should be tested only in that language merely to satisfy the testing requirements of NCLB.

Among scholars and long-term observers of the decision who tend to view it in a wider context of

educational change, some are concerned about the focus on English embodied in *Lau*. Richard Ruiz, an expert on language policy and politics, asserts that the emphasis on language barriers and on the primacy of English over all other subjects underscores the widespread popular view concerning the overarching importance of English. Ruiz believes that suggesting that young people are, in some sense, less than complete until and unless they learn English is an ethnocentric and narrow view of education. Furthermore, because the Supreme Court referred to this single aspect of education—teaching the *lingua franca*—and to no other, the decision gives no support to a broad mandate for making schools more sensitive to other needs of language minority children.

On the question of bilingual instruction, *Lau* was not the final word. The Court noted that there may be several ways of meeting the needs of these children:

No specific remedy is urged upon us. Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instructions to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others. Petitioners ask only that the Board of Education be directed to apply its expertise to the problem and rectify the situation.

With respect to what remedy is most appropriate, the Court invoked the well-established principle of judicial restraint: A court should not answer questions that have not been brought to it for adjudication. Having acknowledged that several remedies are available, the Court disposed of the matter by noting that, in this case, “a remedy is not urged upon us.” It reiterated that responsibility for policy remedies rests with the executive branch, in this case with the U.S. Department of Education and its OCR.

Lau recognized the right and legal responsibility of enforcement agencies in the executive branch to clarify, expand, and enforce the judgments of courts in accordance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the legal basis on which the case rests. By so doing, the Court accepted one of the requirements promulgated by the OCR (of the then-Department of Health, Education and Welfare) in a now-famous memorandum called the May 25, 1970, Memorandum, signed by J. Stanley Pottinger, the then-director of the OCR. By affirming previous enforcement efforts by the OCR, the Supreme Court, in effect, adopted an important provision of the

May 25, 1970, Memorandum: the requirement that in cases where parents do not speak English, communications sent by the school to the home should be in the parents’ language. To our knowledge, that requirement has never been challenged in other litigation, although few schools may be doing it. Many experts and stakeholders believe that because of the Supreme Court’s acknowledgment, the May 25, 1970, Memorandum is entitled to great weight in planning school programs. Even in states that have passed antibilingual education measures, it can be assumed that the mandate for school-home communications in the child’s home language remains valid and enforceable because school-home communications were not a school practice that was abolished by antibilingual initiatives in those states.

Furthermore, the Supreme Court affirmed the responsibility of the OCR to provide operational definitions and interpretations to the schools. As an example, the Court noted the May 25, 1970, Memorandum that had been sent to school districts by OCR. The Supreme Court seemed to approve of that policy and quoted two specific points from the memorandum in its ruling:

1. Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency to open its instructional program to these students.
2. Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin-minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track. (May 25, 1970, Memorandum)

Hence, although the Supreme Court avoided opining on the merits of bilingual instruction, it validated OCR’s prescription on the use of other-than-English languages for communications between school personnel and non-English-speaking families.

The Court went on to reiterate,

Respondent school district contractually agreed to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 . . . and all requirements imposed by or pursuant to

the Regulation of DHEW which are “issued pursuant to that title . . .” and also immediately to “take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement.” The Federal Government has power to fix the terms on which its money allotments to the States shall be disbursed. Whatever the limits of that power, they have not been reached here.

Recent Developments

Powerful and clear as the language of the *Lau* decision was, serious challenges to the continued viability of the decision and its reliance on the CRA have arisen post-*Lau*. The Supreme Court became more conservative after 1980, which has eroded the importance of Title VI of the CRA. The CRA was designed to enhance the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The difference is that the Equal Protection Clause requires that plaintiffs show that the agency in question intended to discriminate against the person or group involved. Under the CRA, plaintiffs did not need to prove intent to discriminate, merely to document the negative impact of the school district’s policies and practices. This difference has been slowly but surely eroded under the theory that Title VI of the CRA, and the Equal Protection Clause are coextensive; in short, that they are parallel laws with the same purpose. Further, that whatever requirement of intent to discriminate attaches to the Equal Protection Clause also applies to suits brought under CRA. This means that if *Lau* were to be tried under today’s interpretation of CRA, the Supreme Court would probably reach different conclusions. Finally, because of another change imposed on Title VI of the CRA in recent years, individuals can no longer bring suits under the CRA. Only a federal agency may use CRA to seek relief against a government entity on behalf of an aggrieved individual. In legal parlance, Title VI no longer allows private right of action. Today, therefore, individuals must rely on another law to bring an action against a public body, the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, a measure that codified the findings in *Lau* explicitly.

Ha Lam and Josué M. González

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; *Castañeda* Three-Part Test; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974; *Lau v. Nichols*, Enforcement Documents; Appendix C

Further Readings

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
 Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
 Office for Civil Rights. (1970). *Identification of discrimination and denial of services on the basis of national origin* (May 25th Memorandum). Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1970.html>

LAU V. NICHOLS AND RELATED DOCUMENTS

See APPENDIX C

LEARNING A LANGUAGE, BEST AGE

A controversial topic among linguists and researchers is the critical period hypothesis (CPH) and research studies that pertain to the best age in which to learn a language. CPH was first proposed by neurologist Wilder Penfield and coauthor Lamar Roberts in 1959. CPH claims that the presentation of adequate stimuli during the first few years of life are critical for individuals to acquire a first language. According to the theory, if language input does not occur during this period, the individual will never achieve a full command of the language—especially the grammatical systems. CPH was popularized in 1967 by Eric H. Lenneberg, with the introduction of his book *Biological Foundations of Language*.

Lenneberg’s theory has extended to include a critical period for second-language acquisition (SLA) and has influenced research in the field, which is evidenced by studies including those supportive and unsupportive of CPH. Generally, researchers in the field of SLA have explored the following questions:

1. Does age affect how fast we can learn or acquire a second language over a reasonable period?
2. Does the type of exposure to the second language relate to age?
3. Does the age at which we begin learning a second language affect how fluent we can become in that language after a long time?
4. Do all these effects hold for all levels or types of linguistic knowledge?

This entry considers studies that have tried to look at both early-stage performance and ultimate attainment of those language learners studied. Results of studies in second-language acquisition indicate researchers are divided in their positions regarding CPH. Some researchers support CPH and insist that a critical period for learning a language does exist. For example, Mark Patkowski conducted a study about the likelihood of a critical period for learning a second language that found that learners younger than age 15 achieved a higher syntactic proficiency than did those who were older than age 15 at the onset of exposure. Among all factors Patkowski examined, age was the factor that had the most significant impact for success in learning a second language.

Results of some studies are mixed. For example, Stephen D. Krashen found in a 1973 study that adult learners proceeded through the early stages of syntactic and morphological development faster than children did, and that older children acquired this growth faster than younger children who were in the early stages of language development. Similarly, Anna K. Fathman and Lois Precup, in their 1983 study of immigrants acquiring English as a second language in the United States, reported that those who had immigrated at a younger age achieved higher levels of phonetic/phonological proficiency than later arrivals. However, an opposing pattern was found in respect to morpho-syntactic proficiency. A similar example is the 1999 study by Ellen Bialystok and Brenda A. Miller; they replicated the 1989 study of Jacqueline Johnson and Elissa Newport, and found differences in the performance on a grammar judgment test between native speakers of Chinese and Spanish acquiring English, before the age of 15. Although the younger Spanish-English bilinguals showed an advantage in performance over the older participants, the same pattern did not apply to Chinese-English bilinguals. They conclude that their results do not provide enough evidence to support the critical period hypothesis when acquiring a second language.

Results in some studies contradict what proponents of CPH claim. For example, Theo Bongaerts, Brigitte Planken, and Erik Schills have provided evidence that the groups of English language learners involved in their 1995 study were indistinguishable from the group of native speakers of English with respect to their pronunciation and thus passed themselves off as native speakers. These findings are contrary to the widely accepted belief proposed by Lenneberg that a

second language is learned only through extensive conscious effort and that an accent cannot be overcome easily. Thus, researchers, in summarizing phonological studies over the years, note that age may be central to ultimate attainment, but that no evidence has as yet been provided for the claim that second-language speech will automatically be accent-free if it is learned before the age of six and that it will definitely be foreign-accented if learned after puberty.

The inconsistency of results from research studies has provoked questions from researchers about whether the difference between young learners and adults must be the result of the critical period. For example, three misconceptions about age and second-language learning were recognized through a study conducted by Stefka H. Marinova-Todd, D. Bradford Marshall, and Catherine Snow in 2000. The first is the misinterpretation of observations of differences between children and adult learners, which may suggest that children are faster and more efficient at picking up a second language. Marinova-Todd, Marshall, and Snow admit that most adult second-language learners do end up with lower-than-native-like levels of proficiency, a failure often caused by a lack of engagement in the task and sufficient motivation. However, hard data make it clear that children learn a new language slowly, and with less speed, and with more effort than do adolescents or adults. The second misconception is the misattribution of conclusions about language proficiency to facts about brain functions. Marinova-Todd, Marshall, and Snow hold that the connection between brain functioning and language performance will no doubt be confirmed, but the exact nature cannot be guessed from the data available on brain function in early versus late bilinguals. The third misconception is based on poor adult learners, and the less emphasis placed on adults who master a second language at native-like levels. Marinova-Todd, Marshall, and Snow point out that sufficient motivation, commitment of time and energy, and support from the environment are the factors that have been overlooked by researchers, thereby seeming to lend support to the myths that children learn more quickly than adults, and that adults are incapable of achieving native-like second-language proficiency.

Researchers such as Bialystok and Kenji Hakuta have examined the role of linguistic and cognitive factors and explored how age might interact with these. Their research found both younger and older learners made more mistakes on items containing grammatical

features that were different between their first and second languages, than on items that were similar in both, a phenomenon that cannot be explained by the linguistic theory of Universal Grammar, proposed by Noam Chomsky. Their study provides evidence that cognitive factors such as different instructional formats, the literacy difference of the learners, the availability of written texts, and the opportunity for instruction may lead to differences in proficiency levels.

David Singleton raised the issue from a different perspective, concerning diverse proposals or variations of CPH. He points out that the variety of ways CPH is understood affects the implications for second-language instruction. For example, Herbert W. Seliger suggests an earlier start of the phonetic/phonological acquisition of language by 12-year-olds is not consistent with that proposed by Lenneberg. Karl C. Diller, on the other hand, asserts that second-language accents can be avoided only if phonetic/phonological acquisition takes place by the ages of 6 to 8. Though Thomas Scovel asserts that the critical period, generally, ends progressively over a number of years beginning around ages 6 or 7; this is then followed by a second maturational phase, from 7 years to puberty. Michael H. Long proposes that a prerequisite for the acquisition of the second-language morphology and syntax to native level should be exposure to the second language before age 15.

The range of the critical period proposed so far extends from 1 year of age to adolescence, and the difference in between casts doubt on the credibility of CPH. This also confirms the well-founded comment made by researchers that the end of CPH for language in humans has proven difficult to find. In addition, the “fuzzy boundaries” used in language acquisition such as early child first language and second language, late child second language, adolescent second language, and adult second language have also caused problems. The divisions, all based on puberty, were not supported because researchers, in their studies of SLA, actually do not evaluate for age or whether a child has reached puberty.

Even though CPH has drawn many controversies and criticisms, its implications for second-language instruction cannot be overlooked. Research topics in the field of SLA also include how and to what extent the CPH concept can be applied to second-language instruction in school settings. For example, the idea of “younger equals better” by Penfield and the neurological evidence were the driving forces of movements

advocating foreign-language education in elementary schools in the 1950s and 1960s. These arguments find support in CPH literature that claims biological and maturational factors constrain language learning beyond a certain age.

The influence of CPH, on the debate over the best age to learn a language, continues in the domain of SLA. Although the complexity of the behavioral systems to CPH concepts, which are applied to young children make it difficult, if not impossible, to identify the boundaries of sensitive periods with great specificity, it is imperative that educators consider all factors that lead to the success of second-language learners other than age alone. For example, linguistic, cognitive, and social factors, most of which have not been considered by previous studies on CPH may all play a part in the learner’s language acquisition.

Li Jia

See also Critical Period Hypothesis; Language Learning in Children and Adults; Linguistics, an Overview

Further Readings

- Bialystok, E., & Hakuta, K. (1994). *In other words: The science and psychology of second language acquisition*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bialystok, E., & Miller, B. (1999). The problem of age in second language acquisition: Influences from language, structure and task. *Bilingualism: Language and cognition*, 2(2), 127–25.
- Bongaerts, T., Planken, B., & Schills, E. (1995). Can late starters attain a native accent in a foreign language: A test of the Critical Period Hypothesis. In D. Singleton and Z. Lengyel (Eds.), *The age factor in second language acquisition* (pp. 30–50). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Diller, K. (1981). “Natural methods” of foreign language teaching: Can they exist? What criteria must they meet? In H. Winnitz (Ed.), *Native language and foreign language acquisition* (pp. 75–91). New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Fathman, A., & Precup, L. (1983). Influences of age and setting on second language oral proficiency. In K. M. Bailey, M. H. Long, S. Peck (Eds.), *Second language acquisition studies* (pp. 151–161). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Johnson, S. J., & Newport, L. E. (1989). Critical period effects in second language learning: The influence of maturational state on the acquisition of ESL. *Cognitive Psychology*, 21(1), 60–99.

- Krashen, S. D. (1973). Lateralization, language learning and the critical period: Some new evidence. *Language Learning*, 23(1), 63–74.
- Lenneberg, E. H. (1967). *Biological foundations of language*. New York: Wiley.
- Long, M. H. (1990). Maturation constraints on language development. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 12(3), 251–285.
- Marinova-Todd, S., Marshall, D., & Snow, C. (2000). Three misconceptions about age and L2 Learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34, 9–34.
- Patkowski, M. S. (1980). The sensitive period for the acquisition of syntax in a second language. *Language Learning*, 30, 449–472.
- Penfield, W., & Roberts, L. (1959). *Speech and brain mechanisms*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Scovel, T. (1988). *A Time to speak: A psycholinguistic inquiry into the critical period for human language*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Seliger, H. W. (1978). Implications of a multiple critical periods hypothesis for second language learning. In W. Ritchie (Ed.), *Second language acquisition research: Issues and implications* (pp. 11–19). New York: Academic Press.
- Singleton, D. (2005). The Critical Period Hypothesis: A coat of many colors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 43, 269–285.
- Singleton, D., & Lengyel, Z. (Eds.). (1995). *The age factor in second language acquisition*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

LINGUISTIC MATURITY THEORY

See LEARNING A LANGUAGE, BEST AGE

LINGUISTICS, AN OVERVIEW

One of the central academic disciplines underlying the collective knowledge base of bilingual education is that of linguistics. *Linguistics* can be defined, in the broadest terms, as the scientific description of human language. Tony Howatt explains in the introduction to the *Linguistics Encyclopedia* (2nd ed.) that serious study of the human capacity for language is presumed to have begun in the first literate human societies (e.g., Mesopotamia, Northern India, China, and Egypt). However, the roots of Western linguistics as a specific

area of scientific study date back to the 19th century. Two central questions have shaped the field since that time: First, what is the nature of human language; and second, what is involved in the study of human language? This entry addresses those two questions by way of providing an overview of the science of linguistics.

Nature of Language

It is difficult to capture, succinctly, the myriad ways in which different traditions of linguistic study conceive of the nature of human language. As discussed later in this entry, there are substantive debates about language that prevent such a brief summary. Ralph Fasold and Jeff Connor-Linton have attempted to provide an overview of certain features that they maintain most linguists would accept as universal to humans' capacity for language.

The first of these features is the *modularity* of language. Language is composed of distinct and discrete units, or modules. Each module has a particular role to play, but they function together in a coordinated way to allow humans to produce and understand language. Related to modularity is the principle of *constituency*. Languages are organized in constituent parts such that more complex constituents may be used to take the place of simpler forms. An example of the principle of constituency might be, “*They* argued heatedly about the new work assignment.” The simple constituent *They* can be replaced by a more complicated one, for example, “*The manager and her employee* argued heatedly about the new work assignment,” or even “*The new manager and her employee who had worked there for many years* argued heatedly about the new work assignment.” The principle of constituency describes how like constituents of varying degrees of complexity may be exchanged for one another. However, this principle does not mean that language is random. On the contrary, “*heatedly and her new employee* argued about the new work assignment” is not a possible construction, because “heatedly” and “they” or “the manager and her employee” are not like constituents.

The principle of constituency is particularly important in that it allows for an infinite number of utterances, even though languages are composed of a finite number of units. This phenomenon of language is known as *recursion*. The ability to construct an infinite number of utterances from a finite number of constituent parts has an enormous impact on our

understanding of language. Above all, it means that humans do not acquire language by memorizing each word in a language. Instead, there must be some other explanation for how humans are able to learn language such that we can produce and understand an infinite number of sentences. We will return to this issue later.

The linguistic property of *discreteness* manifests itself in two particular ways. The first has to do with the sounds that humans are capable of producing. Imagine the sounds a violin makes as its player tunes the instrument. As the string becomes more taut, the pitch rises. In much of Western music, that spectrum of sound has been broken into incremental steps of a scale, the smallest unit of which is a half step between, as an example, C and C sharp. In most cases, those who play and compose Western music have socially agreed to divide the full spectrum of sound in this way. But when we are exposed to music from other parts of the world, we discover various ways in which to divide the spectrum of sound that incorporate discrete units much smaller than a half step. Languages function in much the same way. Within each language community, a social contract of sorts is in effect that agrees about how to distinguish the spectrum of possible sounds into discrete, intelligible units. In English, we differentiate a long i sound, as in *eye*, from a long e sound, as in *bee*. That distinction allows us to know when someone is talking about bites or beats, for example. But not every language brackets sound in the same way. This means that the distinction between long i and long e, which comes naturally to native speakers of English, may be entirely indistinguishable to speakers of languages that do not compartmentalize sound in the same way.

Discreteness in language is shown, as well, in how humans understand the world around them. For example, different languages divide time in different ways. Even languages that share the concepts of year, month, day, hour, and so on often reflect different distinctions in time. English terms such as *morning*, *afternoon*, *evening*, and *night*, for instance, do not fully equate to Spanish terms such as *mañana*, *tarde*, *noche*, and *madrugada*. Thus, natural phenomena experienced by all humans, such as time, are captured in unique ways in each language. Nonetheless, in borderland regions such as that between the United States and Mexico, bilingual speakers often minimize the subtleties and end up equating terms to facilitate communication. This occurs as well in bilingual classrooms. The net

effect is the adaptation of both languages to each other. In those circumstances, a fully fluent bilingual individual can detect the borrowing of grammatical or lexical features from one language to the other.

The principle of *productivity* is demonstrated by every language being capable of creating new words to better understand changes in the world around us. Think of the many words that have emerged in the United States to refer to a car (e.g., hatchback, coupe, SUV, RV, compact, pickup, wagon, etc.). Similarly, all languages are able to create new words in an instance. If this new word fits the sound and word patterns in the language—and if the wider social community of that language accepts and begins to use that word—then it can become part of that language system. A prime example would be the term *Spanglish*. Whatever our opinions may be of the linguistic phenomenon to which the term refers, this term was coined to refer to a language variety that is distinct from standard varieties of English and Spanish. The word follows sound and word patterns in English (but not in Spanish) and has been widely accepted in the greater speech community as a word.

The final three universal aspects of human language are perhaps the most critical. The first of these is the acknowledgment that the words we coin, the sounds we bracket within the spectrum of sound, and so forth, reflect completely arbitrary decisions. The *arbitrariness* of language implies that there is nothing about the sounds /t/-/ej/-/b/-/l/ or its standard English spelling “table” that has any systematic or innate connection to a flat, hard surface (usually) held up by four rods. Instead, it has been socially agreed upon and transmitted across generations that this collection of sounds, and this manner of representing those sounds graphically, will refer to such an object. Likewise, such words as *mesa* or *Tisch* (in Spanish and German, respectively) are not any more connected to this object than “table” is in English. However, the arbitrary nature of the correlation between sound and object does not mean language is random. Instead, how languages combine sounds, words, and phrases is governed by distinct patterns that allow in English for the /b/ and /l/ sounds to combine as they do in the word “table,” but not so in a word like “lbatte.”

Moreover, human language reflects *duality* in its structure. Every language is composed of discrete units that on their own have little or no meaning. The sounds /d/, /l/, and /g/ alone, for example, have no meaning to native speakers of English. Yet, when we

combine these three sounds together, we get a larger unit of language, “dig,” that assumes various meanings in English. Linguistic duality underscores the importance of context in communication; individual units of any language are meaningful only inasmuch as we understand them in relation to other linguistic units. The importance of context can be seen more clearly with larger units of language (e.g., at the word or sentence level). Consider the many English language arts teachers who work tirelessly to help their students know when to write “to,” “too,” or “two.” The problem here stems from the principle of duality. Each word on its own has little meaning. When placed in the context of a phrase or sentence, however, each word takes on specific meaning, and the listener is able to know at once which word is meant.

The final universal property of language is its *variability*. We see this feature in several other properties of language discussed earlier, for example, how different languages divvy up the sound spectrum, or the ability to create new words based on existing sound and word systems. But another aspect of linguistic variability is that humans change their language to reflect who they are, and where and with whom they are interacting. A simple example is how we choose to address a group of people at once. Whether we say “you guys,” “y’all,” “you’s” or “you’s guys,” or just simply “you” says a lot about where we come from, how formal or not the situation is, our age, and so on. The words we choose, the way we pronounce them, what we do not say at all—all of these linguistic moments reflect our identities and our understanding of the social context around us. Another aspect of linguistic variability concerns the varieties of language that emerge when different language systems are in contact; examples of these include Spanglish in the United States or the varieties of English that are native to postcolonial societies such as India or Nigeria.

Linguistic Traditions and Domains of Study

As suggested earlier, the tradition of linguistics in the West dates back to the 19th century. Known then as *philology*, the primary focus of research was the historical and comparative study of language. Howatt outlines the factors that influenced philology. First, linguistic studies found important models for research in the natural sciences. The work of Carl Linnaeus in the 18th century, for example, in classifying the plant

world served as a guide for classifying human languages. Charles Darwin’s development of the theory of evolution also provided an important model to 19th-century philologists in identifying language families that have evolved over time. A second important influence on philology were the projects of nation-building taking place in the Western world at this time. Romantic notions of the nation-state being composed of one people and one language required a history of that people and its language that reached back far into time. Colonialism brought Western philologists into contact with long-standing linguistic traditions, especially that of the ancient Indian language Sanskrit, as they sought to find Western linguistic and national roots in ancient civilizations.

Structuralism

Although he emerged from this intellectual environment, Ferdinand de Saussure fundamentally altered the landscape of linguistic study. His greatest contributions to linguistics were made in a series of lectures published posthumously in 1916 as *Cours de linguistique générale*. In his lectures, Saussure differentiated historical study of language, *diachrony*, from nonhistorical study, *synchrony*. For him, the latter envisions language as a living whole, existing at a particular moment in time. The goal for linguists should be, so Saussure stated, to understand a language in its current state before engaging in a historical study of its development.

Saussure’s most famous contribution to the study of language is his tripartite conception of human language. His notions of *langage*, *langue*, and *parole* would later become the foundation of *structuralism*. Saussure named the overall human capacity for language *langage*. Within this capacity, he distinguished between separate language systems, or *langue*, and the manifestations of those systems as actual speech, or *parole*. He argued that the primary focus of linguistic study should be to better understand the nature of each individual language system, *langue*. For Saussure, *langue* is a social phenomenon, a system that has been socially agreed upon within a linguistic community. Saussure first identified the arbitrary nature of language with his distinction between signifier and signified. Although no inherent connection exists between a given sound (the signifier) and its meaning (the signified), each linguistic community must agree to a convention of matching the two for

communication to occur and be effective. However, signifiers in language systems have meaning only in relation to other signs. For example, the English word “house” has meaning only inasmuch as we contrast it with apartment, cabin, shanty, or mansion to identify various housing structures.

Saussure made an additional distinction about the nature of language that draws from his notion of signifiers and signified. Each language system organizes the signs it employs in two particular ways. Saussure conceived of this as two intersecting axes. The horizontal axis represents a *syntagmatic* organization of signs, in which different signs are linked together into utterances. The vertical axis represents a *paradigmatic* organization of signs, which represents different categories of signs (e.g., things, actions, descriptions) that are more or less constrained by the structure of each language system.

In the United States, the structuralist tradition stems in large part from the field of anthropology. Howatt describes the insights into linguistic study offered by Franz Boas in his *Handbook of American Indian Linguistics*. The first of these, the phoneme principle, establishes that each language has a limited and distinct set of sounds from which to construct utterances. The primary job of linguistics, then, is to describe those sounds as accurately as possible, and from there derive any generalizations about the language. Additionally, Boas further argued that all languages are distinct; that each language must be understood on its own terms, not by projecting a model of one language onto another; and that the basic unit of linguistic study should be the spoken sentence.

Another anthropologist, Edward Sapir, built on Boas’s ideas and formally introduced the concept of specific patterns, or structures, in language in his 1921 work, *Language*. Sapir took a holistic approach to understanding culture, language, and social life as an integrated whole. He is perhaps best known for his notion, developed together with his student and colleague, Benjamin Whorf, of the relationship between the constraints of language systems and cognition, known as the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis*. Howatt defines the extreme version of this hypothesis, which argues that humans are limited by the structure of their language system as they conceive of, or understand, the world around them. Although such a deterministic view of language and cognition has long been debated, weaker versions of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis support the notion that different languages capture

different worldviews, making each human language distinct and intrinsically valuable.

Generativism

Generativism, the second major tradition in linguistics, is most closely associated with the work of Noam Chomsky, although his work in transformational-generative grammar is only one trajectory of generativist scholarship. Chomsky’s work represents a break with structuralists’ focus on patterns. For structuralists, the aim of linguistic study was to describe spoken language as accurately as possible, to allow for inductive generalizations about patterns in a given language system. For Chomsky and his notion of transformational grammar, the focus of study was on identifying a series of rules underlying the construction of phrases and sentences. He made a distinction between the *surface structure* of word order, that is, how an actual sentence was ordered, and the *deep structure* that governed its construction. The example he began with was active and passive sentences. Although at the surface level, each type of sentence appears to be different, an underlying grammar is the same in determining how each sentence will be structured.

Whereas Chomsky’s original work focused on word order, a central concern of his scholarship has been to explain how humans acquire language at all. He has posited a series of controversial theories to explain this universal characteristic of humans. Chomsky has argued that humans are genetically endowed with the ability to acquire language. The acquisition process is directed by a *language acquisition device*, a specific area in the brain that enables children to induce and acquire the rules of the particular language system in which they are immersed. Chomsky adds to this the notion of *Universal Grammar*, which acts as a set of parameters for language that all humans are endowed with genetically. Within the parameters set by Universal Grammar, each language system develops its own settings that children acquire naturally.

Stemming from this concept of Universal Grammar is a distinction made by Chomsky that relates in certain ways to Saussure’s differentiation of *langue* and *parole*. Chomsky distinguishes between linguistic competence (i.e., tacit knowledge) of a given language system based in Universal Grammar, and linguistic performance (i.e., how we demonstrate that competence in social communication). Although Saussure’s notion of *langue* is rooted in the language system

unique to a particular linguistic community, competence for Chomsky is rooted in the genetic ability for humans to acquire language. This definition of competence and its focus on cognition has been criticized for relying too much on idealized native speakers and listeners of a given language and their linguistic competence, while disregarding actual speech in real-world social contexts.

Functionalism

The third major tradition in linguistic study, *functionalism*, concerns itself precisely with real-world language use. This perspective on language study focuses on the social functions of language as a system of signs that humans develop to meet complex social, cultural, and communicative needs. The form that a given language takes still matters, but the study of the relationships between various forms (i.e., their function) is particularly important.

Michael Halliday's contributions to functionalist linguistics have been enormous. His conception of language as a social semiotic understands language as a system of signs that humans create to act upon the environment and to interact with one another. He outlined various *metafunctions* of language that allow humans to do this. According to this researcher and theorist, *ideational functions* of language allow individuals to interact with their environment, to understand it, and act upon it. *Interpersonal functions* of language allow groups of individuals to interact with one another in specific social contexts. The central aim of linguistic study should be, then, to engage in systematic analysis of why people make the choices they do within the framework of specific linguistic systems, and the metafunctions at play within them.

Connections to the Study of Bilingualism

In addition to the three theoretical traditions of linguistics, the United States has a rich history of interdisciplinary approaches to language study. It is impossible to name and summarize each approach here, but among the most important is *applied linguistics*. As the name suggests, applied linguistics aims to link theoretical linguistic study with practical questions about language, especially second- and foreign-language learning, language pedagogy, translation studies, language policy and planning, and other educational fields.

Sociolinguistics focuses on the interaction between a language variety and the structure and functioning of the society in which it is located. Finally, *psycholinguistics* concentrates on the impact of specific psychological processes, such as attention and memory, on linguistic behavior. In each case, these fields emerged in the 1960s and have grown, along with many others, to become major traditions of linguistic inquiry in their own right.

Each of the various interdisciplinary approaches has produced important scholarship on the nature of bilingualism. Many foundational concepts in bilingualism and how children acquire second languages have derived from the intersection of psychology and language study. An early example is the work of William Lambert and his distinction between *additive* and *subtractive bilingualism*. Yet another major theoretical insight on the connection between cognition and language acquisition is James Cummins's *Thresholds Theory*. Neither this theory, nor further theoretical developments that grow out of it (e.g., Cummins's distinction between social and academic language) has gone without controversy (see critique by Jeff MacSwan and Kellie Rolstad and by Terrence Wiley). Nevertheless, they remain foundational notions in the development of scholarship on bilingualism and language acquisition.

Stephen Krashen's contributions to the field of bilingualism have also been invaluable, both at the theoretical and advocacy levels. His conception of second-language acquisition is composed of five distinct but related hypotheses. The acquisition-learning hypothesis distinguishes the natural acquisition process, which occurs subconsciously as second-language learners engage in meaningful interaction in the target language, from the conscious knowledge about the second language that results from explicit instruction. His monitor hypothesis speculates about the relationship between acquisition and learning; namely, that learned knowledge about the second language acts as a monitor that edits the utterances produced by acquired knowledge. Krashen's natural order hypothesis posits that elements of the second language are acquired in a predictable order. However, the order of acquisition is language specific and not tied to the language learner's age, first language, or amount of instruction. His input hypothesis focuses on acquisition, rather than learning, of the second language and argues that input in the target language must be comprehensible, that is, at a degree of difficulty

just above what the learner already can understand, for the language to be acquired. Finally, Krashen developed the affective filter hypothesis to account for the role of emotional, motivational, and other related factors in the second-language acquisition process.

The field of sociolinguistics has produced a fundamentally different approach to understanding bilingualism and how people acquire additional languages. Most prominent in this tradition of scholarship is Joshua Fishman. His early work on multilingualism challenged psychological approaches to the study of bilingualism that investigated language learning only at the level of the individual, leading to the idealized notion of the “balanced bilingual.” For Fishman, multilingualism is a social phenomenon that reflects social patterns of rights, obligations, and interactions. His work is driven by what he calls “partisanship” in supporting linguistic minorities and trying to understand language use from their insider perspective. This commitment has led to several decades of groundbreaking scholarship on questions of bilingualism, including the following: refinement of the notions of domain, and diglossia as a way to understand language use within a given community; exhaustive study of language shift among linguistic minorities in the United States; a theory of reversing language shift, including the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale as a tool for identifying various stages of language shift or language maintenance; and compelling theories of the relationship between language use and ethnic consciousness.

Major Themes

Despite the great diversity in linguistic inquiry, two major themes have dominated the debates about the nature of language and the most appropriate way to study it. On the one hand is the basic distinction between language systems and language-in-use. This distinction surfaces in various ways, be it Saussure’s *langue/parole*, Chomsky’s *competence/performance*, or the form and function divide in functionalism. Although there are important differences among these traditions, each represents theoretical distinctions that have important consequences for the methodology of linguistic study and for the applications that flow from the knowledge thus acquired. On the other hand are questions about the diversity versus the universality of language. From the descriptivist traditions that recognize the uniqueness of each language, to strong versions of the Sapir-Whorf

hypothesis that state we can only understand the world inasmuch as we have linguistic categories with which to do so, a long tradition exists in linguistics of attempting to understand each language as a unique system. Still, there has also been the recognition that language—a system of sounds and signs that humans employ in creative ways to interact—is a defining characteristic of our species. The recognition of this universality led to the study of the principles at the start of this entry, as well as to notions of genetic endowments and universal systems of grammar that govern language-in-use.

Donald Jeffrey Bale

See also BICS/CALP Theory; First-Language Acquisition; Language Acquisition Device; Language and Thought; Language Defined; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1975). *The logical structure of linguistic theory*. New York: Plenum.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The minimalist program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Crystal, D. (1985). *Linguistics* (2nd ed.). Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 49, 221–251.
- Cummins, J. (1980). The cross-linguistic dimensions of language proficiency: Implications for bilingual education and the optimal age issue. *TESOL Quarterly*, 14(3), 175–187.
- Cummins, J. A. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In C. Leyba (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework*. Sacramento: California State Department of Education.
- Fasold, R. E., & Connor-Linton, J. (Eds.). (2006). *An introduction to language and linguistics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift*. Clevedon, U.K. Multilingual Matters.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar* (2nd ed.). London: Edward Arnold.
- Howatt, T. (2002). Introduction. In K. Malmkjær (Ed.), *Linguistics encyclopedia* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

- Krashen, S. (1981). *Second language acquisition and second language learning*. New York: Pergamon.
- Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon.
- Lambert, W. E. (1975). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In A. Wolfgang (Ed.), *Education of immigrant children*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- MacSwan, J., & Rolstad, K. (2003). Linguistic diversity, schooling and social class: Rethinking our conception of language proficiency in language minority education. In C. B. Paulston & G. R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Sapir, E. (1939/1921). *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Saussure, F. de. (1959). *Course in general linguistics*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Wiley, T. G. (1996). *Literacy and language diversity in the United States*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.

LITERACY AND BILITERACY

Among both lay people and experts, everyone seems to agree that literacy is important. Nevertheless, there has been little consensus regarding what it means to be literate or regarding what all the purported benefits of literacy are to both individuals and to the larger society. Ever since the 1950s in the United States, sensationalist headlines have drawn national attention to an alleged literacy crisis. Implicit within the captions is an assumption that literacy equates to literacy in English. Literacy in other languages is generally ignored. Even a 2006 high-profile report by Diane August and Timothy Shanahan on developing literacy among second-language learners focuses on English literacy almost exclusively. Perhaps because of negative language politics, knowledgeable professionals tend to ignore the fact that bilingual learners are well positioned to acquire some level of literacy in English and another language—that is, to become biliterate. This entry discusses beliefs about literacy, defines *literacy*, compares bilingualism and literacy, and discusses approaches to literacy and limitations of assessments of literacy.

Beliefs About Literacy

Most discussions about the importance of literacy in society tend to reflect several basic metaphors or

beliefs about literacy. Sylvia Scribner identified these as literacy as adaptation, literacy as power, and literacy as a state of grace. Literacy as adaptation sees literacy as essential for social and economic functioning. Certainly literacy is necessary for access to most jobs and for participation in society, so this view has been influential in framing most popular discussions about literacy. Literacy has also been portrayed as power or as a transformative means to empowerment. This position was most notably popularized by Paulo Freire's influential *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. This work emphasized the importance of using literacy for breaking cultures of silence among those not literate. English literacy has been seen as necessary in the United States, but several adult education specialists, drawing on Freire, have argued that native-language literacy provides the most direct and efficient means for empowering many adult language minority immigrants who have previously lacked opportunities for formal education. Surely, the issue of promoting literacy does not need to be framed as English literacy versus native-language literacy—as some pundits would try to have us believe—because the latter can also facilitate the acquisition of the former.

According to Scribner, the most popular metaphor has been to see literacy as a state of grace, wherein literacy is positioned as a kind of salvation in which literate people are seen to have special virtues; hence, the traditional notion of the literati.

Defining Literacy

Regardless of what beliefs people have about literacy, unless literacy is clearly defined, it cannot be measured and assessed. There is little consensus regarding what it means to be literate; however, the ability to interpret or produce meaning using written text is common to most definitions. One of the reasons literacy has been difficult to define is that expectations regarding what it means to be literate do not remain stable over time. Throughout much of history, given the demands of time and effort needed to produce or gather food, literacy was only accessible to elites who had the leisure time to acquire it. As a result, literacy came to be a powerful tool for the control of specialized knowledge, whether it was in the ability to recite or decipher sacred texts or interpret laws. In many traditions, literacy has involved the ability to read and or write in classical scripts that are not commonly spoken, or that may correspond to common vernaculars.

In these cases, literacy has often involved some degree of bilingualism.

In the United States, it has been common to focus on literacy as discrete individual skills that can be tested. Many scholars, such as Shirley Heath and Brian Street, focus on literacy as socially constructed practices involving print. From this perspective, literacy practices are embedded within social contexts and involve shared knowledge within social networks. Specialized knowledge can be accessed within a network in which all members have equal knowledge or skills, as long as one knows who has the knowledge and ability to access that knowledge.

As Terrence Wiley explained, despite the lack of consensus, the following list tends to be representative of some of the influential definitions of literacy:

Minimal literacy refers to the ability to read or write at any level. Minimal reading ability became one of the requirements for entry into the United States during the World War I era when immigrants were required to read a short passage from the Bible—whether or not they were Christian—in their native language. Interestingly, at that time, for purposes of immigration, literacy in languages other than English was recognized. Subsequently, this requirement has been replaced by an English-only literacy requirement.

Conventional literacy refers to the ability to read, write, and comprehend familiar texts. In many language-minority communities in the United States, familiar texts would include those in their native languages rather than English.

Basic literacy refers to the attainment of literacy that allows for ongoing, self-sustained development. A major debate in the United States has centered on whether language minority children and adults, who have not yet acquired literacy in their native languages, should receive instruction in English or their native languages first. Many bilingual theorists and researchers, Virginia Collier and Wayne Thomas, for example, stress the importance of the latter, even though educational policies have imposed the former in some states.

Functional literacy refers to the ability to use print to achieve personal goals and the demands of society, while effectively being employed and functioning as a consumer, voter, and everyday problem solver. Functional literacy has preoccupied much of the national debate about literacy in the United States. Functional literacy presumes basic literacy and the ability to read, write, and comprehend familiar text, but it extends the definition to include the ability to use reading and

writing to fulfill an economic or social purpose. Although English literacy is often assumed to be necessary to function successfully in this country, many families are able to negotiate the literacy demands of their environments in their native languages to meet their basic needs. They are able to do this without always being literate in English because literacy involves more than just their individual knowledge. It also involves the ability to access a social network, in which others have knowledge that they share within this network.

Restricted literacy refers to literacy activities that are only available to a minority of people without the aid of state-supported school literacy. There have been some language communities where a script has been developed and informally taught outside state and federal policy. Scribner and Michael Cole conducted research with the Vai people in West Africa, who developed a script for their own social and commercial purposes. Restricted literacies tend to be informally taught based on local, practical needs. They do not necessarily compete with dominant societal language of literacy taught through state-supported public schools; nevertheless, they can offer rich possibilities for enhancing communication within local communities.

Vernacular literacies are those that are generated through popular and local practices. They often challenge or conflict with the conventions of standardized or dominant modes of literacy. Vernacular literacies such as those that have developed around rap and hip-hop cultures blur the distinction between oral and literate communication because oral styles may also be represented in writing. These literacies may also involve the use of nonstandard varieties of language.

Elite literacy refers to knowledge and skills certified by academic credentials acquired in school. Degrees, diplomas, and other forms of literacy certification are taken as evidence of mastery without their holders having to continue demonstrating the literacy skills that were needed to attain them. Thus, these skills become markers of literacy status. Although an elite education often includes instruction in languages other than English, reading and writing knowledge of a language other than English does not necessarily count unless one has acquired it through formal education.

Multiliteracies refer to knowledge and skills specifically related to particular types of literacy skills related to, for example, so-called cultural literacy, computer literacy, mathematical literacy or numeracy, or critical literacy. During the 1990s, the National

Adult Literacy Survey (NALS) prepared by Irwin Kirsch, Ann Jungeblut, Lynn Jenkins, and Andrew Kolstad attempted to assess three domains of literacy: document, prose, and quantitative. These were generally conceived as subsets of functional literacy, but only in English.

One common element of these definitions, as applied in the United States, is that they can—but frequently do not—reference literacy in languages other than English because of the ideological dominance of the English language.

Bilingualism Versus Biliteracy

Literacy is often assumed to correspond with spoken languages as speech written down. There are theoretical and technical problems with this view, but the notion persists. From a school perspective, language is typically conceived as four skills: speaking, listening, reading, and writing. The notion of four skills, therefore, presumes literacy. There are, however, approximately 6,000 to 7,000 spoken languages in the world, many of which do have writing systems or systems that are commonly used. As a result, there are fewer languages of literacy than spoken languages, and fewer yet that are languages of literacy used in formal schooling. Thus, bilingualism and multilingualism are not necessarily associated with literacy.

The widespread school's eye view that language involves four skills also leads to the assumption that there can be so-called balanced bilinguals, or people with equal abilities in speaking, listening, reading, and writing of two languages. Increasingly, however, the idea that there can be fully balanced bilinguals has been criticized. Guadalupe Valdés refers to them as “mythological” bilinguals, because, although it is possible in theory, it is not frequent that people obtain the exact same access to both languages in identical contexts or that they use language for the same functions and persons they interact with. Thus, finding fully balanced biliterates is equally unlikely. Nevertheless, many people do achieve a high degree of biliteracy when provided with the opportunity.

In highly multilingual countries such as India, children who have access to schooling are expected to receive education in the national language, Hindi, as well as in English and in the dominant language of their local state. These options may, or may not, however, correspond to the language(s) of their family and community. In the United States, immigrant language

minority students have no inherent right to native language-instruction, and only a small number have access to it. Thus, a potential resource for developing some degree of biliteracy through schooling is underused.

Approaches to Estimating Literacy

Regardless of whether we are interested in English literacy, biliteracy, or native-language literacy in languages other than English, literacy is measured or estimated in only three major ways. These involve direct assessments, literacy surrogates or equivalencies, or self-reports. Direct assessments of literacy involve tests or demonstrations of literacy. If we attempt to determine national literacy rates, direct measures are not feasible for the entire population. Thus, there have been attempts to gather representative samples of the adult population. To date, most attempts at national assessment have been limited to English literacy. Such was the focus of the National Adult Literacy Survey and subsequent surveys that have sought to assess three major types of literacy skills and knowledge, related to texts involving prose, documents, or mathematical computation.

Surrogate indicators of literacy are sometimes used to provide crude measures of literacy when direct measures are not feasible. The most common are based on years of schooling. Six or 8 years of schooling, for example, have been taken as equivalent to basic or functional literacy. Most surveys, such as the U.S. Census, rely on self-reported information; thus, surrogate and self-reported indicators may work in tandem. Direct measures are certainly preferable to either, but even these are subject to scrutiny regarding their authenticity. Testing one's skills in quantitative literacy related to a problem about shopping is not as authentic as actually studying how people manage their money in actual shopping. Despite their limitations, surrogate and self-reported measures of literacy abilities, nevertheless, can provide some useful information, particularly about literacy in languages other than English.

Limitations of Assessments That Focus Only on English

For the past several decades, the United States has seen a major increase in language diversity, largely through immigration; according to Ofelia García, the United States now has the fifth largest Spanish-speaking population in the world. By ignoring literacy in

Spanish and other languages, the literacy picture of the United States is both incomplete and distorted. Failure to account for literacy in languages other than English increases the perception of a “literacy crisis” and stigmatizes those people who are literate in other languages as if they were “illiterate.”

A related problem involves confusing literacy with spoken language abilities. National demographic surveys have tended to place more emphasis on English-speaking ability than on English literacy. Similarly, adult education programs for language minority populations often emphasize the acquisition of oral English or sustained English literacy development.

Other problems have related to biases in sampling. Reynaldo Macías notes that significant problems were found in the 1990 U.S. Census data of specific groups, whose reported figures were lower than what they were supposed to be. Thus, reported data tend to be more accurate in characterizations of the general population than of linguistic minorities. Macías stresses that because most of the surveys had been designed for the assessment of English literacy, the samples might

have excluded those who had limited or no proficiency in English. Macías further cautions that the representation of language diversity in the census samples does not necessarily include those subjects who had a limited ability in the English language from selection or analysis. A final area of concern in national literacy profiles relates to ambiguity in linguistic, ethnic, and racial identification. Macías also warns that there has been extensive indistinctness in how labels are used in studies of literacy wherein ethnic identifiers often are treated as surrogates for language background.

Regardless of how literacy is defined, if literacy in languages other than English is excluded, the perception of a literacy crisis will be inflated. In recent years, there has been a slight improvement in the attempt to gather more information on literacy in languages other than English. Although the 1993 National Adult Literacy Survey, for example, only attempted to directly assess, or test, literacy abilities in English, the survey did include some self-reported data on literacy in other languages. If we focus on literacy among the U.S. Hispanic population, the importance of including a focus on native-language literacy and bilinguality becomes apparent. Based

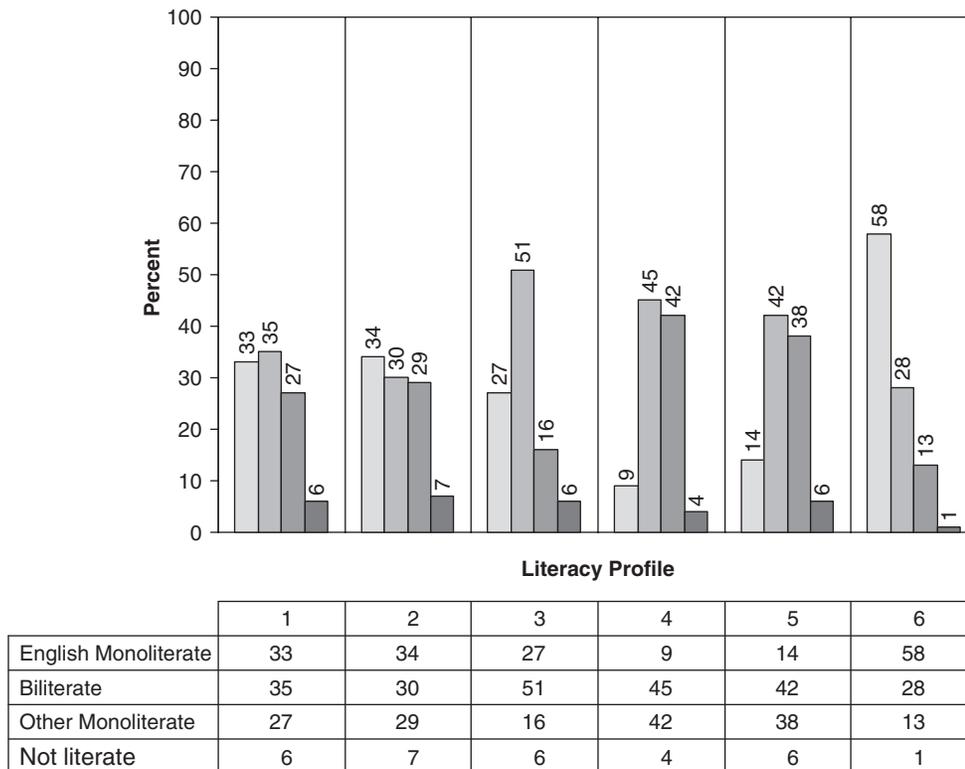


Figure 1 U.S. Hispanic Literacy Profile

Source: Adapted from Greenberg et al. (2001), Table 2.4, p. 32.

on self-reported literacy data, 94% of all adult Hispanics were literate. If literacy and Spanish and other languages were excluded, however, only 68% of the sample would have been considered literate. When Latino subgroups such as Cuban Americans are considered (see Figure 1), only 54% would have been considered literate if Spanish and other languages had been excluded, compared with an overall rate of 96% when they are included. There is also a substantial degree of biliteracy among all Hispanics (35%) and particularly among Puerto Rican Americans (51%).

These data indicate that a focus on only English literacy inflates the perception of the purported “literacy crisis.” Designing national literacy assessments that incorporate estimates of English literacy and literacy in languages other than English will provide a more accurate picture of literacy in the United States. There is equally a need to assess the kinds of literacy needs and interests of the populations being surveyed. This requires more ethnographic study of literacy practices among various linguistic communities.

Terrence G. Wiley

Editor’s Note: Portions of this entry are based on the author’s more detailed treatment of the subject in Wiley (2005).

See also Continua of Biliteracy; Literacy Instruction, First and Second Language

Further Readings

- August, D., & Shanahan, T. (Eds.) (2006). *Developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the national literacy panel on language-minority children and youth*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Collier, V. P., & Thomas, W. P. (1998). *Language minority student achievement and program effectiveness: Research summary of ongoing study*. Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press.
- García, O. (2005). Positioning heritage languages in the United States. *Modern Language Journal*, 89, 601–605.
- Greenberg, E., Macías, R. F., Rhodes, D., & Chan, T. (2001). *English literacy and language minorities in the United States*. Washington, DC: Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education.
- Heath, S. B. (1993). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirsch, I. S., Jungeblut, A., Jenkins, L., & Kolstad, A. (1993). *Adult literacy in America: A first look at the results of the National Adult Literacy Survey*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement.
- Macías, R. F. (1994). Inheriting sins while seeking absolution: Language diversity and national statistical data sets. In D. Spener (Ed.), *Adult biliteracy in the United States* (pp. 15–45). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Scribner, S. (1988). Literacy in three metaphors. In E. R. Kintgen, B. M. Kroll, & M. Rose (Eds.), *Perspectives on literacy* (pp. 71–81). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Scribner, S., & Cole, M. (1981). *The psychology of literacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Street, B. (1984). *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Valdés, G. (2001). Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities. In J. K. Peyton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 37–80). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Wiley, T. G. (2005). *Literacy and language diversity in the United States* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.

LITERACY INSTRUCTION, FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE

Imagine you have a 5-year-old daughter going off to her first day of kindergarten in a U.S. public school. Your child is fluent in your family’s mother tongue (which, let’s imagine, is not English). Perhaps you have read children’s books to her every night before bed. Perhaps she can recognize some words in environmental print or, depending on the richness of her literacy environment, can read and write some letters or words in her mother tongue. Now, however, on her first day of school, her teacher is speaking to her in a language she does not understand. Your child is not alone. Millions of primary-age children enter U.S. classrooms fluent in a language other than English. If you can imagine this child’s anxiety on her first day in school, in a classroom in which she does not understand anything her teacher says, consider her situation in the next few weeks, as she begins to receive reading instruction in a language she does not speak or comprehend.

On the basis of this scenario, you may recognize intuitively how little sense it makes to teach children how to read in a second language before they can read in their mother tongue. Research is clear on this matter: It is better to help children become literate in their mother tongue before attempting to foster literacy in a second or additional language, a language that they are still acquiring. It is not possible (in some states not even legal), however, to provide literacy instruction to children in their mother tongue (other than English) first in many U.S. classrooms. Our classrooms are growing in diversity such that it is possible to have multiple languages represented in a single classroom. It is not likely that classroom teachers will be literate in all of the languages in their classroom to the extent that they can facilitate literacy in each student's native language. Further, some states, such as California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, have passed legislation that severely limits the accessibility of bilingual classrooms, even in schools that have somewhat homogeneous student populations (e.g., schools with large numbers of Latino students). Therefore, what is theoretically best is not always practically feasible in the classroom. However, classroom teachers can support native-language literacy in classrooms in many ways, even when they are not literate in their students' native languages. This entry describes native-language-literacy research and its effects in and beyond the classroom.

Research on Native-Language Literacy

Research by Steve Krashen, Jim Cummins, Jeff McQuillan, and others shows that children who first learn to read in their native language become literate in a target language faster than if they are expected to learn to read in a second language. Further, several studies (see work by Stephen Krashen) have shown a correlation of ability level in native-language literacy compared with target-language literacy. In other words, the higher the reading ability level in English was, the higher it was in the native language.

Native-language literacy helps support target-language literacy for several reasons. One is that it is easier to learn to read in a language one already speaks. Another is that once someone learns to read in one language, their reading skills may transfer to other languages (especially when those languages share alphabetic similarities, such as Spanish and English).

A slightly more technical look at the reasoning behind supporting native-language literacy first involves the process of reading itself. Reading requires the use of multiple cueing systems so the reader can construct meaning from a text. Readers use schemas (as explained by Richard Anderson, Rand Spiro, and M. C. Anderson), which are existing knowledge structures within each reader, to make meaning as they read. Schemas are both experiential and linguistic. Thus, it is easier for readers to make predictions based on schemas if they have experiences and language in common with the text. The three basic cueing systems are syntactic, semantic, and graphophonic, as Kenneth Goodman explains. *Syntactic cues* refer to grammar and language structure, such as word order. *Semantic cues* are the context cues a reader uses to predict meaning. *Graphophonic cues* are letter-sound correspondences the reader uses to predict specific words. Proficient readers use all three cues simultaneously.

It is easier for readers to use all three cueing systems in a language they already speak. Native speakers of most languages have already acquired the sounds and structures of the language that they need to predict meaning as they read. Take, for example, the following sentence:

I have a *pink* pig.

Native speakers of English already have syntactic knowledge that would allow them to predict the word *pink* because their experience with English would inform them that in English, adjectives generally precede the nouns they modify. Further, these readers would likely have schemas for the word *pink*. It would be easier for native speakers of English to make syntactic and semantic predictions about this sentence because of the linguistic and experiential knowledge that they have in English. The same is true for any native speaker of any language. Once readers have learned how to use schemas, language cues, and reading strategies to construct meaning from text in their native language, they can use the same skills to construct meaning from texts in their second language. Even if the native language is nonalphabetic, or runs from right to left, such as Mandarin (which is character-based) or Farsi, schemas, context, reading strategies, and language cues (other than graphophonic cues, in the case of character-based languages) are involved in constructing meaning from text, and these skills

transfer such that readers can draw from them, as they construct meaning from text in their second language.

Bringing this discussion back to the child in our example, it will be much easier for her to learn to read in the language in which she has already established schemas, including experiences and language structures that will allow her to use prediction skills to construct meaning from text. Her affective experiences will also be much more positive, which will contribute to her sense of confidence as a reader and writer. Confidence is a key component of success in literacy.

Native-Language Literacy in the Classroom

Teachers can support native-language literacy in the classroom in many ways, even if they do not speak the language. Researchers (see for example the work by McQuillan) cite the importance of the availability of native-language materials in the classroom. High-quality children's literature, including predictable books, picture books, or big books, that are in the native language of students are vital to supporting native-language and target-language literacy. Bilingual books as well as books in English that reflect the schemas of students in our classrooms should also be a part of our classroom libraries. Such materials can be found in public libraries, online book ordering companies, and local bookstores, as well as from specialty publishers.

In addition, community members are great resources for native-language literature, including children's books, poetry, and stories passed down by oral tradition. Parents and community members can be invited into the classroom to provide support in workshop settings in which students engage in reading aloud, storytelling, shared readings, and the like.

Children can be allowed to read and write in their native language. Sociopsycholinguistic theories maintain that children learn to read by reading and they learn to write by writing, as explained by Kenneth and Yetta Goodman. Children can be encouraged and supported by well-trained teachers to engage in meaningful literacy experiences in their native language. For example, children can write in their native language—even as emerging writers use scribble writing, pre-phonemic writing, or invented spellings in English, they can do the same in the native language. Journal writing activities, shared writing (in which the teacher and students write a common text, discussing writing decisions explicitly), and write-aloud activities (in

which the teacher or a speaker of the native language from the community think aloud as they are demonstrating writing and the decision making that goes into it), and process writing (taking writing through the process of rough draft, revision, editing, and publishing/sharing) can all use the students' native languages.

The benefits of native-language literacy for target-language literacy have been well documented by scientific research, including that cited previously. Thus, it behooves teachers to find as many means as possible to support native-language literacy. This will require resourcefulness, creativity, and the support of beyond-school communities, but it is worthwhile. Imagine the best-case scenario: Our child walking into a classroom in which a welcoming adult speaks her language—someone who can tell her where to hang her coat, where to find the restroom, where to get a drink of water; someone who, beyond those basic needs, can help her find her way to the world of literacy. Imagine our child finding stories and books that reflect who she is culturally and linguistically. These needs are fundamental, and every child has the right to have them met in the classroom, one way or another.

Native-Language Literacy Beyond the Classroom

Native-language literacy is not only a means to an end, it is also an end in itself. As our growing students expand their knowledge, they also explore their sense of identity. The goal, in short, is biliteracy. Thus empowered, students can continue to read in their native language, to write in their native language, and to become bilingual, biliterate, unique individuals who have access to multiple worlds of literature.

Cathy A. Coulter

See also Acculturation; Affective Filter; Biculturalism; Bilingualism Stages; Native American Languages, Legal Support for; Phonics in Bilingual Education; Threshold Hypothesis; Whole Language

Further Readings

- Anderson, R. C., Spiro, R. J., & Anderson, M. C. (1977). *Schemata as scaffolding for the representation of meaning in connected discourse*. (Tech. Rep. no. 24.) Urbana, IL: Center for the Study of Reading (ERIC): (ED 136–236).
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.

- Freeman, Y., & Freeman, D. (1997). *Teaching reading and writing in Spanish in the Bilingual Classroom*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- García, G. G. (Ed.). (2005). *English learners: Reaching the highest level of English literacy*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Goodman, K. S. (1965). A linguistic study of cues and miscues in reading. *Elementary English*, 42, 639–643.
- Goodman, K. S., & Goodman, Y. M. (1979). Learning to read is natural. In L. B. Resnic & P. A. Weaver (Eds.), *Theory and practice of early reading* (Vol. 1, pp. 137–154). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Krashen, S. (2002). Does transition really happen? Some case histories. *The multilingual educator*, 3(1), 50–54.
- Krashen, S. (2005). Three roles for reading for minority-language children. In G. G. Garcia (Ed.), *English learners: Reaching the highest level of English literacy* (pp. 55–70). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Merrill Prentice Hall.
- McQuillan, J. (1998). *The literacy crisis: False claims, real solutions*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

LYONS, JAMES J. (1947–)

James John Lyons was a respected senior adviser and specialist on civil rights for a decade before becoming the executive director and legislative counsel of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE). Jim, as he is known to countless bilingual educators across the country, held that highly visible position for 9 years before stepping down in 1998. An attorney father who was committed to helping those in social disfavor and psychologist Kenneth B. Clark, who played a central role in the desegregation of American schools, were major influences in shaping Lyons's personal and professional life. During his tenure at NABE, Lyons gained the support and respect of a broad-based constituency nationwide that admired his tireless championing of bilingual education, his gifts as an orator, and his Capitol Hill savvy, as he led NABE through what were arguably its greatest years as an organization.



Lyons was born and raised in Omaha, Nebraska. While in high school, he earned statewide recognition

for his debating skills. His abilities as a debater earned him a 4-year scholarship to George Washington University (GWU), where he received a BA degree in American thought and civilization in 1969. While attending law school at GWU, he was hired by Clark and his wife Mamie Phipps Clark as a staff member with the Washington, D.C., Office of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center. The Clarks had gained national prominence for their testimony as expert witnesses in *Briggs v. Elliott*, a case that was later merged into *Brown v. Board of Education*, which officially overturned racial segregation in public education. Lyons and Dr. Clark remained friends and colleagues until Clark's death in 2005. Clark, a supporter of bilingual education for all children, had urged Lyons to apply discipline, research, and reason to help society overcome inequality and discrimination. That ideology guided Lyons through the early stages of a newly found passion: bilingual education.

In 1980, Lyons was appointed senior adviser to the assistant secretary for legislation within the newly created U.S. Department of Education. In August of that year, President Jimmy Carter's administration published a Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (NPRM) to clarify the legal responsibilities of school districts serving limited-English-proficient students. The NPRM, although much needed and long overdue, ignited a firestorm of political controversy hotter than even previous conflagrations over "forced busing." As the Carter administration's chief firefighter on Capitol Hill on this issue, Lyons was able to contain the damage. Following the election of Ronald Reagan in November, Lyons was asked by Reagan's new education secretary, Terrel Bell, to stay on to help develop a new *Lau* enforcement program that would protect the rights of language minority students but would not create unnecessary furor. Conservatives within and outside the Reagan administration pushed for a total renunciation of *Lau v. Nichols*; Lyons countered their ideological arguments with cogent legal analysis, and in the end, Secretary Bell promulgated the results-oriented set of *Lau* enforcement guidelines Lyons had developed. Having accomplished the vital objective, Lyons resigned his position in the department and turned his full attention to bilingual education.

After leaving the U.S. Department of Education, Lyons assumed the position of legislative counsel for NABE. His strategy was to increase awareness and knowledge about the value of bilingual education for all students. He accomplished this by building

coalitions with respected organizations that represented American Indian, Latino, and Asian communities. In 1983, congressional representatives Baltasar Corrada (D-PR) and Dale Kildee (D-MI) asked Lyons to rewrite legislation revamping Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Lyons worked closely with Lori Orum of the National Council of La Raza, and they rewrote the existing law and accomplished a significant strengthening of the act. As Lyons later noted, “The legislation recast bilingual education as a vital language enrichment program rather than a remedial teaching program.” In 1984, President Reagan signed that bill into law.

The executive board of NABE asked Lyons in 1989 to become both the executive director and legislative counsel. The challenges he faced were considerable; NABE was in organizational disarray. Working closely with various executive boards, presidents, and staff, he led the effort to transform NABE into a viable and visible organization. As Nancy Zelasko, founding director of the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and former deputy director of NABE, asserted, Lyons was instrumental in the transformation of the organization regarding its national recognition, stability, and influence.

Lyons resigned from NABE in 1998. Even though he is no longer directly involved with NABE, he is still considered by many in the field as one of the most

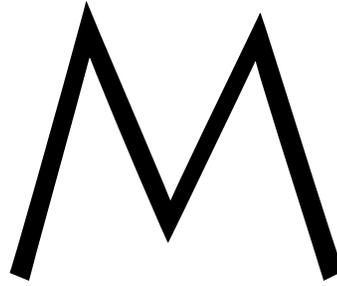
important and influential leaders in the progression of bilingual education in the United States. Bilingual education remains a part of Lyons’s life and, as he recently commented, “If the current generation of our nation’s leaders had received quality bilingual bicultural education, our society would be better and stronger, and our reputation in the world community would be better and safer.”

Paul E. Martínez

See also National Association for Bilingual Education; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments; Zelasko, Nancy

Further Readings

- Briggs v. Elliott, 342 U.S. 350 (1952).
 Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
 Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
 Lyons, J. J. (1990). The past and future directions of federal bilingual-education policy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 508, 66–80.
 Medina, L. (2003). Introduction. In L. Medina (Ed.), *At issue: Bilingual education*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press. Retrieved from <http://www.enotes.com/bilingual-education-article/38841>



MAINTENANCE MODEL

See DUAL-LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

MAINTENANCE POLICY DENIED

Essay

Editor's Note: The author of this entry was invited to submit an article reflecting a mix of information and expert opinion. We acknowledge that parts of it could be disputed or given an alternative interpretation. In several instances, we found this approach helpful in more realistically portraying the history and current status of bilingual education in the United States.

Forty years after the federal government began supporting bilingual education in the public schools of the United States, the goal of preserving existing language resources other than English remains unfulfilled in many communities. Because of vagaries of public policy, most programs funded by federal government are aimed at developing only English language skills and ignore the potential for continued development of the languages that children bring with them from home. This entry discusses the impact of this policy ambivalence and why many of these programs are bilingual in name only.

At issue is the degree to which parents and communities have a voice in defining the type of education they prefer for their children or whether a single model of instruction should be mandated whether or

not it satisfies the preferences of the families involved. There are a number of related questions: Should the goals and objectives for bilingual education be the same throughout the country: in the Navajo nation, in the Haitian community of Miami, for Arabic speakers in Michigan, and for Spanish speakers in Houston? To what degree should the public schools seek to accommodate community desires to involve their schools in home language maintenance? In a society that values diversity, should the states have the right to prevent the use of other languages in the public schools even when many parents request it? Should children who speak other languages be denied a chance to continue developing their home language in school even as the same school struggles to teach that same language to students who speak only English? Addressing these issues is important to the continued viability of these programs.

To a great extent, the answers to these questions are rooted in the policy history of bilingual education, in the ways the case has been presented to government agencies and the courts, and in the degree to which legislative enactments reflect the interests of minority communities. This is especially true of immigrant communities that may not participate actively in the governance of the public schools. To date, most programs of bilingual education funded by state education agencies and the U.S. Department of Education have not had significant input from the language minority groups they were meant to serve. There are several reasons for this. First, appeals for bilingual instruction directed at state legislatures, to the U.S. Congress, and to the courts have been based largely on arguments for educational equity. To minimize

political opposition, the program has been promoted as a way to equalize educational opportunity for children with limited English language skills by teaching them English more efficiently. Implicit in this is the belief that all children who speak a language other than English—no matter what the language or how well they speak it—benefit equally well from an instructional program that uses the home language as a bridge for a brief period. This belief has been escalated through litigation. Underlying the push for transitional bilingual education is the concept of a legal entitlement to an education that is as good as that received by native-English speaking children; furthermore, in a jump of logic, that the same instructional treatment will serve all language groups equally well.

How did the original idea of bilingual instruction go astray? When Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, was enacted by Congress in 1968, the legislation limited participation to children whose families were below the poverty level. Other children were not eligible to take part in programs funded by that law. In time, that requirement was lifted but the association between bilingual education and poverty (and the stigma of that association) remained. The reason, of course, was that, in most communities, the clients of bilingual education are usually poor. In the United States and perhaps other countries as well, bilingualism and multilingualism among the poor has been regarded as less valuable for them than it is for the rich, who have more time and resources with which to travel, study languages and the arts, and participate more actively in the political life of their communities. The result is that bilingualism among the poor has tended to be regarded as a liability, but among the affluent, it is regarded as an asset and a birthright.

The type of bilingual education we know today was a creature of its time. It emerged during the administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, an era when redress of inequities and injustices was high on the nation's agenda. In education, the most important programs were remedial-compensatory efforts to make up for the gross exclusions of the past. In court pleadings, the central claim was that schools had been erratic or negligent in teaching English to children whose first language was not English. The most important court decision of this type was rendered in 1974 by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lau v. Nichols*. The pivotal argument in *Lau* was that the public schools have a legal responsibility to ensure

equitable participation by such students in school programs. The Court agreed with this view, stating that if public schools require command of English for graduation, they must find effective ways to teach the language to all children, including those who do not speak it natively. Bilingual education, according to the Court, was one of the ways of reaching that goal, though not the only one. After *Lau*, many bilingual education programs became ESL programs with minimal use of the home language. The goal of continued development of the home language took a back seat in most states. Policy actions by government agencies and legislatures have tended to limit bilingual education to a temporary service, using the home language for a limited time but only as an aid to learning English—hence, the title *transitional bilingual education*.

Although entitlements exist for correcting past educational practices that deny equity, there is no legal entitlement, except in the case of Native Americans, for language minority communities to enlist the public schools in helping to maintain languages other than English or that they have a right to this service because they pay school taxes. A widespread sentiment in U.S. society is that the benefits of diversity do not extend to the promotion of other languages and that the schools have little or nothing to do with that objective. In today's climate, language diversity cannot go far without substantial public support for linguistic diversity in the wider society.

The case of Native American languages and the language situation of more recent immigrants have similarities in the inability of these client groups to make policy changes. Most of the languages of Native American groups in the United States have disappeared entirely or are spoken by relatively small groups of older people. Although efforts to preserve these languages are being made, there is no guarantee that they will prove successful. The powerful hegemony of English in American society works against the rescue of Native American languages. Without purposeful and creative interventions, other languages are in danger of disappearing because native languages have much less utilitarian value compared with English, the language in which most Indian children are now schooled. Furthermore, it is doubtful that schools have the power to keep alive or to restore languages that are not supported strongly in the society at large. In this century, several Native American languages will cease to be viable instruments of communication. They will

become museum languages that exist only in recorded snapshots of a bygone era. While this entry was being prepared, a brief newspaper report noted that the last speaker of an Alaskan native language had died, and with her, the language of her ancestors. There is now nobody left who speaks that language.

The case of immigrant languages is different from that of Native American languages although there are interesting similarities. It takes time for immigrant families to acculturate fully to American society. During that period of becoming American, families often suffer privations and exclusions that prevent the adults from engaging fully in the political life of the communities in which they live. Their children, on the other hand, are busily making friends and learning English under the pressure of schools and peers. Neither group has much time or opportunity to reflect on the future role of their respective native languages. Gradually, the language of parents and grandparents lapses into disuse. By the second generation, according to research, immigrant families switch to English except when communicating with older family members who have less contact with the host society on a continuing basis and learn English more slowly. In many instances, grandparents and grandchildren are no longer able to communicate well with each other because the young members of the family prefer English and older members only speak their ancestral languages.

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why immigrant families have not been more engaged in efforts to preserve their languages of origin through bilingual education. The delay of political empowerment caused by poverty is well known. It is reinforced by the slow process for acquiring citizenship, by the schools, and by politicians who insist that learning English is the most important task for immigrant families. Because of widespread assumptions connected with languages in daily life, the pressure to abandon immigrant languages is ever present. Immigrants are continuously reminded that most foreign languages are neither necessary nor desirable. Their children, busily learning English and the youth culture of their peers, are rarely urged to use the language of the parents.

These factors, combined with the hegemony of English worldwide, further increase the pressures on native and nonnative people alike to abandon their native languages and embrace English as their only tongue. Little wonder that the clients of bilingual education do not engage the political process in efforts to

keep their languages alive through these programs. Add to this the rhetoric of political leaders who fan anti-immigrant sentiment and the reasons for the limited scope of bilingual education become clearer.

Although it was not the original purpose, bilingual education has had the primary function of teaching English, not helping to teach other languages. The United States is one of a few countries in the world where it is preferable to speak only one language and where the advantages of language preservation are not celebrated. Language restrictionist laws in several states reflect the prevalence of this view. In a few communities, efforts to restore heritage and to promote dual-language programs are underway but these efforts are not large scale and have had minimal impact in broadening the scope of bilingual education.

The loss of language resources in American society has negative consequences. James Lyons, former executive director of the National Association for Bilingual Education, is among those who lament the loss of language capacity suffered by the nation through denying American students an opportunity to participate in maintenance and developmental programs of bilingual education. According to Lyons (1990),

An undergraduate student preparing to be a teacher would receive in four years only 600 hours, at five hours per week, of foreign-language instruction. The average graduate of such a teacher-training program lacks the skills to use properly, much less teach, a foreign language to children. Only rarely would he or she possess foreign-language skills suitable for the imitative capacities of young children. Time could be turned to our advantage, however, if we were to conserve, develop, and capitalize on the language skills of the language-minority students in our schools.

These skills, developed through tens of thousands of hours of mother-tongue instruction, offer both a quick fix and a long-term solution to the problem of American monolingualism. The average language minority child entering kindergarten has a higher level of language mastery than the average graduate of the intensive and expensive 47-week Defense Language Institute program.

A broader role for bilingual education is inhibited by two important factors: first, in policies rooted in ethnocentrism and the view that the nation's children only need one language, English. This narrow view is unlikely to change unless native-English-speaking

parents pressure the schools to teach languages to their own children. The lack of political empowerment of language minority communities is the second factor that limits bilingual education and keeps it from reaching its full potential. As with other educational issues, it will require the voice of an enlightened majority to encourage this change. Until that happens, Native American and immigrant languages will continue to fade out. They will inevitably be lost to future generations.

Josué M. González

See also Deficit-Based Education Theory; Home/School Relations; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Becomes Title III, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs

Further Readings

Lyons, J. J. (1990). The past and future directions of federal bilingual-education policy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Vol. 508, pp. 66–80). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

MEASURING LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Assessing students' proficiency in English has been a mainstay of bilingual education programs. It serves as the primary index in distinguishing linguistically and culturally diverse students who are English language learners (ELLs) and qualify for language support from students who are English proficient. Although the notion of what constitutes language proficiency and how we measure it has changed over time, its assessment has remained the bedrock for identification of language minority students eligible for English language assistance and their subsequent redesignation. This entry traces the evolution of the construct of language proficiency and how it has been applied to assessment of ELLs in summative, large-scale, formative, classroom situations.

Defining the Construct

Language proficiency, in the broadest sense, refers to a person's competence or ability to use a language regardless of the circumstances under which it is

acquired. That is, the acquisition process that underlies language proficiency occurs in many different settings and contexts with many different interlocutors, such as family members, teachers, or peers. For students, language processing (through listening and reading) and production (through speaking and writing) occur both inside and outside of school.

Given these circumstances, development of proficiency involves two languages for ELLs. Minimally, these students come to school with oral language proficiency in their native language, and more than likely, continue to be exposed to their first language in their home environment. Depending on their age and prior educational experiences, their oral language development may or may not be complemented by literacy in their native language. Thus, often it is important to ascertain these students' relative language proficiency; that is, their performance in one language in relation to that in another upon their initial entry into school.

Linguists have tended to define language proficiency in one of two ways. The behaviorist school, represented by Charles Fries and Robert Lado in the early 1960s, dissects language into each of its component and subcomponent parts: phonology (the sound system), morphology (the smallest unit of meaning), syntax (grammar or structure), and semantics (meaning at a word, phrase, or discourse level). This approach also sees language proficiency as the accumulation of discrete skills or isolated elements. A communicative approach to language proficiency epitomized by Sandra Savignon in the late 1970s, on the other hand, places emphasis on the message or how language is used in a particular situation rather than on the knowledge of the language per se. Communicative competencies are generally exhibited in real life settings in which natural interaction is encouraged.

James Cummins's work over the past 25 years has influenced how educators envision language proficiency as part of the schooling of linguistically and culturally diverse students. His theoretical framework captures interpersonal communication outside of school, the linguistic demands of school, and underlying cross-lingual proficiencies (the developmental relationships between two languages). In essence, communicative proficiency is conceptualized along two perpendicular continua; one relates the range of contextual support available to access meaning, and the other stipulates the degree of cognitive involvement.

Finally, in recent years, U.S. legislation, in particular the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, has helped

recast the notion of English language proficiency. ELLs' progress and attainment of English language proficiency are directly tied to schooling and accountability. Moreover, mandated English language proficiency standards, aligned to state academic content standards, are expressions of how language proficiency is operationalized along a developmental continuum. English language proficiency has come to encompass social, intercultural, and academic dimensions, with particular emphases on the language demands of school, such as specialized discourse associated with the content of mathematics, science, or social studies.

Documenting Evidence of Language Proficiency

The abbreviated summary of what constitutes language proficiency serves as the backdrop for deciding what to measure, how to measure it, and how to interpret the results. Measuring and reporting language proficiency can be configured in many different ways. The most common means of examining a student's or group of students' language development through assessment include the following:

1. Overall language performance in one language (generally the second language, English)
2. Relative performance in two languages; second language (L2) in relation to first language (L1) language proficiency
3. Oral language (listening and speaking) in relation to literacy (reading and writing) development
4. Strength in comprehension (listening and reading) relative to production (speaking and writing)
5. Performance in individual language domains: listening, speaking, reading, and writing
6. Performance by language domain or combination of domains (oral language, literacy, and comprehension) in reference to language proficiency standards

Since the mid-1970s, language proficiency assessment has played a major role in the education of linguistically and culturally diverse students. The *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court case in 1974, followed by state level litigation, prompted the design and use of large-scale measures. Subsequently, states and school districts have consistently administered one or more

language proficiency instruments for a variety of purposes, including identifying ELLs, monitoring their English language development, determining their attainment of English language proficiency, and even evaluating language education programs.

The measurement of language proficiency, whether in English or in other languages, has reflected the philosophical stance assumed by this early generation of testing. The more behaviorist instruments focused on discrete language skills at the phonological (such as the comparison of minimal pairs), morphological (such as the examination of tense), or syntactic (such as the presence of grammatical strings or patterns) levels. The more communicative instruments involved language use at a discourse level, such as describing a picture or retelling of a story. In either case, these tests tended to measure language proficiency almost exclusively within social contexts.

Since early in the 21st century language proficiency testing has become standards-referenced; that is, English language proficiency standards developed by states or consortia are the anchors for the design of new instrumentation. As English language proficiency standards are to be grounded in state academic content standards, the notion of language proficiency has come to represent the language associated with content that is requisite for success in school. Now, a single English language proficiency measure is selected and used by states within a specified window on an annual basis, for accountability purposes. It is considered high-stakes, as its results affect the status of schools and school districts. Table 1 presents a descriptive comparison between the old and new generation of large-scale language proficiency tests.

Large-scale, summative language proficiency assessment has received much attention at the federal and state levels. However, teachers working with ELLs historically have relied on multiple measures for making instructional decisions and have been able to contextualize results given their students' historical backgrounds and prior educational experiences. Reliable and valid data may also be gathered from standard or common assessment tools used across classrooms, offer diagnostic information on individual students, and provide an overall index of the effectiveness of language education programs.

At the classroom or formative level, performance assessment has played a substantive role in measuring students' language proficiency. That is, ELLs actively engage in hands-on activities, tasks, or projects that are

Table 1 Comparison of Features of Large-Scale English Language Proficiency Tests, Pre- and Post-No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

<i>English Language Proficiency Tests Pre-NCLB</i>	<i>English Language Proficiency Tests Post-NCLB</i>
Norm-referenced on a sample population; not standards-based	Criterion-referenced; anchored in state English language proficiency standards
Multiple purposes: Identification, designation, and redesignation of English language learners	Primary purpose: Accountability for growth and attainment of English language proficiency
Emphasis on social language and everyday interactions	Emphasis on the academic language of school
Generally integrated oral language domains (listening and speaking) coupled with reading and writing	Independent language domains (listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
Different tests designed for each grade-level cluster with no comparability between them	Vertically scaled tests across grade level clusters for comparability of forms
Nonsecure; readily available through publisher	Secure; available through the state that has contracted with a publisher
Low-stakes, with few repercussions from decisions based on results	High-stakes, with potential consequences for students and sanctions for schools and school districts

Source: Adapted from Gottlieb & Kenyon (2005).

connected to their lives and curricular content as part of the instructional assessment cycle. In large part, rubrics, or scoring forms, provide criteria for interpreting work samples and providing feedback to students.

Teachers collect, analyze, and report information about students' listening, speaking, reading, and writing as part of language proficiency assessment. As they focus on state language proficiency standards, bilingual or English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers create language objectives that are complemented with content objectives often determined in collaboration with general education teachers. A variety of classroom-centered techniques are used to measure and document students' language proficiency, whether in one language or in two, on an ongoing basis. As instruction, assessment of ELLs has come to be differentiated according to the students' level of language proficiency.

For assessing oral language, teachers may confer with students on a one-to-one basis or observe them: (a) individually, as they follow oral directions by pointing, sequencing pictures, locating information, drawing figures, or constructing models; (b) with

partners, as they dialogue, engage in two-way tasks, or conduct interviews; (c) in small groups, as they participate in book talks, literature circles, debates, or dramatizations; or (d) present in front of a whole group, as they give speeches or make reports.

For assessing literacy, teachers may give feedback, orally, in writing, or through rubrics, as ELLs: (a) categorize, classify, sort, or sequence visually or graphically supported information; (b) draw or match elements in response to written text; (c) answer or ask questions in writing; (d) take notes or outline text; (e) complete graphic organizers; and (f) produce labels, lists, journal entries or learning logs, e-mails, letters, stories, poetry, reports, or research.

At the classroom level, language teachers generally manage language proficiency data of ELLs. This information, whether stored in student portfolios or in traditional grade books, is most useful when shared with other teachers who work with these students. Ultimately, assessment must be approached systematically for ELLs to have continuity of learning experiences and maximize their potential to succeed in school.

Designing an Assessment System

Until recently, there has been little connection between the assessment of language proficiency and academic achievement. As framed by Margo Gottlieb, this paradigmatic shift can be attributed to advances in theory and pedagogy that emphasize the integration of language and content as the instructional backbone for ELLs. The shift has been accelerated by the federal insistence on the alignment of language proficiency and academic state content standards. As a result, assessment of ELLs, as of all students, becomes a driving force in a standards-based educational system.

Student learning or content standards form the core of this system from which assessments are designed and built in conjunction with the planning of curriculum and instruction. Because accountability rests on a double set of standards for ELLs, so too, are there dual assessments: language proficiency and academic achievement. Within the system, then, the developmental nature of acquisition of language proficiency (that is, how ELLs score on state English language proficiency tests) must be considered in explaining student achievement.

As the construct of language proficiency has evolved over time, so too has its role in the schooling of students for whom English is an additional language. This change has become evident in assessment practices carried out in all elementary and secondary public schools throughout the United States. Educators and policymakers alike can now see that measuring language proficiency is vital to understanding the language development process of English language learners as a way to help them succeed in today's content-based classrooms.

Margo Gottlieb

See also Academic English; BICS/CALP Theory; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing Requirements; Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery

Further Readings

- Bachman, L. (1990). *Fundamental considerations in language testing*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In California State Department of Education (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework* (pp. 3–49).

Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University.

- Fries, C. C. (1963). *Linguistics and reading*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Gottlieb, M. (2006). *Assessing English language learners: Bridges from language proficiency to academic achievement*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Gottlieb, M., & Kenyon, D. (2005). The bridge study between tests of English language proficiency and ACCESS for ELLs™. *Technical Report 2.1*. Madison: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction.
- Lado, R. (1961). *Language testing: The construction and use of foreign language tests*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002).
- Savignon, S. J. (1972). *Communicative competence: An experiment in foreign language testing*. Philadelphia, PA: Center for Curriculum Development.

MELTING-POT THEORY

The melting-pot theory of acculturation and assimilation has been discussed widely since its introduction by playwright Israel Zangwill in 1909. Zangwill's play, of the same name, is all but forgotten, but the phrase caught on. It gave rise to the image of a super-American purported to blend the best traits of many cultures. In this view, the new American is an amalgam of characteristics that resulted, as if magically, in an archetype persona that found favor with many Americans. It is of some interest that the concept of the *melting pot* arose from popular culture, rather than from the social sciences, although social scientists seemed to accept it just as warmly.

Zangwill wrote,

America is God's crucible, the Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! Here you stand, good folk, think I when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty hatreds and rivalries, but you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God! A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians—into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American . . . The real American has not yet arrived.

He is only in the Crucible, I tell you—he will be the fusion of all races, the coming superman.

Zangwill was not creating a viewpoint; he was simply reflecting it. As this excerpt shows, by the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of a distinctly American persona was becoming firmly established. Increasingly, as the nation moved through the Industrial Revolution, efforts at remaining different or maintaining old-country customs, traditions, and languages were regarded with suspicion. Often, they were labeled “un-American.” The fact that the United States is composed of people from all over the world remains undisputed. The issue that was being addressed in the nation’s internal discourse of citizenship was different: How do immigrants become true Americans, and what is the ideal result of the amalgamation of people from different parts of the world? The notion of a melting pot wherein harsh differences were softened and made more tolerable seemed appropriate to many Americans of the time. It bears noting that the melting-pot concept was not about race. Americans of the time had not yet dealt openly with miscegenation, and few people were arguing that all races were endowed with the same attributes. This entry describes the metaphor and ideology behind the melting-pot theory, how schools have viewed assimilation, and criticisms of the theory.

Metaphor and Ideology

The prevailing view of the melting-pot ideology is that the metaphor describes cultural assimilation, through which the major differences between groups are blended away to allow for harmonious coexistence, and cultural pluralism. The ideal, according to this view is a mix of peoples who have largely melted into a new composite but in the process contribute certain attributes that strengthen the whole. The original notion of the melting pot is now portrayed somewhat differently. The revised idea is that there are two competing ideologies rather than one. The first is one of blending into the American fabric of society at the price of losing one’s cultural, ethnic, and linguistic identity, and the other is a more pluralist view where the various groups within the country maintain their own identities and institutions while participating equitably in the benefits of the society. In this interpretation, there is not enough room in the melting pot for both ideologies. Implicitly, the melting pot favors the

first idea rather than the second. The two concepts are incompatible and cannot exist harmoniously within the same idea of becoming American. The melting pot does not address the benefits that particular groups may expect for themselves; rather, it speaks to the benefits that the society and the nation will gain from the various groups it takes into the mix. Minority groups who have not participated equitably in the past are reluctant to continue a conversation in which only their contributions are noted but not their entitlements.

James Banks defines the idea of the melting pot as “Anglo conformity” and links it to an assimilationist ideology. Christine Bennett describes cultural pluralism in its ideal form, as “a process of compromise characterized by mutual appreciation and respect between two or more cultural groups.” Whether they agree with each other or not, theorists and scholars seem to agree that the concept of the melting pot has had something to do with our national character as a nation of immigrants and the accommodations that has made the integration of these groups possible as one nation.

Perhaps the major problem with the melting-pot theory is that it is not an apt metaphor; many people simply did not *melt*. Across the United States, one finds enclaves of ethnic groups living a dual existence. They identify themselves as *American*. However, they also view themselves in part as related to an ethnic group that does not necessarily see life as other Americans see it. Their patterns of interaction with the greater society may at times differ just a little, or at other times quite significantly from the majority culture.

For many European Americans, the melting pot actually may have worked fairly well. If we interpret the melting process as the suppression of ethnic or nationalistic aspects of a group’s identity, many Americans acknowledge that they no longer identify with a culture other than an “American culture.” The combination of factors involving a homeland that was far away and being White like most everyone else of European descent, meant that White Americans could more readily melt and claim to be *more American* than others who held on to their languages and cultures of origin. In short, they resisted the heat of the melting pot. Yet another way of describing this difference is that those who melted and yielded to the pressures of assimilation could never go back to their countries and cultures of origin whereas those who did not melt completely kept that option more or less open. This is important because in the contemporary notion of

immigration, many immigrants do not come with the express desire to stay forever. They come to test life in the United States and will decide later whether to remain or return.

The melting-pot theory is flawed in another important respect. The theory behind the melting pot is that all who came here were entitled to immerse themselves in that process and that no one would be excluded. According to Bennett, more than 45 million immigrants, mostly from European nations, entered the United States between 1820 and 1970. The melting-pot idea assumes that most of these immigrants will willingly give up their native languages and cultures to accept the Anglo-American way of life. But the melting pot is undemocratic in that it appears to deny choice whether to participate in the process or not.

Schools and Assimilation

The American public school was supposed to be the major force in the assimilation exercise. Bennett cites early 20th-century education historian Ellwood P. Cubberley:

Everywhere these people (immigrants) tend to settle in groups or settlements and to set up their own national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to break up their groups and settlements, to assimilate or amalgamate these people as part of the American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law, order, and popular government, and to awaken in them reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth.

Pamela Tiedt and Iris Tiedt observed that many immigrants believed in the process of assimilation as the key to success in America. Although they often lived in ethnic neighborhoods and sent their children to private classes for heritage and even language tutoring, the immigrants felt that blending in was part of what was expected in America. This expectation of blending is what Banks refers to as *assimilationist ideology* that he asserts comes directly from the concept of the melting pot and what he labels *Anglo-conformity*. Anglo-conformity, according to Banks, refers specifically to ethnic groups and immigrants giving up their cultures and replacing them with those of the Anglo-Saxon. Peter Kivisto maintains that the ideology of the melting

pot was nothing more than an attempt to justify the *Americanization* efforts demonstrated in the early part of the 20th century. Kivisto states, "These campaigns were intended to eradicate all vestiges of the new arrivals' cultural heritages, while simultaneously instilling in them what were considered to be appropriate American attitudes and behaviors." As an example of this process, Kivisto cites the activities of what was known as Henry Ford's "Sociology Department,"

which ran training schools in his automobile plants for immigrant workers. The purpose of the schools was to teach the English language and to study in preparation for citizenship. Workers enrolled in the program took pledges that they would only speak English, and they proclaimed themselves intent on becoming "100 percent" American. In practical terms, this perspective required a willingness and ability on the part of immigrants to accept and to emulate the hegemonic WASP culture.

Critiques of the Theory

Criticisms of the melting pot have tended to focus on issues of fairness and equity toward the immigrant. According to Bennett, teachers in particular still use the idea of the melting pot in their attempts to educate culturally different students. These beliefs have led many teachers to view students' language and cultural differences as liabilities, deficits, and disadvantages. Teachers who attempt to force children and youth into a predetermined and narrowly defined "American way" often fail both to assimilate and to educate. This, in turn, often has led some schools to diagnose these children as "special-needs children."

M. Lee Manning and Leroy Baruth suggest flatly, "The melting-pot theory is no longer considered a model, much less a means of achieving a just, equal, and accepting society." Although an assimilationist model of schooling was used during and even after the large immigration waves of the 19th and early 20th centuries, education today favors a more multicultural manner of teaching and defining what it means to be American. Bennett maintains that cultural pluralism has emerged as an alternative means of looking at culturally diverse students. In a culturally plural society, individual ethnic groups are allowed to maintain their cultural traditions and customs, including the right to voluntarily discard them at their own pace. This would include language, foods, customs, and religion,

as long as it did not interfere with another group's or person's right to do the same. Pluralism only requires that all groups and individuals agree to abide by a set of institutions that will govern all of the groups as a whole. Examples of these institutions include a system of government or laws and an economic or money system. In his view, the concept of cultural pluralism is a good fit with American values and ideals such as democracy and majority rule with minority rights.

Joshua A. Fishman, a leading American sociolinguist, is a strong critic of the melting pot. As a staunch defender of maintaining minority languages, Fishman believes that language loss inevitably produces loss of culture. He views the loss of language(s) from several perspectives. However, one perspective that he identifies with most ardently is that of culture loss. He writes,

You can also speak from the point of view of the culture lost. The culture has lost its language. What is lost when the culture is so dislocated that it loses the language which is traditionally associated with it? That is a serious issue for Native Americans. We can ask it from the national point of view. What is lost by the country when the country loses its languages? We have had this very haphazard linguistic bookkeeping where you pretend nothing is lost—except the language. It is just a little language. But, after all, a country is just the sum of all of its creative potential. What does the country lose when it loses individuals who are comfortable with themselves, cultures that are authentic to themselves, the capacity to pursue sensitivity, wisdom, and some kind of recognition that one has a purpose in life?

As an advocate of bilingual education and the retention of native languages in the United States, Fishman believes that culture cannot be replaced once it is lost. He likens this loss to a fundamental loss of self. According to Fishman, the most significant manner in which we can lose a culture is through the loss of one's native language because the language contains all of the elements of a culture:

The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and

handed on in any other way. What would be left? When you are talking about the language, most of what you are talking about is the culture. That is, you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing. . . .

The loss of a culture is difficult to gauge if people feel that they have never had one. In distinction from Fishman's passion, many persons deal with this issue as if it were unimportant. American culture is so intertwined with our identity that we often neglect to understand that one does not have to be ethnically or racially different to feel that one has a distinct culture. There is nothing wrong with an American youth who claims that he is not German, French, Italian, or Swedish; he is simply American. Banks refers to this national culture as the *macroculture*. The other subcultures he refers to as *microcultures*. Gunnar Myrdal identified values that Americans hold strongly as the "American Creed." Examples of these values are justice, equality, and human dignity.

Although other paradigms have been offered as a substitute for the melting pot, none seem to have caught the attention of most citizens in the same way. Other paradigms such as the "salad bowl" or "ethnic stew" have simply not resonated with the American public. This can be seen in the resistance that multicultural education and diversity education programs have met with in public schools. That Americans continue to strive for inclusion in the American mainstream is a point not easily lost on a macroculture that is determined to be "distinctively American."

Alfredo H. Benavides and Eva Midobuche

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Culturally Competent Teaching; Enculturation

Further Readings

- Banks, J. A. (2006). *Cultural diversity and education: Foundations, curriculum, and teaching* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.
- Benavides, A. H. (1985). Multicultural aspects of human relations. In N. Colangelo, D. Dustin, & C. H. Foxley (Eds.), *Multicultural nonsexist education: A human relations approach* (2nd ed., pp. 132–140). Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- Bennett, C. I. (2007). *Comprehensive multicultural education: Theory and practice* (6th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English language learners: Language diversity in the classroom* (5th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Bilingual Education Services.
- Cubberly, E. P. (1909). *Changing conceptions of education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Fishman, J. A. (1996). What do you lose when you lose your language? In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages*. Flagstaff: Center for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University. Retrieved April 4, 2006, from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/stabilize/iii-families/lose.htm>
- Hirschman, C. (1983). America's melting pot reconsidered. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9, 397–423.
- Kivisto, P. (2002). *Multiculturalism in a global society*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Laubeová, L. (2000). Melting pot vs. ethnic stew. *Encyclopedia of the world's minorities*. Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers. Retrieved March 1, 2006, from <http://www.tolerance.cz/courses/texts/melting.htm>
- Manning, M. L., & Baruth, L. G. (2004). *Multicultural education of children and adolescents* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.
- Myrdal, G., with R. Sterner & A. Rose. (1944). *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Sills, D. L. (Ed.). (1968). Assimilation. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Vol. 1). New York: Macmillan/Free Press.
- Tiedt, P. L., & Tiedt, I. M. (2005). *Multicultural teaching: A handbook of activities, information, and resources* (7th ed.). Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.
- U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2004, Ethnicity and Ancestry Statistics Branch, Population Division. Retrieved April 4, 2006, from <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hispanic/cps2004.html>
- Zangwill, I. (1916). *The melting pot: Drama in four acts*. New York: Macmillan.

MÉNDEZ V. WESTMINSTER

Gonzalo Méndez, William Guzmán, Frank Palomino, Thomas Estrada, and Lorenzo Ramírez filed suit against the Westminster, Garden Grove, Santa Ana, and El Modena School Districts in California on March 2, 1945, for not allowing Mexican children to attend Anglo schools because they were “forbidden, barred and excluded from attending any other school in said District or System solely for the reason that

said children or child are of Mexican or Latin descent” (*Méndez v. Westminster School District*, 1946). Attorneys on both sides effectively presented their arguments. To that point, no precedent regarding Mexicans and equal protection law existed. Both parties noted that the case did not involve race discrimination and that European Americans and Mexicans would be considered White. The parties also agreed that the identified school districts all maintained schools that consisted entirely of Mexican students. The central argument and point of contention was the purpose of segregation, as described in this entry.

The Méndez petitioners argued that the school districts intentionally segregated Mexican schoolchildren. For these reasons, they sought relief under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and argued that the school districts denied them equal protection of the laws, as a class, by forcing them to attend schools solely for children whose ancestry was Mexican. Using the testimony of local community members who had attended the school, David C. Marcus, attorney for the plaintiffs, presented evidence of the segregation policies. Further testimony revealed specific instances of transfer denials for Mexican children and inferior services provided to them. Children who testified at the hearing shared accounts of the segregation and described how it made them feel. More important, Marcus employed social scientists to testify about the strong negative effects of segregation on the educational and social development of the group labeled as “inferior.”

The school districts, on the other hand, argued that although segregation occurred, it was only on the basis of language and not racial discrimination. In other words, the segregation was an instructional matter and therefore a function of language rather than race. This, they argued, was not discriminatory. One common method used to justify the segregation of students was to emphasize the Mexican students' lack of proficiency in the English language. When combined with culturally biased IQ testing, Mexican students supposedly performed poorly, demonstrating that they were not as academically capable as Anglo children and therefore merited separate schools.

Federal District Judge Paul McCormick ruled that segregation on the basis of race or ancestry was a violation of California State law. It was, therefore,

a violation of the student's right to the equal protection of California law under the Fourteenth Amendment:

"The equal protection of the laws" pertaining to the public school system in California is not provided by furnishing in separate schools the same technical facilities, text books and courses of instruction to children of Mexican ancestry that are available to the other public school children regardless of their ancestry. A key requisite in the American system of public education is social equality. It must be open to all children by unified school association regardless of lineage. (*Méndez v. Westminster School District*, 1946)

Judge McCormick responded to the new integrationist educational theory proposed by petitioner's social science and psychological experts in court: "It is also established by the record that the methods of segregation prevalent in the defendant's school districts foster antagonisms in the children and suggest inferiority among them where none exists." The court further stated, "The evidence clearly shows that Spanish-speaking children are retarded in learning English by lack of exposure to its use because of segregation." McCormick pointed out that the only valid reason for segregation of pupils was for special language instruction, but that valid language testing would be required before any segregation could occur. Finally, McCormick ordered the districts to desegregate and required injunctive relief for all students of Mexican descent in Orange County.

During the hearings, Mexican parents in Orange County demonstrated their solidarity by raising money to pay attorney fees while groups of parents visited Los Angeles every day to show support for the Méndez case. Gonzalo Méndez organized a community effort that involved a large number of persons from El Modena and the other three cities in the case. However, the *Orange Daily News* reported only a few days later that the defeated school districts would appeal the case to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco and to the Supreme Court if necessary.

In 1946, Alexander Lievanos attempted to enroll his son in the Roosevelt School, but was denied admission. With the assistance of the Latino American Organization (LAO), he filed a petition to hold Trustees Henry Campbell, Joe Irwin, and Jerome Neiger and Superintendent Harold Hammarsten in contempt of the court's orders because no change had been made in the schools following the court's decision.

On September 27, 1946, the same day the petition was filed, Judge McCormick ordered the defendants to appear before the court by October 14, 1946, or face contempt charges. The El Modena Chicanos had formed "The Unity League of El Modena," which later became the Latin American League of El Modena. Lievanos, owner of a small shop in town, was elected chairman and came with other parents before the board to inquire why integration had not begun and why testing to determine proficiency in the English language had not been conducted. The board said had it considered an educational plan to divide the schools by grade level, the lower grades in one school and the upper in another, but there was "a question of budget." The superintendent was belligerent and stated that tests were not given to Mexican students because tests were not necessary to determine that the children could not speak English. School board member Neiger blamed the Mexican parents for the segregation, stating, "If the parents had English as the language spoken in the home, the children would have no trouble when they got to school and would do much better," as reported in the El Modena School District Board Meeting Minutes, from October 9, 1946. The school board was so confident in its decision that on September 13, 1946, the board announced it would not change its educational policies and would continue with a later start time for Mexican students so they could work the walnut harvest, as documented in the *Orange Daily News* of September 16, 1946.

The court, however, did not approve the school board's plan and forced the school board to implement the plan to divide the schools by grades. The Mexican American community at El Modena had become the center of the struggle to ensure an educational opportunity for every student. Mexican American parents directly challenged the school board for the first time as an entire community through a Unity League. They also continued their support of the movement in Orange County and sent their representatives to San Francisco to provide a show of strength at the appellate court.

The appellant school districts were not daunted by the rulings of the district court and made similar arguments as those presented at the district court, but hoping for a different outcome. The appellee schoolchildren's arguments on appeal were joined by several amicus briefs (which are filed by someone who is not a party in the case) that attempted to provide the court with

a broad-based legal and policy argument against segregation. Each brief for the appellee was planned as a piece of a puzzle that would eventually give the court a picture of the wrongs of segregation, both in precedent and in policy. The amicus briefs also provide the most interesting arguments in the case.

In the district court, only the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the National Lawyer's Guild filed amicus briefs with the trial court, but on appeal, five civil rights groups and the attorney general of California wrote briefs in support of the ruling. The case was monitored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the ACLU as the test case to strike down "separate but equal." Aside from the obvious attempts to overturn the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case (decided in 1896) directly, the NAACP and the ACLU made overtures to human rights issues that were brought to prominence through the atrocities of World War II. The use of public policy considerations was given new force in the postwar era because of the U.S. role as the advocate of democracy during and after World War II.

Several points are important to understanding the importance of the Méndez case. First, the Mexican schoolchildren were considered "Caucasian" for purposes of the case, and therefore, the trial court found a violation of the schoolchildren's rights not because of racial discrimination grounds, but because of national origin. Second, the appellate court found unequal enforcement of California's educational laws by the school districts as a violation of the children's equal protection rights, implying that if California law had explicitly allowed segregation based on Mexican ancestry, segregation may have been permitted. The Méndez case became an important part of the legal scaffolding leading to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision just a few years later.

Paul E. Green

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Federal Court Decisions and Legislation

Further Readings

- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
 El Modena, California, School district board meeting, Minutes, October 9, 1946.
 El Modena Has New School Ready for Use (1923, April 4), *Orange Daily News*.

Méndez v. Westminster School District, 64 Supp. 544 (S.D. Cal. 1946), *aff'd*, 161 F.2d 774 (9th Cir. 1947).

Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

Wollenberg, C. M. (1976). *All deliberate speed: Segregation and exclusion in California schools 1855–1975*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

MENTAL FLEXIBILITY

See COGNITIVE BENEFITS OF BILINGUALISM

META

See MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND ADVOCACY (META)

METALINGUISTIC AWARENESS

During the last 30 years of the 20th century, a significant body of research in psychology and psycholinguistics was carried out, relating to the relationship between early bilingualism and cognitive (intellectual) development: specifically on the subject of metalinguistic awareness. Most of this research defined early bilingualism as young children's (ages 4 to 8 years old) ability to speak and repeatedly use two languages. *Metalinguistic awareness* refers to a specific cognitive skill that generally accounts for an expressed ability to contemplate language and to understand and use an array of linguistic constructs, rules, norms, and patterns.

Until the mid-20th century, before studies evaluated metalinguistic awareness specifically, as a differential outcome between bilinguals and monolinguals, much of the work assessing the relationship between early bilingualism and cognition suggested a negative relationship between these two variables—cognition measured as performance on standardized tests of intelligence. This meant that bilingual children were found to score lower than their monolingual peers. These conclusions, however, have now been largely abandoned because the research methods and designs of those initial studies contained serious flaws.

As research designs, methods, assessment tools, and techniques were improved, evidence demonstrated

certain cognitive benefits of bilingualism in young children. Several controlled studies, including a seminal Canadian paper discussed later in this entry, found as early as the 1960s that bilingual children demonstrated favorable outcomes with regard to their developing conceptions of language, referred to as metalinguistic awareness, when compared with monolingual children. This meant that bilingual children were found to demonstrate more developed understandings of linguistic constructs, and thus were able at earlier ages to make letter-sound associations, separate sound from meaning, interpret semantic attributes, develop understandings about vocabulary, and comprehend syntactic structure.

More recently, however, studies assessing whether bilingual children have superior metalinguistic abilities when compared with their monolingual counterparts have produced mixed results. Most of the published research supports an advantage for bilingual children, but other studies show either no difference or a disadvantage for them. Ellen Bialystok, a Canadian psychologist and professor at York University, who has published extensively on the topic, has presented a model to account for the mixed research findings. She describes metalinguistic awareness as a two-prong cognitive process rather than as a cognitive ability. Bialystok concludes that bilingual children are able to outperform monolinguals on some metalinguistic tasks because they demonstrate better control of attention in real time, not because they are necessarily superior on any specified cognitive domain. This entry describes the research on metalinguistic development.

Conceptualizing Difference in Metalinguistic Development

It is perhaps an intuitive or attractive notion that young bilinguals demonstrate metalinguistic benefits over their monolingual counterparts. Because they are able to manage two linguistic systems rather than one, it seems conceptually probable that bilingual children would be more aware of linguistic constructs and processes than would children who speak only one language. This idea echoes the view of Russian psychologist and developmental theorist Lev Vygotsky, who wrote in the early 20th century that expressing the same thought in more than one language enables children to perceive language as one system among many. This process leads to awareness of linguistic operations.

Developing bilingual children, those yet to achieve age-appropriate proficiency in either or both languages, would demonstrate less of a metalinguistic advantage over their monolingual peers than those children who were fully bilingual, proficient in both languages have. This view of cognitive superiority for bilingual children could serve as a logical impetus to expand bilingual education by challenging the belief that schools that incorporate more than one language in the classroom produce confused and culturally disoriented children.

Although the notion of metalinguistic benefits attributable to bilingualism is appealing and somewhat intuitive in theory, research on this topic has left some important questions unanswered. Conceptually, it is not clear whether bilingualism generates enhanced awareness or greater uncertainty regarding linguistic structures because of similarities and differences between languages. Patterns where linguistic systems interact over time to produce advanced metalinguistic awareness throughout early language development have been largely unvisited by theory. Furthermore, the research has lacked a uniform definition of metalinguistic awareness or ability; therefore, researchers have not worked with the construct in consistent ways. No analyses have been attempted to show that children's awareness of letter, word, syntactic, and grammatical functions are necessarily explained by one underlying latent construct.

Early Research

In the 1920s, psychologists began to study the relationship between cognition and bilingualism because of an interest in developing suitable strategies and tests to measure the intelligence of bilingual children. Until the 1950s, most research concluded that bilingual children were linguistically deficient compared with their monolingual counterparts (e.g., they had underdeveloped articulation, lower standards in writing composition, more grammatical errors, and a considerably reduced vocabulary). Several researchers, such as D. J. Saer and Rudolf Pitner, concluded that bilingual children developed language handicaps that damaged their cognitive development and academic performance through their college years.

Subsequent reanalyses of these studies found them to be methodologically flawed, and consequently, not readily generalizable or even interpretable. Several failed to account for the influence of the socioeconomic

differences between bilingual and monolingual samples; others failed to assess the level of linguistic fluency to determine the level of child bilingualism. Therefore, the belief that monolinguals outperformed bilingual children on measures of verbal intelligence could not be supported and was largely abandoned.

After a gradual transition from “behaviorist” to “cognitivist” research approaches in psycholinguistics, a seminal study, conducted in the early 1960s by Elizabeth Peal and Wallace Lambert at McGill University pointed the way to new conclusions. Peal and Lambert selected samples of 10-year-old French-English bilinguals and English monolinguals from the same school system in Montreal and formulated a composite measure to assess children’s language fluencies; those who scored at the extreme ends were excluded from the study. All participants in the study, 75 monolinguals and 89 bilinguals, were then administered intelligence tests. French, English, and nonverbal versions of the tests were given. The study also controlled for socioeconomic status, gender, and age. Contrary to previous findings, this study found that bilinguals performed significantly better than monolinguals did on tasks that measured concept formation, symbolic flexibility, and mental representations of visual stimuli. It was not clear how these cognitive abilities were associated with (or enhanced by) bilingualism *per se*. Nonetheless, through better research methods and by accounting for levels of language proficiency, the study challenged the prevailing view that early bilingualism leads to impoverished cognitive development.

Recent Research

More recently, several studies used controlled research designs to compare bilingual and monolingual child populations on an array of cognitive outcomes. The cognitive construct of metalinguistic awareness was introduced as a benefit of early bilingualism in the 1970s by researchers Anita Ianco-Worrall, who studied English-Afrikaans bilinguals; Sandra Ben-Zeev, who studied Hebrew-English bilinguals; and James Cummins, who looked at English-French bilinguals. These studies began to look at specific linguistic differences between bilingual and monolingual groups. They assessed phonological processing, semantic skills, and vocabulary development. Cummins suggested that bilingual children outperformed monolinguals on a number of linguistic tasks

because they had more developed metalinguistic abilities, and that bilinguals were more likely than monolingual children to look *at* rather than *through* language.

Research on early bilingualism and outcomes of metalinguistic awareness through the 1980s and 1990s were troubled by mixed results. Researchers continued to evaluate differences in metalinguistic abilities between monolingual and bilingual samples of children who spoke English and either French, Spanish, Chinese, Swedish, Hebrew, Italian, Afrikaans, or Indonesian as their other language. Metalinguistic abilities were defined in various ways. Some focused on word-level skills by administering tasks that assessed children’s ability to isolate words in utterances or make associations between words and meaning. Other studies had children perform assorted grammatical tasks to determine differences in syntactic awareness between bilinguals and monolinguals.

Further research evaluated differences in metalinguistic abilities by assessing phonological processing abilities. Researchers Bialystok, Sylvia Galambos, and Jakob Cromdal measured an array of linguistic skills using a variety of tasks to assess differences in metalinguistic awareness. Yet analyses showing that variations of these various linguistic outcomes were actually explainable by one unique construct—metalinguistic awareness—were not produced. Moreover, phonological, word, and syntactic awareness were each measured in different ways in these studies.

Bialystok published a research synthesis on this topic, where she reviewed the empirical evidence on the metalinguistic benefits of early bilingualism, highlighted mixed results, and concluded that inconsistent findings were a function of the tasks researchers used to measure this skill. She noted, for example, that measurement techniques of phonological awareness to determine differences between bilingual and monolingual children’s metalinguistic awareness varied between studies. This was also found to be the case for studies that used syntactic and word-level tasks to assess metalinguistic abilities. The significance of the research results was found to be highly associated with the task researchers implemented in their studies. Bialystok concluded that pointing to metalinguistic awareness as an underlying ability and benefit of early bilingualism is unwise—that the benefits bilinguals demonstrate over monolingual children are associated with tasks used for assessment and based differences in cognitive processing, rather than an intellectual ability, *per se*.

An Explanatory Model

To elucidate her conclusion that the relationship between early bilingualism and metalinguistic awareness is accounted for by differences in cognitive processing between bilingual and monolingual children, Bialystok developed a conceptual model to explain why the research produced inconsistencies. She suggested that tasks used to measure metalinguistic awareness in the research literature vary within a two-dimensional spectrum of cognitive processing demands. The dimensions were presented as (a) analysis of representative structures, and (b) control of selective attention. The first refers to the child's ability to construct detailed and structured mental representations of phenomena, and the second refers to an ability to direct and maintain attention to specific particular aspects of stimuli in real time. She found that studies in which administered tasks demanded high control of attention (e.g., count words in sentences, substitute symbols, use novel names in sentences, segment phoneme), were solved better by bilingual than monolingual children. Those tasks that required little or no control of selective attention (e.g., describe attributes of words, determine ambiguity, explain grammatical errors, phoneme substitution) did not produce a bilingual advantage. No differentiating trend between language groups was found in tasks' level of demand of representative structure analysis.

Bilingual children, therefore, do not appear to have a predictable metalinguistic advantage over their monolingual counterparts. The cognitive benefit of early bilingualism, according to available research, is an increased ability to attend to pertinent information in the presence of irrelevant distractions. This assertion, currently, is the best explanation for why bilingual children are able to outperform monolinguals on certain metalinguistic and cognitive tasks.

Bryant T. Jensen

See also Brain Research; Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism

Further Readings

- Ben-Zeev, S. (1977). The influence of bilingualism on cognitive strategy and cognitive development. *Child Development, 48*, 1009–1018.
- Bialystok, E. (2001). Metalinguistic aspects of bilingual processing. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 21*, 169–181.
- Cromdal, J. (1999). Childhood bilingualism and metalinguistic skills: Analysis and control in young Swedish-English bilinguals. *Applied Psycholinguistics, 20*, 1–20.
- Cummins, J. (1978). Bilingualism and the development of metalinguistic awareness. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 9*, 131–149.
- Galambos, S., & Goldin-Meadow, S. (1990). The effects of learning two languages on levels of metalinguistic awareness. *Cognition, 34*, 1–56.
- Hakuta, K., & Díaz, R. (1985). The relationship between the degree of bilingualism and cognitive ability: A critical discussion and some new longitudinal data. In K. E. Nelson (Ed.), *Children's language* (Vol. 5, pp. 319–344). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ianco-Worrall, A. (1972). Bilingualism and cognitive development. *Child Development, 43*, 1390–1400.
- Peal, E., & Lambert, W. (1962). The relation of bilingualism to intelligence. *Psychological Monographs, 76*, 1–23.
- Pitner, R. (1932). The influence of language background on intelligence tests. *Journal of Social Psychology, 3*, 765–772.
- Saer, D. J. (1924). The effects of bilingualism on intelligence. *British Journal of Psychology, 14*, 25–38.
- Vygotsky, L. (1962). *Thought and language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

MEXICAN TEACHERS, IMPORTING

See CREDENTIALING FOREIGN-TRAINED TEACHERS

MODERN LANGUAGES IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

This entry focuses on modern language study in the United States, which is typically defined as the study of languages other than English by native-English-speaking students but can also include the study of a language other than English by native speakers of other languages. Modern language study aims vary, depending on the length of time devoted to the process and student predisposition for language learning. They range from language and cultural awareness in a second language to near native proficiency or bilingualism. Numerous gradations exist in between.

American students enroll in the study of different languages—including, commonly, French, German, and Spanish—for different reasons. As geopolitical and economic circumstances change globally, so also do enrollment patterns. Currently, there is heightened interest in Chinese among both Asian and non-Asian students, and in the late 20th century, Japanese was a popular language. Where there is a high concentration of people of Italian heritage, the Italian language is popular, sometimes supplanting German or French as second or third most popular after Spanish. This entry reviews modern language enrollments from elementary to graduate school, as reported in the latest available surveys. These surveys are conducted periodically by the Modern Language Association (MLA), the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL).

Elementary and Secondary Education

In a study conducted by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), Nancy Rhodes and Lucinda Branaman report that in 1997, more than 4 million of 27.1 million elementary school students (slightly less than 15%) studied modern languages in U.S. public and private schools. At the secondary level, nearly 12 million young people studied modern languages in 1997. Of 8.2 million middle school/junior high school students, 3 million (36.5%) were enrolled in languages other than English. Of 13.5 million high school students, 7 million (52%) studied a modern language. Another 1.5 million students in combined junior/senior high schools studied a modern language.

Between 1987 and 1997, the incidence of modern language instruction in elementary schools increased nationwide by nearly 10%. In 1987, about one elementary school in five reported teaching a modern language. By 1997, the proportion had increased to nearly one in three. Spanish and French were the more commonly studied languages, though Spanish increased in popularity and French declined somewhat. German, Japanese, Latin, Hebrew, Italian, Sign Language, Native American Languages, Russian, and Greek each represented 5% or fewer of the elementary schools that offered modern language study during that period. Notable among this group of languages is Japanese, which no elementary school offered in 1987, but 3% of elementary schools offering a language offered

Japanese in 1997. Representing less than 1% of schools teaching languages included Chinese, Chinese for Chinese speakers, Hawaiian, Cherokee for Cherokee speakers, French for French speakers, Russian for Russian speakers, Yaqui, Kutenai, Tewa for Tewa speakers, Arabic, Dutch, Filipino, Micronesian, Polish, Swedish, and Korean for Korean speakers. Most of these languages had small enrollments. Spanish was the exception. Between 1987 and 1997, Spanish for Spanish speakers increased from 1 to 8% of elementary schools offering modern language classes.

Modern language study programs in elementary schools are of four different types: foreign-language experience/exploration (FLEX), foreign language in the elementary school (FLES), intensive FLES, and immersion. FLEX aims for exposure over fluency, and part of the program may be taught in English. FLES students acquire listening and speaking skills, gain an understanding of and appreciation for other cultures, and acquire limited reading and writing skills. Intensive FLES students are expected to acquire more extensive reading and writing skills.

Immersion program goals include developing communicative proficiency in the language and culture. At least 50% of the school day is taught in the target language through content areas, such as mathematics, science, social studies, and language arts. Immersion programs may be partial, total, or two-way or dual immersion. In the last instance, half are native speakers of English, and the other half speaks another language, typically Spanish, natively. The students learn each other's language with and from each other. In this survey, FLES and FLEX programs were the most common, constituting approximately 80% of programs reported in elementary schools offering foreign-language instruction. Immersion programs increased in popularity between 1987 and 1997. In 1987, 2% of elementary schools reported offering immersion programs. That percentage rose to 8% in 1997.

Almost all secondary schools with foreign-language programs in 1987 and 1997 offered the standard class, which includes listening, speaking, reading, writing, and culture. During this period, advanced placement classes increased from 12 to 16% of secondary schools with a language program. Language classes for native speakers also increased from 4 to 7%. Program types, in addition to the standard class and language classes for native speakers, included exploratory, advanced placement, honors/accelerated, conversation, and literature classes.

Jamie Draper and June Hicks report in a study conducted by the ACTFL that 42.5% of the public high school enrollment in the United States, or nearly 5.75 million high school students were engaged in modern language and culture study during fall 2000. This percentage was an improvement over the previous survey for 1994 and consistent with an upward trend since 1982, when modern language enrollments were at their low point of 21.3% of all students in U.S. high schools. Before 1982, modern language enrollment had ranged from a high of 35.9% in 1915 to a low of 13.7% in 1948. The earliest recorded percentage was 16.3% in 1890. The first reported Spanish enrollments were in 1910 (6,406 students). Italian and Russian enrollments appeared in 1958 (22,133 and 4,044 students, respectively), and the first enrollments in Japanese were reported in 1990 (24,123 students). Before 1910, French and German were the only modern languages reported, and their enrollments were outnumbered by Latin, which was at least twice as large as French and German combined.

Higher Education

Though the general trend has been increased modern language enrollment between 1960 and 2002 in higher education, the MLA reports several periods of declining enrollment, which included 1970 to 1974 (approximately -16.0%) and 1990 to 1995 (approximately

-3.6%). The most precipitous increase in modern foreign-language enrollments occurred between 1960 and 1965 (approximately 60%). When viewed as a proportion of all higher education enrollments, we see a less rosy picture. In 1960, 16.1% of all college students were studying modern foreign languages. Since that time, the proportion declined to 8.6% of 15,608,000 college students in 2002. The lowest proportion was reported for 1980, when 7.3% of all college students studied a modern language. Though the number of students studying modern languages has increased, their proportion among all students has declined since 1960 and has been hovering between 7.3% and 8.6% since 1977.

In the latest MLA survey of 2006, Nelly Furman, David Goldberg, and Natalia Lusin reported that in fall 2002, 1,397,253 students were studying modern languages in colleges, community colleges, and universities. By fall 2006, the number had increased to 1,577,810, representing a 11.5% increase. The most popular language of study was Spanish, with an enrollment increase of 10.3%. However, other, lower-enrollment languages experienced higher percentage changes: American Sign Language (29.7%), Arabic (126.5%), Chinese (51%), Japanese (27.5%), Korean (37.1%), Italian (22.6%), and Portuguese (22.4%).

In 2006, 22.5% of national higher education modern language enrollments were in the Northeast, 21.7% were in the Midwest, 21.3% were in the South

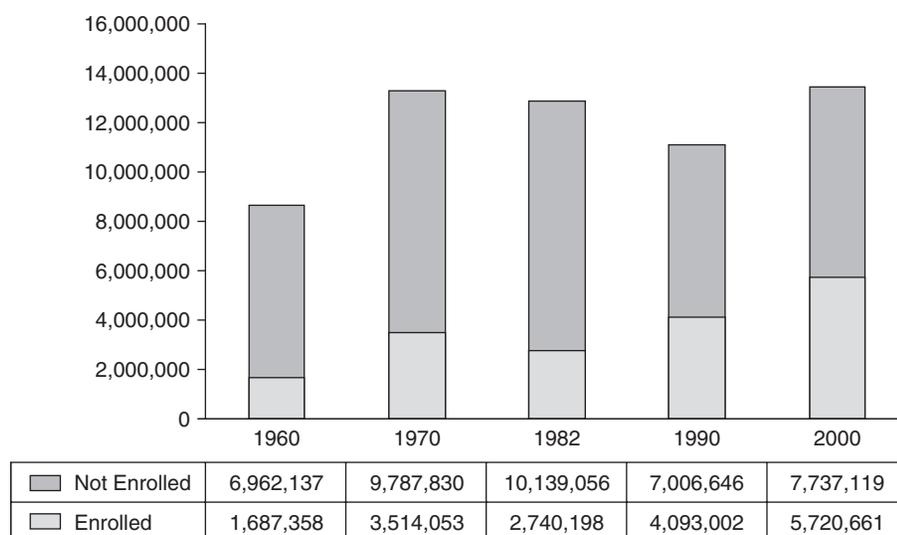


Figure 1 U.S. Public High School Modern Foreign Language Enrollments: 1960, 1970, 1982, 1990, and 2000.

Source: Draper and Hicks (2002).

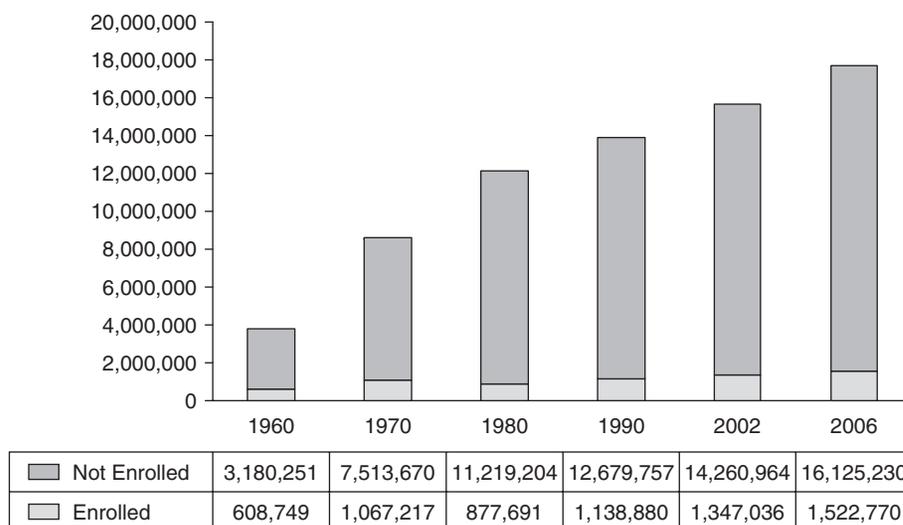


Figure 2 U.S. Higher Education Modern Language Enrollments: 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2002, and 2006

Source: Furman, Goldberg, and Lusin (2007).

Atlantic region, 9.8% were in the South Central region, 7.5% were in the Rocky Mountain region, and 17.2% were on the U.S. Pacific Coast. Language learners on the Pacific Coast were most likely of all modern language students to study languages in a community college (36.8%), and undergraduate and graduate language learners were concentrated on the Atlantic Coast and in the Midwest (71.4% of undergraduates; 70.5% of graduates). The smallest number of modern language students in the United States in 2006 was found in the Rocky Mountain states of Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming (7.1% of all undergraduates, and 7.0% of graduate students).

Conclusion

Relatively few U.S. students appear to take advantage, consistently, of the opportunity to study modern languages in schools and colleges around the country. Though many policymakers profess an interest in modern language and culture studies, there appears to be, as scholars such as Nancy Zelasko have pointed out, a linguistic double standard. Although modern language study is valued, bilingual education is not. Further research needs to be conducted to clarify this apparent contradiction. Among the industrialized nations of the world, U.S. students start modern language study later and continue it for shorter periods of time than do their peers in other nations and, as

a result, are less likely to achieve enough fluency that can be described as bilingualism. Although they are not conducted frequently, ongoing surveys, such as the MLA, CAL, and ACTFL surveys, are important tools to provide longitudinal data to support this research.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Attitudes Toward Language Diversity; Chinese Language Study, Prospects; Easy and Difficult Languages; German Language Education; Heritage Language Education; Japanese Language in Hawai'i; Spanish-Language Enrollments; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Dickson, P., and Cumming, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Profiles of language education in 25 countries*. Berkshire, UK: National Foundation for Education Research.
- Draper, J. B., & Hicks, J. H. (2002). *Foreign language enrollments in public secondary schools, Fall 2000*. Alexandria, VA: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
- Furman, N., Goldberg, D., & Lusin, N. (2007). *Enrollments in languages other than English in United States institutions of higher education, Fall 2006*. New York: Modern Language Association of America.
- Rhodes, N. C., & Branaman, L. E. (1999). *Foreign language instruction in the United States: A national survey of elementary and secondary schools*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Welles, E. (2004). Foreign language enrollments in United States institutions of higher education, Fall 2002. *ADFL Bulletin*, 35(2/3), 7–26.

Zelasko, N. F. (1991). *The bilingual double standard: Mainstream Americans' attitudes toward bilingualism*. Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

MOLL, LUIS (1947–)

As a middle school student in Santurce, Puerto Rico, Luis Moll would have been mystified to learn that he would eventually make education a career. A rebellious youngster, he disliked school, preferring the comradery of friends outside the school building. As an adult scholar, he appreciates the irony of turning that early attention to friendships into a formal study of social networks for learning and teaching. This entry describes his life and career.

Luis Carlos Moll was born on June 28, 1947, in Santurce, Puerto Rico to Carlos Moll Schwartzkopff and Olga Rita del Rosario. Moll entered public first grade and attended several other schools, including an English immersion school. But school had little meaning for the boy. In the seventh grade, he was suspended. Subsequent experiences with schools, he said later, were equally difficult.

In 1962 at the age of 15, Luis moved to Los Angeles, California, with his mother and grandmother; he graduated from high school in Montebello, California, in 1965. The following year, he attended California State Polytechnic University in Pomona, but he was poorly prepared for college and had difficulty negotiating academic requirements. He struggled with a heavy course load and dropped out after one year. Together with several high school friends, Moll joined the army in the summer of 1966. He served for 3 years. His army years included duty in Vietnam, where he was assigned to a medical evacuation unit. He spent 6 months in Vietnam and was released in June 1969 to attend college.

Back in California, he enrolled at the Rio Hondo Community College in Whittier. After a year, he returned to California Polytechnic and graduated with a bachelor's degree in social science in 1972. By then, he was more comfortable with formal education, and he enjoyed increasing academic success. After graduation, he entered the University of Southern California's (USC) masters in psychiatric social work program.

During his studies at USC, Moll worked with Latino families at an East Los Angeles mental health clinic. He enjoyed the work, and upon graduation from USC in 1974, applied to the doctoral program in educational psychology at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). At UCLA, he worked with a professor conducting research on mother-teacher-child interactions with Latino students. This increased his interest in collecting and analyzing data.

While at UCLA, Moll was introduced to the cross-cultural work of Michael Cole and colleagues, in particular their focus on the relationship between culture and cognition. Moll was captivated by this work. This new interest took him to the Laboratory for Comparative Human Development (LCHC) at the Rockefeller University in New York City. There, he worked directly with Cole, director of the Laboratory, among others. At the lab, Moll encountered the work of Lev Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist whose writings from 1924 to 1934 continue to influence contemporary research on children's language and cognitive development. While at LCHC, Moll read a draft of *Mind in Society*, a translated compilation of some of Vygotsky's seminal writings on cultural-historical theory. Vygotsky believed that human thinking was culturally constructed, historical in origin, and social in content. Moll began to read everything he could find on language, culture, and thinking.

Moll completed his dissertation at Rockefeller and returned to UCLA to defend it in 1978. The same year, the laboratory moved from New York to the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), and Moll was invited to join the staff as a research psychologist and lecturer in communication and teacher education. He remained with the lab for several years.

Since 1986, Moll has been a member of the faculty of Language, Reading and Culture, University of Arizona, in Tucson. At the University of Arizona, Moll became one of a group of scholars (including James Greenberg, Carlos Vélez Ibañez, and Norma González, among others) who have theorized the "funds of knowledge" framework that has been highly influential in the way that teachers and researchers perceive Latino household and community knowledge. Combined with the Vygotskian cultural-historical perspective, the funds of knowledge concept provided Moll with a theoretical basis from which to engage research on Latino family households. Household knowledge and social networks for learning and teaching remain his principal focus.

In 2004, Moll became associate dean for academic affairs for the University of Arizona's College of Education. During his tenure at Arizona, he has been the recipient of many awards and honors, among them membership in the National Academy of Education (1989–present); the Sylvia Scribner Award, American Education Research Association (2005); Henry T. Trueba Lifetime Achievement Award, Journal of Latinos and Education (2005); Outstanding Researcher Award, College of Education, University of Arizona (1998); Outstanding Faculty, Office of Mexican American/Hispanic Student Affairs, University of Arizona (1998); the Green Honor's Chair, School of Education, Texas Christian University, April (1999); American Educational Research Association Distinguished Lecture (1999); and the Research Award, National Association for Multicultural Education (1999).

Moll is married to Ana Coralia Escalón. They have two sons, Carlos Ernesto and Eric Luis.

Mary Carol Combs

See also Cultural Capital; Culturally Competent Teaching; Home/School Relations; Multicultural Education; Social Learning; Vygotsky and Language Learning

Further Readings

- González, N., Moll, L. C., & Amanti, C. (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Luis C. Moll. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.ed.arizona.edu/moll>
- Moll, L. C. (1989). Teaching second language students: A Vygotskian approach. In D. Johnson & D. Roen (Eds.), *Richness in writing: Empowering ESL students* (pp. 55–69). New York: Longman.
- Moll, L. C. (Ed.). (1990). *Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Moll, L. C. (1992). Bilingual classroom studies and community analysis. *Educational Researcher*, 21(2), 20–24.
- Moll, L. C. (1992). Literacy research in community and classrooms: A sociocultural approach. In R. Beach, J. Green, M. Kamil, & T. Shannahan (Eds.), *Multidisciplinary perspectives in literacy research* (pp. 211–244). Urbana, IL: National Conference on Research in English.

- Moll, L. C. (2001). Through the mediation of others: Vygotskian research on teaching. In V. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (4th ed., pp. 111–129). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Moll, L. C., & Díaz, S. (1987). Change as the goal of educational research. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18(4), 300–311.
- Moll, L. C., & Greenberg, J. (1990). Creating zones of possibilities: Combining social contexts for instruction. In L. C. Moll (Ed.), *Vygotsky and education* (pp. 319–348). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Moll, L. C., & Ruiz, R. (2002). The schooling of Latino students. In M. Suárez-Orozco & M. Pérez (Eds.), *Latinos: Remaking America* (pp. 362–374). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Moll, L. C., Sáez, R., & Dworin, J. (2001). Exploring biliteracy. *Elementary School Journal*, 101(4), 435–449.

MONITOR MODEL

The monitor model, described in this entry, is a theory that explains second-language acquisition through five major hypotheses. The model covers multiple aspects of language acquisition, ranging from the way people acquire a second language to how a second language develops, depending on how it is acquired and the learner's disposition to the acquisition process. Originally, the model focused on adult language acquisition, but over time, it extended to children and adolescents as well. Stephen Krashen, a linguist, language teacher, and language researcher, developed the monitor model in the 1970s; his ideas can be traced to a series of articles and books written between 1978 and 1985. Early on, Krashen was interested in the differences between how adults formally learned a second language and how they acquired one informally. He was particularly keen on providing empirical support for the claims he made about the effectiveness of the natural approach, developed by Krashen and Tracy Terrell, to teach a second language, a method that reflects how people acquire a second language informally, when understanding and conveying meaning are paramount. This preliminary work lead Krashen to develop a set of hypotheses that attempt to explain the differences between formal and informal language learning and form an argument for the superiority of informal over formal language learning when the goal of instruction is to

enable learners to become conversationally proficient in the new language.

The Five Main Hypotheses of the Monitor Model

The five hypotheses that constitute the monitor model are as follows: (1) the acquisition-learning hypothesis, (2) the monitor hypothesis, (3) the natural order hypothesis, (4) the input hypothesis, and (5) the affective filter hypothesis.

Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis

The acquisition-learning hypothesis speaks to the two distinct and independent ways that learners have for developing proficiency in a second language. One way is through *acquisition*, which for all practical purposes, according to Krashen, is the same process that infants and young children use in acquiring their mother tongue through interaction with caregivers in natural settings, where communication is the goal. In this manner, acquisition happens subconsciously, with learners picking up the new language implicitly by listening to it being used meaningfully, in the here and now, without attention being paid to the form of language.

In contrast to acquisition stands *learning*, any situation where conscious attention is paid to how language is formed and used correctly. From this perspective, learning a second language involves consciously focusing on the formal rules of the language. People learn a second language by having a teacher (or someone who knows) explain the rules and correct any errors made during language production.

A corollary of this first hypothesis is that what people learn about a second language does not become acquired. In other words, learning does not result in acquisition. This corollary takes a non-interface position; namely, that what becomes learned is independent of what one acquires. This corollary casts doubt on the value of spending time on teaching about language by having students focus their attention on language forms.

The Monitor Hypothesis

The monitor hypothesis explains the role of learning in second-language acquisition. Simply put, what people learn about language from conscious attention

to rules and errors feedback can be used to make changes before or after they produce language. Learning enables learners to monitor the quality of their language production by making changes in the form of the language they have acquired. What happens when people learn rules through conscious attention and error feedback is that they mentally develop a type of personal editor that they can access if they have time, if they are focused on form, and if they know the rule that is needed to produce language correctly. Krashen argues that when people are intent on communicating, they are less likely to invoke the monitor. However, the extent to which people monitor their language production depends on how they developed the second language and their goals for using language.

Accordingly, some people over-use their monitor by constantly checking their language production against their conscious knowledge of rules. Because of an over-concern for correctness, these people tend to speak haltingly and take their time to produce correct sentences. Other people under-monitor their language output, even when they have time and know the rules. Under-users of the monitor are more concerned about communicating fluently than producing correct language. Consequently, under-users may be able to converse fluently on a number of topics, but will do so with language that is sprinkled with errors. Optimal monitor-users, according to Krashen, are people who edit their language production when it is appropriate, especially in occasions where they can plan what they need to say or write, but not necessarily for conversational exchanges, where fluency and meaning are more important. Monitor users of this type edit their output according to the social context in which they are using language.

The Natural Order Hypothesis

One of the things that a monitor enables learners to do is to use language correctly even though they have not yet acquired it. According to Krashen, language is acquired in a predictable order, with some rules coming early, and others coming late. In other words, language acquisition has a natural order, independent of any order that is taught to people in formal learning settings. The idea of a natural order of language acquisition is based on studies that examined the order in which English language learners acquired certain grammatical morphemes—noun and verb endings,

articles, auxiliaries, and prepositions, and copulas. These morpheme studies found that children and adults had essentially the same order of acquisition of the grammatical morphemes. Moreover, the order of acquisition was not significantly different even among English learners who speak different first languages (for example, Spanish and Japanese).

In addition to the morpheme studies, Krashen also claimed that there was a natural sequence for questions, negatives, inflections, and the auxiliary system. This is part of Krashen's general claim about language acquisition stages. This claim is that all learners go through stages of language development, ranging from preemergent speech, beginning, and intermediate to advanced proficiency. Within each sequence or level of proficiency, learners will acquire certain grammatical items naturally associated with that sequence, but will need to wait to acquire items that are in a later stage of acquisition. The only way they can use items belonging to a later stage is by consciously monitoring the language they produce to include items that are not yet acquired.

The Input Hypothesis

This hypothesis attempts to explain how people progress through the natural order of acquisition, from one stage to the next. This hypothesis has had the greatest impact on the teaching profession in United States. According to Krashen, people acquire a second language by understanding messages that are addressed to them orally or in written form. For the messages to promote language acquisition, however, they must be slightly beyond the level of the learner's proficiency. Language that is slightly beyond the learner's current proficiency is called *comprehensible input*. For Krashen and his followers, providing learners with continuous comprehensible input is what causes language acquisition. Because the comprehensible input contains the grammar that the learner needs at any point, there is no need to teach particular grammatical items. Learners will acquire the grammar subconsciously as they receive continuous language input that they understand.

If comprehensible input is what enables learners to gain proficiency in a second language, what role does output—speaking and writing—play in promoting acquisition? According to the input hypothesis, output has no direct impact on acquisition; its role is generative. When learners produce language they have

acquired—output—they will receive additional input from others who are likely to adjust their input to levels slightly beyond the learners proficiency levels. In this manner, output generates continuous amounts of comprehensible input, and thus promotes language acquisition. The ability to produce language, which emerges over time, is a function of the extent to which learners continuously receive comprehensible input. For Krashen, speaking (and writing) is a result of language that has been acquired, and neither speaking (nor writing) cause language acquisition.

How do teachers and others make their input to language learners comprehensible? The answer lies mainly in context. For beginning language learners, for example, input can be made comprehensible by focusing on the here and now, making sure that learners use their senses to understand language directed to them. By pointing to and using real objects, teachers can also adjust the language they use and rely on extralinguistic support. As learners become more proficient, teachers can use more sophisticated language, and rely less on realia (real objects), and adjust the extent to which they use extralinguistic support to enhance comprehension.

The Affective Filter Hypothesis

This hypothesis speaks to the role of a learner's affective state for receiving comprehensible input. If the learner has some kind of affective mental block that prevents the input from being processed, then even though the input is comprehensible, it cannot reach the language acquisition device. For example, the learner might be distracted, unmotivated, or overly anxious about failing. Krashen uses an image of a filter, similar to an air filter, to suggest that only when the filter is open can comprehensible input be processed by the language acquisition device and become acquired. If the filter is clogged up, the input will not reach the area in the learner's head responsible for language acquisition. Accordingly, although comprehensible input is a necessary condition for language acquisition, it is not sufficient. The learner must feel safe, confident, and positively inclined to receive comprehensible input.

The affective filter hypothesis explains why some learners may take longer to acquire a second language than others. If learners do not feel comfortable even in a rich language acquisition setting, they will not progress as quickly as will learners who have an open

affective filter and receive the same amounts of comprehensible input. This means that teachers need to pay attention to the affective conditions of their students to ensure they feel safe and are motivated and on task. According to Krashen, to the extent that learners feel safe and comfortable trying out new language, they will receive the comprehensible input they need to gain proficiency and move to higher levels.

Issues with the Monitor Model

Few language acquisition theories have generated more controversy than the monitor model. It is one of those ideas that people who are involved in language acquisition and language teaching either love or hate. Teachers working in K–12 school settings tend to love it; second-language acquisition researchers have little use for it. The monitor model resonates well with teachers of school-aged children who are learning content through a second language because these teachers appreciate the value of providing comprehensible language to learners. Teachers know that when students feel safe and comfortable, they are more likely to understand language and participate in learning activities, which according to the monitor model facilitates language acquisition.

Several of the approaches to teaching English learners in U.S. school settings incorporate hypotheses from the monitor model. For example, thousands of classroom teachers have been trained to use the *Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP)*, an observation system developed by Jana Echevarria, Mary Ellen Vogt, and Deborah Short, and the *Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE)*. Both of these approaches promote comprehensible input, low anxiety environment, error acceptance, and a focus on communication as guiding principles for promoting second-language acquisition in school contexts.

The monitor model has little support within the second-language acquisition research community mainly because it does not meet the requirements of acceptable research. Researcher Barry McLaughlin has declared the monitor model to be completely inadequate because it uses imprecise terms that are poorly defined, and the theory itself is not falsifiable. McLaughlin provides numerous examples of imprecise concepts, and he argues that comprehensible input, the sine qua non of second-language acquisition according to the monitor model, is indefensible because it is not defined in such a way that it can be empirically

measured. Other critics of the monitor model have charged that the model makes sweeping claims that are readily disputed in the research literature.

Although researchers largely reject the monitor model as a viable theory of second-language acquisition, it remains a theory of language acquisition that has endeared itself to thousands of second-language teachers and students of second-language acquisition worldwide, despite its theoretical and researchable limitations and inadequacies.

Christian Faltis

See also Affective Filter; Comprehensible Input; Krashen, Stephen D.; Language Acquisition Device; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Natural Approach; Second-Language Acquisition; SIOP

Further Readings

- Cary, S. (1997). *Second language learners*. Los Angeles, CA: Stenhouse.
- Echevarria, J., Vogt, M., & Short, D. (2004). *Making content comprehensible for English language learners: The SIOP model* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Krashen, S. (1978). The monitor model for second-language acquisition. In R. Gringras (Ed.), *Second language acquisition and foreign language teaching* (pp. 1–26). Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Krashen, S. (1985). *The input hypothesis: Issues and implications*. New York: Longman.
- Krashen, S., & Terrell, T. (1983). *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Alemany Press.
- McLaughlin, B. (1987). *Theories of second-language learning*. Baltimore: Edward Arnold.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The definition of *multicultural education* has evolved since 1973, when James A. Banks wrote *Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies*, and advocated the inclusion of ethnic studies in the curriculum of public schools. Multicultural education began as a specific part of the curriculum; that is, as African and African American studies geared to African American students about their historical roots and contributions,

which were often left out of the mainstream curriculum. Today, multicultural education has a broader definition, which is that *all* students learn in the mainstream curriculum about the cultures and contributions of the diverse ethnic, racial, and linguistic minority groups that make up America, and provides greater learning opportunities and more equitable opportunities to learn for everyone.

The opportunity for students to learn about America's diverse cultures and backgrounds and become cross-culturally literate—that is, able to interact with diverse others skillfully, meaningfully, and with respect—has become more important in an economically and politically interdependent world. For some, such as Noel Epstein, multicultural education is unacceptable because they see diversity eroding the unity of Anglo-American mainstream culture. As Joel Spring writes, the multicultural education movement runs parallel to the development of the civil rights movement. From voting rights being reserved only for White male landowners in the 1700s, to the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 that ended slavery, to the struggle for women's suffrage in 1920, to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, when Black men and women won the right to vote, the definition of *representative democracy* has broadened. But not without struggle: Just as there was a power struggle over extending the definition of who could vote, there has been a power struggle over who should participate in defining the canon that shapes the curriculum, from elementary through high school and higher education. The overarching question is this: Whose cultures should be included in the curriculum as part of the bigger picture that is the national culture. This entry traces some of the dynamics connected with the emergence and diversification of the concept of multicultural education, a concept that, in some ways subsumes bilingual education.

History of Multicultural Education

Banks has written that multicultural education evolved through four phases. The first, in the 1970s was that of ethnic studies, when African American scholars such as Banks, Gwendolyn Baker, Geneva Gay, and Carl Grant sought to integrate information, concepts, and theories from ethnic studies into school curricula and teacher education programs. Multiethnic education followed ethnic studies as the second phase because educators realized that integrating ethnic studies content into

school and teacher education curricula was necessary but insufficient. Systemic changes and structural changes, in the whole school, such as de-tracking students, employing a diverse teaching faculty, and diverse parent involvement in shaping school policy, were needed to increase educational equity for all students, to develop more democratic attitudes, and to reduce prejudice and racism. Banks credits scholars of other ethnic groups as playing important roles in the evolution of multicultural education, including Carlos Cortes, who wrote about Mexican Americans; Sonia Nieto, a Puerto Rican who wrote case studies of students from multiple ethnic groups; Donald W. Sue, who wrote about Asian Americans; and Jack D. Forbes, an expert on Native Americans.

The third phase identified by Banks was the result of the struggles for equity by women and by people with disabilities who had also been left out of the curriculum. They too demanded that their voices, histories, and contributions be integrated into the curriculum of K–12 schools and higher education. The result was that the definition of diversity expanded from ethnic, racial, socioeconomic, and linguistic minority groups to include women and people with disabilities.

Banks identified the fourth phase as that of research and theoretical development that relate race, class, and gender. One example is research on effective teaching strategies for low-income students and students of color that explores the interactions of race, class, and gender. Banks noted that because people of color have joined the middle class, there is even greater diversity within racial and ethnic groups, and that research on any ethnic or racial group that does not consider socioeconomic class is incomplete.

Bilingual Education as Part of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education has been criticized for being divisive because students learn about their own cultures and develop both understanding and pride in their ethnic, linguistic, and racial group. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. represented those concerns that multicultural education would erode their identity as Americans and divide them into separate racial and ethnic groups. John F. Kennedy, on the other hand, had earlier expressed his views on diversity and immigration by writing, "Immigration reminds every American, old and new, that change is the essence of life, American society is a process, not a conclusion" (p. 68).

Nieto broadened the definition of multicultural education by the inclusion of bilingual education for language minority groups such as students whose native language is other than English. In her description of levels of multicultural education, she classified two-way bilingual programs for *all* students to learn a second language at the highest level. Nieto advocated for the right of immigrant students to learn in their native language while learning English as a second language. This idea echoed the 1974 Resolution of the American Anthropological Association Council on Anthropology and Education. The 1968 Bilingual Education Act provided federal funding to support bilingual education programs in school districts. Most of those bilingual programs were also bicultural; students learned about American culture and their family's cultural heritage. Textbooks began to include the contributions of various racial and ethnic groups to America. Bicultural education evolved into multicultural education. States such as California and New York developed multicultural social studies curriculum guides.

Affirming Diversity Takes Many Forms

As Banks has written, a major goal of multicultural education is to reform education and provide experiences of educational equality to students of diverse ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic classes, although a related goal is for male and female students to experience educational success and societal mobility. Nieto broadened the definition of diversity to include language minority groups, and subsumed bilingual education within multicultural education. For many, the goal of multicultural education is social justice. Exceptional students—that is, students who have disabilities—should also be included. The inclusion of students with different sexual orientations has also been accepted in some multicultural education curricula.

For Nieto, multicultural education is the path to social justice not only through integration of the students' cultures in the curriculum and bilingual education, but also through halting racism and all forms of discrimination, applying critical pedagogy, and questioning the effects of structural practices, such as tracking, standardized testing, neglected school environments, and limited involvement of parents and students in the shaping of educational policy. Her conceptualization of multicultural education includes listening and responding to the voices of parents and students in the formulation of local school policies

and practices. In her *Levels of Multicultural Education*, from monocultural education through tolerance, to acceptance, to respect, to affirmation, solidarity, and critique, she gives an operational definition of critical pedagogy. At the first level, teachers and students begin to question the status quo. At the second level, students and teachers begin a dialogue that includes their experiences. Next, critical dialogue is the core of their education; students and teachers learn from the different perspectives each brings to the classroom. At the highest level, teachers and students go beyond dialogue to learning skills of decision making and social action. Her conceptualization embodies Paulo Freire's pedagogical approach in combining reflection and action and empowering students to take part in community activities, if they are relevant to their concerns. Bank's highest level of multicultural education reform, which he terms the *Action Approach*, is congruent with Nieto's.

As Banks and Nieto have indicated, multicultural education now has many forms. In some contexts, it has broadened from curricular reform—such as the inclusion of the study of the histories and cultures of diverse ethnic, racial, linguistic, socioeconomic, and gender groups—to structural issues such as the inclusion, education, recruitment, and hiring of teachers and educational administrators of color who have bilingual skills. Another area of structural reform in multicultural education is teacher education, from the perspective that all children can learn if teachers employ a broader range of strategies and modes of teaching and learning that address multiple intelligences, humanistic and social justice goals, and native and second-language learners. Earlier writers such as Manuel Ramírez and Alfredo Castañeda tended to characterize an ethnic group as demonstrating one learning style such as the idea that Hispanics are field dependent and so flourish in cooperative learning groups. This simplistic thinking has now lost ground. Later researchers, such as Nieto have found as much diversity of learning styles within an ethnic group as between groups. This means teachers of diverse classrooms need to employ a broad array of methods of teaching and learning rather than looking for a single learning style that fits a given ethnic group.

Multicultural Curricular Reform

Curricular reform has meant the integration of examples from different cultures to illustrate key concepts and theories, principles, and generalizations across all

subject areas of the curriculum—not just social studies, language arts, and literature, but science and mathematics, music and visual arts as well. According to Banks, curricular reform can go farther to Level 3, which he calls the *Transformation Approach*. In this approach, students are able to understand issues, events, and concepts from the varied perspectives of different ethnic, cultural, and gender groups. In popular culture, two 2006 films by the same director, *Letters from Iwo Jima* in Japanese, and *Flags of Our Fathers* in English, illustrate the same significant battle in World War II, one from a Japanese perspective and the other from an American perspective.

Another aspect of curricular reform in multicultural education is the integration of constructivist learning and knowledge construction by students, so that they are aware that knowledge is humanly constructed and the ways in which they can participate in its construction. For example, they may learn to interview their neighbors, and to record, tabulate, and analyze their responses to find out how they feel and think about local issues. Older students may analyze whether any differences by gender, ethnic group, or socioeconomic class exist in the interpretations of a given topic. In a school where the emphasis is on learning rather than on testing, more time may be spent on projects, cooperative learning groups, critical thinking, knowledge construction, and the use of portfolio assessment.

Curricular reform can also mean confronting racism by sharing examples of incidents of discrimination, and how they were addressed, and by participating in interventions designed to promote respect for diverse groups. These are ways of working toward the multicultural education goal of social justice through prejudice reduction, elimination of discrimination, and affirmation of the contributions of diversity.

Reforming the Social Organization of Schooling

Changing the social organization of schooling through multicultural education includes establishing what Banks terms *Empowering School Cultures*; that is, practices that change the culture of the school, so that low-income students are not penalized for coming from homes in which their parents did not complete high school or go to college, or who might not be literate or speak English. Depending on the age of the students, this might involve free preschool education, so that preschoolers from low-income homes have the

opportunity to learn in public school what many middle-class children learn at home from parents with a more privileged education.

Dual-language bilingual programs are another form of empowering school culture in which everyone, including monolingual English speakers, learns a second language. In dual-language or two-way bilingual programs, students who are English language learners can take advantage of their native language by developing native language literacy, as well as literacy in English as a second language; thus, they become bilingual and biliterate. This way, English monolingual students and some parents understand the advantage of bilingualism and support these dual-language programs.

In some middle and high schools, changing the social organization of learning includes de-tracking, so that all students are challenged to take a rigorous academic course of study to prepare for college and are encouraged to take advanced placement courses that are heterogeneously mixed, instead of having students tracked by achievement level measured by standardized tests. When needed, support should be provided in the form of after-school homework help or reinforcement of the curriculum. In some high schools, this means mentoring by college students for students whose parents are unfamiliar with the culture of higher education. This may include activities such as traveling to a college campus, study skills development, or acceptable social interaction during a college interview.

Culturally Compatible Education

Another approach to multicultural education that involves the social organization of learning, as well as teacher expectations and behavior, has been implemented among culturally homogeneous populations, for example, indigenous Hawaiian and Navajo children. This approach termed, *culturally compatible* schooling, builds upon the cultural practices that students learn in their homes and communities by translating some of them into classroom practices. Ethnographic study of the home life among indigenous Hawaiian children in the Kamehameha Early Education Project (KEEP), conducted by Cathie Jordan, Roland G. Tharp and Lynn Baird-Vogt, found the children were given a great deal of responsibility for the completion of chores such as washing, drying, and folding clothes and keeping the house clean while their parents were working. Therefore, the children do these tasks unsupervised by adults. Older siblings are responsible for taking care of younger ones and modeling their tasks.

A specific way of storytelling among the indigenous Hawaiians is called “talk-story.” After learning this, the American KEEP teachers, who were not indigenous Hawaiians, changed their expectations and behavior and allowed the students to be more responsible for the distribution of materials in the classroom, and organizing their time working in small groups at learning centers without teacher supervision. The teacher modeled what the tasks were as an older sibling might and then withdrew to further model parental behavior. The teacher worked on language arts with a small group of students using “talk-story” storytelling and other practices. As a result of these changes, the students participated in classroom life more actively, and standardized test scores increased significantly.

Cross-Cultural Literacy

E. D. Hirsch made *cultural literacy* a household term among middle-class parents when he wrote and specified the knowledge that well-educated American students should be aware of about their national culture and history, to understand the context of such referents in their reading and, not incidentally, to score well on standardized tests such as the Scholarly Aptitude Test (SAT).

By contrast, cultural anthropologists Marietta Saravia-Shore and Steven F. Arvizu have advocated cross-cultural literacy; that is, the knowledge and understanding of one’s own and other cultures’ patterns of interaction, values, institutions, metaphors, and symbols as well as cross-cultural communication skills. Edward Hall’s early work in the 1950s and 1960s demonstrated the significance of nonverbal communication, cultural differences in proxemics (the perception and human use of space) and communication in high and low-context cultures. Hall compared Japan, a high-context culture, that is, one with a homogeneous ethnic population with a long, shared history, to a low-context culture such as the United States made up of our many ethnic populations with diverse histories and heritages, some with relatively short histories here. His research suggests that verbal communication by teachers needs to be more explicit in low-context cultures if they are to be understood by a diverse classroom. Hall’s work continues to influence the field of intercultural communication. Clifford Geertz wrote on the interpretation of cultures in the 1970s. George Lakoff and

Mark Johnson identified the extensive use of verbal metaphors in everyday conversations in the 1980s and Saravia-Shore and Arvizu explored cross-cultural literacy in their collection of classroom ethnographies in the 1990s.

The educational anthropologists mentioned previously have contributed to multicultural education the notion that culture is deeper than holidays, heroes, and heroines. Anthropology is an academic discipline and mode of inquiry for the study of peoples and cultures that includes a comparative perspective and a holistic orientation. An event or behavior makes sense when it can be understood in its larger cultural context. Cultural anthropologists engage in an ethnographic approach to understanding cultures, that is, an extended period of living with and learning the language, in-depth interviewing and observing people within a culture through a cross-cultural lens. As members of cultures previously studied from the outside became anthropologists themselves, ethnographies were further enriched. One example is the work of anthropologist John Ogbu, who was born and raised in Africa. He brought his perspective to the study of youth and the relationships between teachers and low- and middle-income families in a California city.

In 1978, the Council on Anthropology and Education of the American Anthropological Association developed and passed a resolution for action on culture, which stated that culture affects the dynamics of the teaching-learning process, instructional activities, and curriculum: the organization of learning and pedagogical practice, and evaluative procedures and rules of schools. Although noting that culture was more than the heritage of a people in dance, food, and holidays, the resolution stated that culture is a dynamic, evolving, creative, and continuous process that includes language, behaviors, values, and substance, which are shared by people and that guide them in their struggle for survival. In earlier decades when the goal of immigrant education was solely assimilation into the dominant culture, students lost the language of their families. With the more humane goal of acculturation, to be able to participate meaningfully in a new culture but maintain what is deemed valuable in their family’s culture, students can have the advantage of flexibility, learning to cope with change, cross-cultural competencies, and a broader family support network. With bilingual and multicultural education, students can maintain their relationships with grandparents and extended family members who may not speak English.

Cross-cultural literacy means that educators start with themselves and become aware of their own cultural expectations, perspective, and interaction patterns. Hall suggested that the best way to learn about another culture is to embrace the culture, maintain friendships within it, learn their language, and by continually being aware of one's feelings towards that culture. In a way, ethnography is a model of constructivist learning. The ethnographer is their instrument and after taking in information through experiencing, observing, and interviewing, the ethnographer then compares it to prior knowledge. In their resolutions on culture, anthropologists stressed respecting the cultural and linguistic differences of the students and families they serve, and ensuring that members of the community participate in the decisions that affect the education of their children. The goal of the resolution was equity of educational opportunity for all students.

Marietta Saravia-Shore

See also Culturally Competent Teaching; Epstein, Noel; Nationality–Culture Myth; Nieto, Sonia; Ogbu, John

Further Readings

- Banks, J. A. (Ed.). (1973). *Teaching ethnic studies: Concepts and strategies*. Washington, DC: National Council for Social Studies.
- Banks, J. A., & Banks, C. E. (Eds.). (1995). *Handbook of research on multicultural education*. New York: Macmillan.
- Council on Anthropology and Education of the American Anthropological Association Resolutions. (1992). In M. Saravia-Shore & S. F. Arvizu (Eds.), *Cross-cultural literacy: Ethnographies of communication in multiethnic classrooms*. New York: Garland.
- Epstein, N. (1977). *Language, ethnicity, and the schools: Policy alternatives for bilingual-bicultural education*. Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership.
- Ericson, F., & Schults, J. J. (1982). *The counselor as gatekeeper: Social interaction in interviews*. New York: Academic Press.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hall, E. T. (1959). *The silent language*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Hall, E. T. (1966). *The hidden dimension*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond culture*. Garden City, NY: Anchor.
- Hirsch, E. D. (1987). *Cultural literacy: What every American needs to know*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Jordan, C., Tharp, R. G., & Vogt, L. (1992). "Just open the door": Cultural compatibility and classroom rapport. In M. Saravia-Shore & S. F. Arvizu (Eds.), *Cross-cultural literacy: Ethnographies of communication in multiethnic classrooms* (pp. 3–18). New York: Garland.
- Kennedy, J. F. (1964). *A nation of immigrants* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nieto, S. (2003). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education* (3rd ed.). New York: Longman.
- Ogbu, J. (1974). *The next generation: An ethnography of education in an urban neighborhood*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ramírez, M., & Castañeda, A. (1974). *Cultural democracy, bicognitive development and education*. New York: Academic Press.
- Saravia-Shore, M., & Arvizu, S. F. (1992). *Cross-cultural literacy: Ethnographies of communication in multiethnic classrooms*. New York: Garland.
- Schlesinger, A., Jr. (1991). Report of the social studies syllabus review committee: A dissenting opinion. In New York (State), Social Studies Review and Development Committee, *One nation, many peoples: A declaration of cultural interdependence*. Albany: New York State Education Department.
- Spindler, G. G. (1997). *Education and cultural process: Anthropological approaches* (3rd ed.). Long Grove, IL: Waveland.
- Spring, J. (1997). *Deculturalization and the struggle for equality: A brief history of the education of dominated cultures in the United States* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND ADVOCACY (META)

Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META), Inc., was formed as an independent national public interest legal entity in 1983 by two lawyer/advocates, Roger Rice and Camilo Pérez Bustillo. Joined several years later by another former Center for Law and Education colleague, Peter Roos, META's sole focus from its inception has been the educational civil rights of all language minority and

immigrant students. In practice, this meant advocating for bilingual education when and where that was possible and for setting benchmark standards for programs for English language learners (ELLs), regardless of program models. Through its history, META and its attorneys have been involved directly or as advisors in nearly every case across the country brought to advance these purposes. This entry discusses META's advocacy of bilingual education.

As early as 1973, Rice had written briefs in support of the *Lau v. Nichols* plaintiffs in which the evidence for bilingual education was advanced in the U.S. Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. Included in those briefs, along with legal and educational research citations, was a footnote written only in Chinese as a means of driving home to the Supreme Court justices the frustration of Chinese students who were receiving no classroom help at the time.

Following the *Lau* decision, META began a strategy of filing cases on a statewide basis in states with large language minority student populations such as Texas (*United States v. Texas*), Florida (*LULAC v. Florida*), California (*El Comité de Padres v. Honig*) and Massachusetts (*Lynn Hispanic PAC v. Commissioner of Education*). These cases led to the passage of new state laws (as in Florida) or court decisions and consent decrees that spelled out program standards in such areas as identification of students for services, teacher qualifications and training, program content, state obligations to monitor and evaluate programs, and program implementation. Similar court cases or administrative complaints were brought to defend and improve existing bilingual programs in cities with large non-English-speaking populations including Albuquerque (*Carbajal v. Albuquerque Public Schools*) and Denver (*Keyes v. School District No. 1*) among many others. In Albuquerque, META and cocounsel also successfully faced a challenge to the New Mexico Multicultural Education Act, legislation that had its roots in the history of New Mexico as a state where the Spanish language is valued and encouraged. Overall, as legal standards have shifted, much of META's work turned to whether school districts were actually implementing their ELL programs with adequate programmatic resources.

META's advocacy on behalf of ELLs also embraced efforts to ensure adequate and equitable fiscal support for educational programs. META, along with Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), successfully litigated a statewide

school finance equity case in Texas (*Edgewood v. Kirby*) on behalf of poor school districts with large language minority student populations. META also took the lead in pressing for equitable fiscal resources for poor schoolchildren in lower-income neighborhoods in Los Angeles (*Rodríguez v. LAUSD*). In these, and similar efforts in other states, META has worked in collaboration with other legal organizations such as MALDEF and Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Educational Fund (PRLDEF) and also with leading educational research and advocacy organizations including Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA) in San Antonio, National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), the National Council of La Raza, and others. META also initiated the convening of an Educational Equity Working Group in Washington, D.C., a coalition of Latino and bilingual education groups.

Even before the No Child Left Behind legislation era, another area of securing resources for ELLs focused on access to federal programs such as Title I funded schoolwide programs, Reading First, and School-to-Work. META suits in Massachusetts (*Latino Parents v. Boston School Committee*) and elsewhere established that Title I funds must be equitably allocated for programs that addressed the needs of ELLs, although a META case brought in California made clear that schools implementing bilingual programs could not be denied access to federal Reading First funding (*Pazmiño v. California Board of Education*).

It is impossible to calculate with precision the total additional resources META's advocates have helped direct to the education of ELLs through litigation activities, but the amount is likely to have reached in excess of several billions of dollars. Other important advances as the result of META's litigation included the development and implementation of a special program for immigrant students who came to the United States with gaps in their formal education, and various activities aimed at reducing the drop-out rates among Latinos and ELLs.

As more and more states moved toward the implementation of high-stakes testing for high school graduation, grade promotion, and entry into the teaching profession, META also focused through both litigation and research on the impact and validity of such tests on ELLs.

META has also spent considerable effort in defending the rights of undocumented students to attend

public schools. META's codirector, Peter Roos, argued the landmark *Plyler v. Doe* case in the U.S. Supreme Court before joining the organization, and thereafter META served as a national resource for the parents of undocumented students, helping intervene with local and state school officials to overcome barriers to their school enrollment. Following passage of California's Proposition 187, META worked in both state and federal courts to ensure that the *Plyler* rights of undocumented students were not restricted. META has also argued in court on behalf of undocumented high school graduates who sought in-state tuition status in the state of their residence, California (*Leticia A. v. Board of Regents*) and Kansas (*Day v. Sebelius*).

Although META is best known for its litigation efforts, its advocates also employed research, policy analysis, public advocacy, and community training to advance the civil and educational rights of ELLs. Parallel to its resource litigation, for example, META has researched and published findings on how federal grant programs failed to address the needs of ELLs, written policy briefs, and reviewed the state of the art in school finance cost studies to determine the extent to which those studies pointed to the need for specific resources for ELL programs.

Throughout its history, META has also devoted considerable attention to community education and coalition building. In Florida, META brought a diverse spectrum of community organizations together as the Florida Multicultural Network for Educational Rights in support of expanded statewide efforts for ELLs. Other statewide and more localized parent training activities were routinely conducted in California, Colorado, Massachusetts, Nevada, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, and Washington State. As part of its community education work, META published parent training handbooks and manuals in multiple languages on such topics as immigrant parents rights, school retention and promotion, and education equity.

META also played a public role in the debates in California and Massachusetts surrounding the efforts of antibilingual education forces to support English-only ballot initiatives. In Massachusetts, for example, META's Jane López helped local Latino parents document that 93% of Latino voters opposed that state's "Unz" ballot question. López also worked with parents of students in dual-language programs to gain an exemption from the antibilingual law for dual-language or two-way programs. In California, META's

attorneys and parent advocates have also devoted considerable efforts to mitigating the affect of that state's Proposition 227 law.

META's work has led to invitations to present at international human and civil rights events. In 1999, Roos presented a case study on Proposition 227 at a public hearing on the People's Communication Charter at The Hague, the purpose of which was to highlight issues of language minority students in Europe and globally. López presented at the *Primera Feria Hemisférica de la Educación Indígena* in Guatemala in 2001. In 2000, META signed a collaborative agreement with the Universidad Andina Simon Bolívar in Quito, Ecuador.

META held its founding board of directors meeting at the Latino Institute in Chicago in 1985. Founding board members, and their identifications at the time, were Mario Aranda (director of the Latino Institute, Chicago), Blandina Cárdenas Ramírez (member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, San Antonio), Courtney Cazden (professor, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, Cambridge), Henry Der (director, Chinese for Affirmative Action, San Francisco), Frank Espada (director, National Puerto Rican Diaspora Project, San Francisco), Ricardo Fernández (director, Midwest National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center, Milwaukee), Arthur Flemming (former secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.), Reverend Gérard Jean-Juste (director, Haitian Refugee Center, Miami), Juan Marichal (professor, Harvard University, Cambridge), Awilda Orta (assistant superintendent, District No. 12, New York), María Santiago-Mercardo (chairperson, ASPIRA, New York), and Alfredo De Los Santos (vice-chancellor, Maricopa County Community College District, Phoenix).

META's staff attorneys in addition to Rice, Pérez-Bustillo, Roos, and López have included Javier Colón, Miguel Pérez-Vargas, Deborah Escobedo, Irma Herrera, Mary Hernández, and statewide Florida parent advocate Sally Herrera.

META and its attorneys have received numerous awards from both educational, community and legal groups, including the NABE President's Award in 1998.

Roger L. Rice

See also English for the Children Campaign; Escobedo, Deborah; Federal Court Decisions and Legislation; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Roos, Peter D.

Further Readings

- Boston Master PAC and Boston Latino Parents v. Boston School Committee. C.A. No. 91-11725-Z (D. Mass., 1992).
- Carbajal et al. v. Albuquerque Public Schools (1999) D. New Mex. No. CIV 98-279 MV/DJS.
- Day v. Sebelius, 376 F. Supp. 2d 1022 (D. Kan. 2005).
- Edgewood v. Kirby, 777 S.W.2d 391 (Tex. 1989).
- Comité de Padres de Familia v. Honig, Case No. 000258; 192 Cal.App.3d 528, 237 Cal.Rptr. 517 (1987).
- Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO, 576 F. Supp. 503 (D. Colorado, 1983).
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Leticia A. v. Board of Regents, No. 588-982-5 Cal. Superior Ct., Alameda County, 1985, digested in 62 Interpreter Releases 639-41 (July 12, 1985).
- LULAC v. Florida Board of Education, C.A. # 90-1913-M (S.D., Fla., 1990).
- Lynn Hispanic PAC v. Commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Education, C.A. # 85-2475-H (D.Mass. 1985).
- Pazmiño v. California Board of Education, # CPF03-502554 (Superior Ct., San Francisco County, 2003).
- Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982).
- Rodríguez v. LAUSD, # C 611358 (Superior Ct., Los Angeles County, 1992).
- United States v. Texas, 506 F. Supp. 405 (E.D. Tex. 1981).

N

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), described in this entry, is a professional association of practitioners, researchers, and administrators involved in bilingual education. “Nah-Bay,” as it is popularly called, was incorporated as a nonprofit organization in April 1976 and is devoted to representing both the interests of language minority students and the bilingual education professionals who serve them.

Following is a list of NABE’s educational purposes:

1. Serving as an advocate for language-minority children and families
2. Recognizing, promoting, and publicizing programs of excellence
3. Promoting efforts to ensure equal educational opportunity
4. Encouraging research and publications
5. Promoting the provision of linguistically and culturally appropriate education services to children, youth, and adults
6. Promoting public understanding and appreciation of the linguistic and cultural needs of language-minority children, youth, and adults
7. Promoting development of standards of professional excellence
8. Conducting educational workshops and conferences

9. Promoting the inclusion of language-minority students in assessment systems that, to the extent practicable, assess students in a language and form most likely to yield accurate and reliable information

NABE has sought to achieve its goals throughout its 30-year history by strengthening the educational rights of English language learners (ELLs) and sharing information with policymakers who shape those rights, primarily through bilingual education. Following is a summary, organized chronologically, of selected aspects of the history and activity of the organization.

1965–1975

Before the birth of NABE, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) into law. Two years later, Senator Ralph Yarborough proposed the first federal Bilingual Education Act. That legislation was adopted as an amendment to the ESEA in 1968. The law, known alternatively as the Bilingual Education Act, or “Title VII,” was signed into law by President Johnson in 1968.

Four years later, the first National Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference was held in Austin, Texas. Most of the attendees came from a handful of school districts nationwide. A second and much larger conference took place in San Diego, California. By this time, it was clear that the creation of a professional organization seemed necessary to bring together the nation’s leaders in the field and seeking avenues for that expertise to be heard by policymakers. At the

San Diego conference, other language groups—other than Hispanics—as well as international representatives were present, and steps were taken to form what became NABE. At the Third Annual International Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference held in New York City, bylaws of a national bilingual education organization were adopted, and a slate of candidates for the executive board of directors was prepared. The constitution and bylaws of the new organization were approved, and members of the Association's executive board of directors were elected. The initial slate of officers was the following: Albar Peña, president; Hernán LaFontaine, president-elect; Toni Metcalf, vice president; Juan de Dios Solís, secretary; and Pepe Barron, treasurer.

The next conference of the fledgling organization was held in Chicago with María Medina Seidner as the local chairperson. The precedent was established that the work of organizing the annual conferences would be carried out by a committee of members from the city in which the conference was to be held. Nancy Zelasko, then at the Washington, D.C., Public Schools, took on the job of documenting the steps and procedures that were recommended by the preceding conference organizers and subsequently passed on to the next group of conference organizers.

1976–1980

In 1976, the *Bilingual Research Journal*, then known as the *NABE Journal*, was founded in keeping with the information dissemination function of the organization. Alma Flor Ada, then of the University of San Francisco, was the editor of the first volume, published in 1977. For the second volume, published in 1978, three coeditors were named: Josué M. González, then of Southern Methodist University; William Milán, then of Arawak Consulting Corporation; and José A. Vázquez, of Hunter College. Miguel Romo (director of El Congreso/National Congress of Hispanic American Citizens) became the organization's legislative analyst to assist the organization in keeping the membership abreast of congressional actions pertaining to bilingual education. With better communication channels, NABE was able to better educate congressmen and senators. Title VII increased its funding from \$135 million to \$200 million partly because of the work of Juan de Dios Solis, NABE's president-elect.

In the following years, NABE focused on organizational improvements. The first issue of the newsletter,

NABE News, was published in 1978. It was well received by the membership as evidenced by the involvement of members and a wide array of article submissions. Special interest groups (SIGs) were formed within the organization as a way to help increase membership.

As NABE moved to its first offices in the National Education Association (NEA) building in Washington, D.C., Carolyn Ebel was appointed as the first executive director along with its first full-time employee, Carolyn Riddick. NABE moved to its next challenge: to improve the network of state affiliates. The first Affiliate President's Summit was held led by Pepe Barron, Mary Destefani, Marcelo Fernandez, Carmen Perez, and Nancy Zelasko. In addition to the affiliate presidents, federal education officials, White House representatives, and congressional aides also joined this 3-day meeting.

1981–1985

Soon after President Ronald Reagan's election, the repeal of the proposed *Lau* regulations by the U.S. Secretary of Education, Terrel Bell, sent shock waves through the bilingual education community. The NABE board of directors requested a meeting with Secretary Bell to discuss his continued support of bilingual education for ELLs. Senator Edward M. Kennedy also expressed his support for bilingual education programs at the NABE conference in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1981.

With pressing issues and threats to bilingual education increasing, NABE felt a need to have a legislative counsel on Capitol Hill. James Lyons, a civil rights attorney and former staff member of the Office for Civil Rights, was appointed to represent NABE. Lyons provided outstanding leadership later becoming executive director of the organization.

NABE's Nationwide Writing Contest for Bilingual Students, on topics related to the meaning of being bilingual featuring elementary and secondary student essays, was made a permanent part of the annual conference in 1982 in response to its huge popularity with the membership.

In 1983, the annual conference was held in Washington, D.C., and featured presidential candidates and Mrs. Barbara Bush as special guests. During the same year, Gloria Zamora, NABE board president, presented testimony to Congress requesting that the Bilingual Education Act once again be reauthorized.

NABE led the effort to reauthorize Title VII in 1984, along with partner organizations the National Education Association (NEA), the National School Board Association, the National Council of La Raza, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the League of United Latin American Citizens. James Lyons, NABE's legislative counsel, also presented testimony reinforcing the need for the reauthorization.

1986–1990

Joe Beard became NABE's first national office director in 1986. Beard's first task was to lead NABE and other related organizations to work together to stop the proposed cuts in funding for federal bilingual education programs.

NABE devoted a great deal of time and energy to educating federal policymakers on the needs of ELLs and to ensure that adequate services remained a viable option for the parents and teachers of children who are learning English. Also that year, NABE prepared a legislative agenda for the 108th Congress. Its legislative agenda included taking a leadership role in ensuring that the concerns and unique linguistic needs of ELLs were addressed as the U.S. Congress, shaping the education budget and a variety of education programs were being reauthorized.

1991–2007

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was passed in 2001. NCLB reauthorized a number of federal programs aiming at improving the performance of U.S. primary and secondary schools by increasing the standards of accountability for states, school districts, and schools and by providing parents more flexibility in choosing which schools their children will attend. Additionally, NCLB promoted an increased focus on reading and reauthorized the ESEA Although NCLB was said to reauthorize Title VII, ESEA, in effect, many of the specific programs previously available under that law were eliminated. Most of the programs for ELLs would now be granted to the states, rather than to school districts.

The latest legislation supported by NABE is the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act. The bill's preamble states that the purpose of the legislation is to allow immigrant children achieve their dream of obtaining a college education.

If passed, it would allow undocumented immigrant students who were brought here as children, grew up in the United States, have good moral character, and have graduated from high school to become legal residents, go to college, and work in the United States legally. In 2003, the bill was voted out of the Senate Judiciary Committee, but not before the bill was weakened substantially. As this encyclopedia goes to press, NABE has joined a growing coalition of organizations that continue to work to strengthen the bill and securing support for its passage.

In 2004, the U.S. Department of Education announced new policies regarding the testing of English language learners and calculating how schools serve them. That same year, Delia Pompa, who had succeeded James Lyons as NABE's executive director, left the organization and was replaced by James Crawford in that role.

In 2005, NABE's conference in San Antonio, Texas, turned out an impressive attendance of more than 7,000 persons. Irene Bueno, a veteran staffer on Capitol Hill and in the Executive Branch during President Bill Clinton's administration, signed on as NABE's legislative representative. As cofounder and principal of the Nueva Vista Group, a government relations firm in Washington, D.C., Bueno has been an advocate in the areas of civil rights, immigration, and minority education. In 2006, Crawford left NABE as the executive director.

The *Bilingual Research Journal* continues to be the premiere journal in the country devoted to bilingualism, bilingual education, and language policy in the schools. Under the 8-year editorship of Josué M González and Alfredo Benavides, this publication excelled. They were succeeded as coeditors by Kathy Escamilla, University of Colorado, and Maria Franquiz, University of Texas, San Antonio, in 2006.

In 2007, a Memorandum of Understanding was approved and signed by the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., NABE. Another official partnership is pending approval with the National Indian Education Association under the leadership of Willard Sakiestewa Gilbert (Hopi). This strong bond between Native American organizations and NABE is the first official partnership that supports each organization's mutual goals of promoting heritage language and cultures as well as bilingualism and biliteracy for all. Strong alliances with the NEA, the National Council of La Raza, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the

National Association of Education of Young Children, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, the International Reading Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, and other national organizations continue, as do coalitions in countering the adversarial aspects of NCLB.

Barbara M. Flores

See also Crawford, James; González, Josué M.; Lyons, James J.; Peña, Álbarr Antonio; Seidner, María M.; Zelasko, Nancy

Further Readings

Bilingual Education Act of 1968, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).

Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act of 2003, S.1545. Retrieved from <http://www.theorator.com/bills108/s1545.html>

Lyons, J. (1990). The past and future directions of federal bilingual-education policy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 508, 66–80.

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002).

Web Sites

Bilingual Research Journal: <http://brj.asu.edu>

National Association of Bilingual Education:
<http://www.nabe.org>

NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

For more than 30 years, educators across the United States seeking information related to the education of English language learners (ELLs) and bilingual education looked to the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) for information and other resources. This entry provides a thumbnail history of NCBE and its eventual transition into the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition (NCELA) during President George W. Bush's administration.

Although the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1968 provided the national impetus for bilingual education in the United States, not until

1974, under Section 742(c)(3) of Public Law 93–380, the reauthorization of Title VII, did Congress give the authorization to “establish and operate a national clearinghouse of information for bilingual education, which shall collect, analyze, and disseminate information about bilingual education . . . and related programs” (Pub. L. No. 93–380).

Two more years passed before an agreement was signed by the National Institute of Education (NIE) and the Office of Bilingual Education (OBE) in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) assigning responsibility to NIE for the implementation of this clearinghouse, NCBE. That same year, a series of six national assessment conferences were held across the country in San Diego, California; Seattle, Washington; Chicago, Illinois; New York, New York; San Antonio, Texas; and Miami, Florida. These meetings allowed federal planners to share information about the clearinghouse concept with potential users, primarily education practitioners working with ELLs in the nation's schools. The gatherings provided an opportunity for attendees, who were representing states with the largest numbers of limited- or non-English-speaking students in their schools and the most likely clients of the clearinghouse, to present their information needs.

The suggestions and recommendations made in 1976 for the proposed clearinghouse included establishing a national advisory board, a mission statement with wide distribution, and a national scope, supportive of all bilingual efforts in the nation; such scope was not expected to duplicate or bypass existing bilingual projects. Regarding information gathering and dissemination, the clearinghouse was expected to aggressively seek national and international information without screening out any information that differed from official policy. All information was collected, categorized, and prepared for quick retrieval. Regarding the clearinghouse's audience, recommendations addressed directly reaching individuals, professionals, parents, teachers, protagonists and antagonists, and industrial and commercial users of bilingual education. It was also suggested that the clearinghouse provide services free of charge, particularly in the first years, later incorporating sliding fee scales; these services would include having a public relations function, publishing a periodic newsletter, possibly a professional journal, and other specialized reports.

The topics considered for the clearinghouse to address included the following: curriculum materials;

tests and their evaluations; data collected on research projects, surveys, and census; information on sources in bilingual education; training materials for bilingual education; federal legislation and guidelines; funding sources for research and training; effective classroom practices and unpublished ideas; human resource files; court cases and decisions; parental and community involvement; bilingual education for handicapped, special, and gifted education; international data; research reports; and demographic data and studies. A last suggestion addressed the involvement of professional, multilingual, and multiethnic personnel from the field.

On the basis of data from the six national meetings, the funding sources decided what should be included in the NCBE scope of work. With slight modifications, most of the requests about what NCBE should be were included in the request for proposals (RFP). In 1977, an RFP was issued by NIE, and on October 1, 1977, a 3-year, 3-million-dollar contract was awarded to InterAmerica Research Associates (a consulting firm located in the Washington, D.C., area) to operate the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. Included in the contract was a subcontract to the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL). From October 1977 through March 1983, NCBE was located in Rosslyn, Virginia, and administered by InterAmerica Research Associates.

Although the creation of NCBE was well received by the bilingual education community, clarification was sought by one of the funding agencies regarding the nature of the relationship between the new organization, the clearinghouse, and the existing network of centers funded by OBE to provide similar services. These concerns were addressed and potential problems avoided. Within the Title VII Network, the NCBE's role was to provide information and referral services to the network components—basically to serve as a national conduit of information to support regional and local activities. Given its central position within the network, NCBE was primarily responsible for responding to the information needs that the Title VII centers found difficult to address given their regional focus.

As with any newly funded project, the first few months were challenging, as new staff were hired and trained to fulfill the requirements set forth in the scope of work statement. As timelines were established for meeting deliverable deadlines, NCBE staff became familiar with their respective assignments

and responsibilities; contacted school districts, publishers, and Title VII funded centers; prepared literature for dissemination; arranged and prepared for the first NCBE Advisory Panel meeting; published its newsletter; and collected information, documents, and materials to assist the staff in responding to incoming requests for information via the 800 number and preparing responses for distribution.

The NCBE advisory panel represented the various language communities enrolled in bilingual education classrooms across the nation. The panel was to meet twice each year. Advisory panel meeting agendas usually included an update on NCBE activities and the status of contract requirements, deliverables, and new materials, documents, or information deemed of interest to the panel. Guest speakers were often invited to share new information with the panelists and NCBE staff.

During the first 3 years of the contract, new technology for database development was added, as NCBE began building a collection of resources that would be used to respond to client requests, and the NCBE Newsletter *FORUM* was mailed to subscribers on a monthly basis. A major NCBE highlight was the 1979 launch of the NCBE database. The unveiling was done at the NABE conference in Seattle, Washington. The database was shared initially with the NCBE advisory panel members and showcased at the NCBE exhibit booth, along with other information products of interest to conference attendees.

In 1980, the NCBE contract was re-competed and a 3-year contract was awarded to the incumbent (InterAmerica Research Associates). Several changes occurred during this contract period. A new memorandum of understanding was written between NIE and OBE, giving the latter primary responsibility for NCBE. The OBE became the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), a subcabinet-level unit. Changes within the NCBE structure included further expansion of staff, totaling approximately 40 employees assigned to divisions reflecting contractual responsibilities and activities related to an expanding level of work and increased reliance on new technologies. The reorganization within NCBE allowed for better information collection and further expansion of services, staff, and activities. A small visiting scholar program was instituted.

NCBE field offices were also established in New Mexico (Native American) and in California (Asian) during this time. Needs-assessment meetings were

conducted by NCBE staff in Guam for representatives of the then-Trust Territories and in Montana with representatives from various Native American communities.

At the end of 1985, the U.S. Department of Education decided to extend the NCBE contract for a period of 6 months instead of issuing an RFP to re-compete it. At the end of the extension, NCBE was asked to initiate the transfer of the clearinghouse to a new contractor as outlined in the NCBE contract. Following the contractual requirements related to a transfer of operations, all NCBE database files and documents housed in the NCBE library and resource collection were packed, along with equipment purchased under the existing contract, in preparation for the transfer to the interim contractor, Treviño Associates. Meetings were held with the interim contractor to respond to questions related to NCBE operations before all the materials were removed from the premises. Although efforts were made by the interim subcontractor to provide adequate services, end users generally expressed dissatisfaction with those services during the interim period. Following a Department of Education and an OBEMLA review of the NCBE contract that had terminated, a new RFP was drafted and issued in 1986. The contractor selected to run NCBE for a 3-year period was COMSIS, Corp. a consulting firm located in Silver Spring, Maryland. During the 3 years the contract was held by COMSIS, efforts were made by NCBE to meet the informational needs of the field; exhibiting at local, state, and national conferences; producing publications; and creating a newsletter.

After 3 years (1989), NCBE was again re-competed, and the contract was awarded to the George Washington University located in Washington, D.C. The contract included a subcontract with CAL to assist NCBE with editing and preparing contractually required publications. The newly funded NCBE was housed at CAL, located a few blocks from the George Washington University campus, and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, also located at CAL. The newly contracted NCBE was soon back in operation. Start up for the new NCBE was relatively easy, given the experience and knowledge brought with them by the new directors: Joel Gómez, who had been the first NCBE director in 1977, and deputy director Minerva Gorena.

During the next few years, with the growing use of the Internet, changes in technology and information delivery led to the launch in 1990 of the NCBE Web

site as part of the Improving America's Schools Act (IASA). During the next several years, the NCBE contract was again extended to include option years picked up by OBEMLA. In total, NCBE was funded under five different presidents and their respective administrations—Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton—before its name was changed to National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA), with the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act, and the end of Title VII, ESEA in 2001. Nancy Zelasko, then the director of NCBE, oversaw the transition of the organization into its new form and new functions.

Minerva Gorena

See also Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus; Gómez, Joel; Improving America's Schools Act of 1994; Zelasko, Nancy; Appendix F

Further Readings

Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No 93-380, 88 Stat. 503 (1974).

Web Sites

National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs:
<http://www.ncela.gwu.edu>

NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958

The launching of the first earth satellite, *Sputnik*, on October 4, 1957, by the Soviet Union raised concerns in the United States that the nation was lagging behind the Soviets in languages, science, and mathematics. The event was viewed as a security crisis for the United States during one of the most intense periods of political tension in the cold war between the two rival nations. To deal with the crisis, Congress passed and President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in September 1958. The act authorized use of federal funds to support education in all levels, public and private. Although the

new law appeared to have no direct relevance to bilingual education, the professional development programs it supported proved to be extremely important to the development of the concept of bilingual education in the 1960s and 1970s, and of the professional personnel who were to lead these programs in future years. In approving the new law, President Eisenhower commented that considerations of national security were imposing an array of growing needs on the U.S. education system, thus, the system needed to be strengthened. This entry describes the impact of the NDEA on bilingual education.

NDEA was the first national attempt to improve the teaching of science, mathematics, and modern languages, the areas in which Soviet education was seen as superior. NDEA also supported English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, technical and geography education, and school libraries and educational media centers. To stimulate higher college attendance, NDEA made possible low-interest loan incentives to students in postsecondary institutions. Many students from language minority communities used these loans.

Through intensive NDEA-funded summer language institutes, the legislation helped to reinvigorate national interest in languages other than English. Support for foreign-language programs had faded during the first half of the 20th century. The renewed interest in foreign languages and foreign-language teaching enabled groups such as the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) to assert their influence in education circles. One ACTFL affiliate, the Southwest Council of Foreign Language Teachers (now the Southwest Conference on Language Teaching) was responsible for leading the drive in support of bilingual education in the mid-1960s. The Southwest Council of Teachers of foreign languages—while arguing for increased Spanish instruction for Spanish-speaking students in the 1966 Tucson Symposium titled “The Spanish-Speaking Child in the Schools of the Southwest”—also built a persuasive case for bilingual education. As originally proposed, the program would target those children of Mexican heritage who had suffered language discrimination in the schools because of their language “handicap.” NDEA made it possible for language specialists to join forces with language minority groups and civil rights advocates in lobbying Congress to enact Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary

Education Act (ESEA). The strategy was simple: to have Title VII do for bilingual education what NDEA had done for modern language teaching. Many of the administrators and teachers who worked in the newly funded Title VII programs had been trained in the NDEA summer institutes or had completed graduate degrees with student loans funded by the NDEA law. This vanguard of bilingual educators was, for the most part, of minority origin and a product of the English-only public education system. Many of them were eager to change the school systems they had experienced in their own school careers.

Methods and materials used in foreign- (mainly Spanish) language programs stimulated by NDEA helped shape the first generation programs of bilingual teacher training at a time when trained teachers were few in number. Although first developed for the foreign-language programs in the elementary schools, these materials found extensive use in the bilingual programs operating during the early years of Title VII-funded programs.

To support the special programs in elementary and secondary schools funded by Title I programs of the ESEA, the NDEA funded a number of summer institutes in several universities to heighten awareness among K–12 educators of the learning needs of second-language learners and children from “disadvantaged” backgrounds. Faculty in schools of education realized that teacher education approaches that failed to recognize the social reality of a growing number of linguistically and culturally diverse students were inadequate for training future teachers. Prompted by the reform initiatives suggested by NDEA and subsequent federal programs to improve teacher quality, a new breed of faculty member emerged to help the colleges of education infuse the teacher preparatory curriculum with multicultural perspectives. These programs called for a new focus on the characteristics of culturally atypical learners and techniques for enhancing their access to quality schooling. Regional, state, and national entities in charge of accreditation eventually joined in with revised standards that improved the level of teacher education programs for future teachers nationwide.

By the mid-1960s, the country began a transition from the NDEA legislation and programs to the more comprehensive ESEA. The lessons learned from the NDEA experience helped program developers devise new strategies to intervene in what heretofore had been the exclusive domain of the states and local

school boards. Advocates for change who had started out in NEA-funded projects were among the first who helped shape educational initiatives, including bilingual education, in the 1970s after Title VII funding became available.

Rodolfo Rodríguez

See also Critical Languages for the United States; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

- Clowse, B. B. (1981). *Brainpower for the cold war: The Sputnik crisis and National Defense Education Act of 1958*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- González, J. M. (1975). Coming of age in bilingual/bicultural education: A historical perspective. *Inequality in Education, 19*, 5–17.
- Meranto, P. (1967). *The politics of federal aid to education in 1965: A study in political innovation*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- National Education Association. (1966). *New voices of the Southwest symposium: The Spanish-speaking child in the schools of the Southwest*. Washington, DC: National Education Association.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION TUCSON SYMPOSIUM

In the United States, the centerpiece of bilingual-education legislation in the modern era was Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). ESEA was the first and most important delivery vehicle for federal aid to public schools in the history of the nation. It was noteworthy first because it served as the federal government's primary funding mechanism for schools for more than 30 years but, equally important, because it was the primary device for creating a federal role in education, which until then had been a state and local function. The bilingual aspect of the legislation, often referred to as Title VII, ESEA, or the Bilingual Education Act (sometimes BEA) in the literature, was an amendment to the original ESEA legislation. Although the actual enactment of the bilingual aspect of the legislation did not occur until 1968, bilingual education advocates had taken

important steps before and after that time to shape and reshape its provisions. This entry reviews three seminal events in that chain of advocacy.

Two of those events, which helped build the necessary momentum for the creation of Title VII, were regional meetings held in Tucson, Arizona, one in 1965, and the other in 1966. The first of these conferences was held to announce the report of a survey called *Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking*. The second meeting, held a year later, expanded the original scope of the discussion. It no longer emphasized the teaching of Spanish as a school subject. Instead, the focus was redefined to teach Spanish as part of bilingual education programs to be supported by federal funds. It is more than coincidence that these seminal meetings were organized and conducted by Spanish teachers and professors—a group that recognized, perhaps earlier than others, that the Spanish language was an important tool that held potential for improving the education of Hispanic students. The theme of continuing to develop the home language rather than truncating it continues to echo in bilingual education circles.

Many of the organizers of these events were active members of the National Education Association (NEA). This meant that the organizers and participants had access to one of the strongest professional voices in Washington and through it, to other strong sources of support for the legislative agenda that concerned them: the absence of a national system of financial support for bilingual education.

Recommendations of the Survey

The Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking posed the challenge of providing better educational opportunities for Mexican American children and youth by improving how Spanish was taught to them. The survey was conducted by educators from the Tucson area and sponsored by the NEA. The report emphasized that a sound foundation for improving education for Mexican Americans must begin with the premise that Mexican American children “are not deficient human beings, but rather that the schools, techniques, and materials are deficient” and that these should be changed to meet the needs of children who are linguistically diverse. This was an important point that gradually lost its way in the passage of Title VII of ESEA to be replaced by the deficit-oriented assumption that the main problem faced by

these children is a “language barrier” (i.e., an inadequate command of English).

The NEA Tucson Survey report included the following recommendations that, though general in nature, contain most of the features that were sought in federal policy:

1. There is a need for a well-articulated program of instruction from the preschool level to the high school level in the student’s native language.
2. The preparation of teachers for bilingual programs must be based on: (a) the personal qualities of the teacher, (b) their knowledge of children and appreciation of the cultural environment of the community from which these students derive, (c) skill in the teaching process, and (d) bilingual fluency.
3. Teachers must be recruited from the Spanish-speaking population, and young Mexican Americans should be encouraged to pursue teaching as a career.
4. Curriculum models must be characterized by their diversity so that the needs of students will be met rather than continue to fit the children to the curriculum.
5. English must be taught as a second language, using appropriate techniques and materials.
6. Laws that directly or indirectly impede the use of the children’s native language in the classroom must be repealed.

The NEA Tucson Symposium of 1966

The NEA symposium, convened in 1966 at the University of Arizona, was a sequel to the 1965 gathering. “The Spanish-Speaking Child in the Schools of the Southwest” was a more pointed call to action than the meeting of the previous year. The presentations and areas of concern were expanded, although the focus continued to be on the education of Hispanic children and youth. Only a passing mention was made of the similar needs of Native American students in that region. Emphasis was on bilingual bicultural education for Mexican American children from preschool to college.

This event was characterized as “a prologue to action” because it was openly political. Symposium speakers concentrated on detailing facts about bilingual education, stimulating ideas, offering pertinent suggestions for supportive government action, and

presenting proposals relative to the education of Spanish-speaking children at all levels. Although little documentation survives, evidence indicates that six main areas dominated the interaction among the participants: innovative classroom practices, community participation in the schools, preschool education, university involvement, state legislation for bilingual education, and federal support for bilingual education in K–12 schools.

The recommendations resulting from the 1966 symposium built on the recommendations of the survey report but demonstrated greater political sophistication among the participants. Several legislators and legislative staff members attended the symposium. At the conclusion, a leadership group from the symposium continued to work with legislators and their staff through several versions of a bill that would eventually become Title VII of ESEA. The report of the symposium listed the following specific points of agreement among the participants:

1. Spanish-speaking teachers must be trained in accordance with specific criteria.
2. The school is an extension of the community and mutual support is imperative.
3. Universities and colleges must intensify their mobilization of talent.
4. A concerted effort ranging from the local to the national levels of government must be put into motion toward the accomplishment of the complex goals set for the education of the Mexican American child.
5. A variety of state and federal funding resources must be vigorously pursued.

Follow-Up to the Tucson Meetings

As a follow-up to the meetings held at the University of Arizona, a subsequent meeting was held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in 1973 to reflect on the experience of Title VII, then 5 years old, and approaching the time for reauthorization the following year. The conferees wanted to strengthen the legislation, which had begun to show weaknesses and shortcomings. This meeting too was supported in part by the NEA through its minority teacher component. The conference was cosponsored and organized by a seasoned group of Chicano educators from throughout the region who had come together as an organization

called the National Education Task Force De La Raza. The conference was titled “A Relook at Tucson ’66 and Beyond.”

Although they acknowledged that enactment of Title VII was a symbol of significant progress, the conference organizers and speakers expressed dissatisfaction with the status of bilingual education 6 years after Title VII had begun supporting activities and projects around the country. Among the stated objectives of this retrospective event, the following stand out: (a) to review the rationale, conference activities, and recommendations of the 1966 Tucson conference, (b) to review the important activities in bilingual bicultural education since 1966, (c) to review present and pending *state* bilingual bicultural education legislation and appropriations, and (d) to develop new directions for bilingual bicultural education for the 1970s that could lead to national legislation.

The follow-up conference in New Mexico included a mix of speeches and workshops typical of the content of meetings concerned with civil rights and education at the time. Although the organizers represented a highly knowledgeable group with respect to bilingual education, the most important goal of the conference was to accelerate the planning for the reauthorization of Title VII in 1974. One of the leading personalities in this effort was one of the original sponsors of Title VII, U.S. Senator Joseph Montoya (D-NM). Montoya delivered the keynote address. Titled “The Challenge of Multicultural America,” the speech laid out strong proposals for amending Title VII in the reauthorization scheduled for 1974. Montoya had already introduced a bill containing much of his theme from the previous month. The senator’s remarks captured the need felt by many bilingual educators of the time to amend Title VII away from the remedial compensatory modality; these were the highlights of his speech:

1. Transitional bilingual education (TBE) is unacceptable because it turns monolingual Spanish speakers into monolingual English speakers. The net effect is zero sum. One language simply replaces the other.
2. Transitional bilingual education is a form of remedial education that does not serve the needs of language minority students. They should have the opportunity to continue to develop their home languages. It must also allow them to progress in their schoolwork more effectively.
3. Bilingual education can and should be the base on which to build high-quality programs of multicultural education that will prepare all children to live in the “multi-cultured” world of the 21st century.
4. Bilingual education should serve all students, not only those who already speak a language other than English. In addition, programs should be not only bilingual but also bicultural. They should help broaden the cultural horizons of majority students.
5. The nation’s professional educators were not ready in 1968 to meet the many complexities of supporting bilingual education across the country. Many programs were inadequate for that reason. Education leaders must gear up quickly to take full advantage of new legislation. In its reauthorized version, Title VII could help provide for program needs that have previously gone unmet.
6. Bilingual bicultural education must be “sold” to monolingual America as something that is good for all children, including their own.

Montoya’s agenda for reforming Title VII was well received and shared by many conference participants. His proposals were important because it was early enough in the history of Title VII to redirect what was then a relatively small program. But the proposals met with little support from President Richard Nixon’s administration. While well supported by practitioners, the proposals may have been overly ambitious. The successes and failures that ensued during the legislative dynamics to reauthorize Title VII, ESEA, were documented in some detail by Susan Schneider in her book *Revolution, Reaction, or Reform: The 1974 Bilingual Education Act*. Another accounting of the dynamics surrounding the proposed changes was done by Michael Croghan in a doctoral dissertation. Readers interested in a deeper level of analysis are referred to those sources. The ambitious plan outlined by Senator Montoya in his speech was only partially successful. Had it gained greater support in the Congress, the subsequent history of bilingual education in the United States may have taken a different direction.

Josué M. González

See also Maintenance Policy Denied; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments; Views of Bilingual Education; Appendix D

Further Readings

- Bangura, A. K., & Muo, M. (2001). *United States Congress and bilingual education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Croghan, M. (1997). *Title VII of 1968: Origins, orientations and analysis*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona.
- The NEA-Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking. (n.d.). *The invisible minority: pero no vencibles*. Washington, DC: Department of Rural Education National Education Association.
- Schneider, S. G. (1976). *Revolution, reaction, or reform: The 1974 Bilingual Education Act*. New York: Las Americas.
- Tucson '66 and Beyond: Report of a National Bilingual Bicultural Institute*. Albuquerque, New Mexico, November 28–December 1. Washington, DC: National Education Association,

NATIONALITY–CULTURE MYTH

Before the age of rapid transportation and instant communication in which we now live, it was common to think of human cultures as being contained within nation-states. Terms such as *French culture*, *German culture*, or *Mexican culture* were facile currency to identify the set of values, beliefs, and predispositions to action that were presumably unique to persons from a particular country. In this view, nationality and cultural identity were closely related. Every country—or most countries—could be expected to have a culture that differed in some palpable way from that of other countries. This entry explores the effects of the nationality–culture myth.

As international travel became more common, the presumed idiosyncrasies of “foreign” cultures seemed to diminish and the importance of commonalities among cultures was recognized. Notions of nationhood began to be regarded as something distinct from culture. Social scientists who study culture and society have pointed out that the differences *within* national cultures are often more important than differences *among* them. China, India, the United States, and most of Europe are good illustrations of this phenomenon, often referred to as *cultural diversity* or *multiculturalism*. All these nations are characterized by great *internal diversity* in their respective populations. In these examples, no single culture embraces all of the subgroups that make up the country.

Although national cultures may have been characterized by dominant patterns that served as markers of national identity, the rise of rapid communications, fast transport, and large-scale immigration around the world have softened many of the differences that once existed among nation-states and their cultures. Modern Americans have, collectively, become more worldly, hence more comfortable with cultures other than their own. Every summer, travelers everywhere encounter young Americans backpacking through every corner of the world. Although collective U.S. embracing of diversity is certainly debatable, some evidence indicates that portions of U.S. society have become more accepting of cultural differences between themselves and people of different countries, which has not always been true. Anthropology, the academic discipline that deals with human cultures, is a relatively new science. Anthropologists first focused attention and analyses on cultures that were removed from their own. Margaret Mead’s famous study of Samoan youth culture was reported at a time when few tourists went there, and many Americans did not even know where Samoa could be found on a map of the world.

Many feel that cultures are beginning to blend into new aggregations. The phenomenon of globalization has had an important effect on cultural differences. Whether these effects have been as significant as those that globalization has brought to economics can be debated, but they can hardly be denied. It is now common to believe that although cultures may still be somewhat different one from another, regional cultures—and regional economies—are becoming more important. Some observers believe that national cultures have begun to yield in importance to regional cultures. These have labels that denote aggregations or clusters of related cultures rather than the view that each nation harbors one culture. Some examples include “Islamic Culture,” “Western Culture,” or “Asian Culture.” Interestingly, these broader configurations tend to follow the general boundaries of regional *economies* or economic spheres of influence—for example, the Pacific Basin, the Latin American economic sphere, the “OPEC Sphere,” or the European Union.

It remains to be seen whether this pattern of cultural aggregations will continue or whether some societies will resist the trend and seek to identify with ancestral cultures that are more distinct. Whatever the ultimate outcomes of this trend may be, the blending of national cultures into regional cultures has not reduced

stereotyping that finds its way into schools and classrooms. Controversy continues with respect to the compatibilities of given cultural clusters one against another. Contemporary scholars Samuel Huntington and Lawrence Harrison argue that the worldviews of Islamic peoples and the worldviews of peoples shaped by Iberian Catholicism, respectively, are profoundly incompatible with the culture of the United States. Huntington and Harrison argue that efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence with Islamic nations and the harmonious assimilation of immigrants from Latin America are unlikely to succeed because the cultures involved are far too different from U.S. culture. Latin America is the largest source of U.S. immigrants, and Harrison claims that the Iberian version of Catholicism that helped to shape Latin America is vastly different from that of German or Irish Catholicism. This difference, he argues, makes it difficult for immigrants to integrate into a U.S. culture strongly influenced by Protestant ways of thinking and perceiving and by other varieties of Catholicism.

Critics of these theories argue, in turn, that these assessments of the primacy of cultural differences reflect a shallow understanding of human nature. They argue that the basic needs of all humans are the same across cultures whether they be national or regional: to protect the young, to seek adequate food and shelter, to avoid pain and suffering, to promote significant levels of freedom and self-determination, and to achieve freedom of religious and artistic expression. Meeting these needs, they assert, is powerful motivation to deal harmoniously with members of other cultures and societies and to avoid disruptions brought about by conflict. Indeed, since Abraham Maslow first announced his famous hierarchy of human needs in 1954, there has been little controversy regarding these apparent verities. In most cultures, perhaps in all, people need to meet their most basic human needs before they are able to pursue interests of a higher order. High levels of education are among those higher-order aspirations. This is especially true in families that have never known high levels of education and have never experienced a need to make the deep commitment involved in keeping young people out of the workforce and in school well into young adulthood. Schooling in the United States extends well beyond what many immigrants have experienced in their countries of origin. Persistent intergenerational poverty, a common condition of immigrants, combined with an educational system that is often

reluctant to change, stymies such aspirations. In short, the issues involved in this scenario are not cultural but *experiential*.

It is not uncommon to find immigrants who come from multigenerational settings of extreme poverty. Some of these persons have never known anyone who has escaped poverty simply by going to school. This lesson takes time to learn, perhaps decades or generations. Similarly, American school people are not familiar with families that are reluctant to postpone entry into the workforce by their teenage sons and daughters and may fail to understand why these families allow their children to drop out of school to enter the workforce at the lower end of the earning scale. For many immigrants, however, this is the only pattern of family survival they know. Once again, it is experiential and not cultural in origin.

The theory of national cultures and the incompatibility arguments of those who see the world as a collection of disparate cultures are problematic. These ideas emphasize differences among human beings rather than similarities. They create doubts and negative expectations in the minds of school personnel concerning the ability of immigrant children to learn as well as their classmates. Educators who subscribe to these ideas may come to believe that children who come from “incompatible cultures” cannot be expected to profit in the same way from classroom instruction that is based on presumed American values, priorities, and paradigms of study. These educators may also believe that parents from some cultures may lack an interest in education as evidenced by low levels of involvement in school activities. The result may be that the family and its culture are regarded as problems instead of assets. When such patterns recur, it is a small jump to the conclusion that school failure is rooted in dysfunctional cultures rather than in the inability of schools to address cultural differences. Once again, the problem is a lack of experience with the way American schools and families interact, and the schools’ inability or unwillingness to adapt to client groups with different experiential backgrounds.

Sometimes the opposite is true. Certain cultures such as the “Asian culture” are often seen as being highly compatible with the culture of American schools. What is overlooked is that children from all cultures have particular areas in which they excel. Stereotyping of this sort, whether it is positive or negative, clouds the collective judgment about the potential of minority students and some immigrants and fosters

expectations by school personnel concerning which groups are likely to succeed and which ones will fail based on presumed cultural traits. Stereotypes develop easily concerning the families of those children and the relative value that is placed on schools and schooling by particular cultures. Too often, school personnel develop stereotypes about which groups of parents are more likely to attend meetings, pick up report cards, go on class trips, or demonstrate involvement in their children's education. This leads to the creation of divergent expectations regarding school participation and the degree to which all children can learn. Generally, these expectations apply equally to subject matter instruction and to the acquisition of the English language. Depending on their preparation, which often includes some attention to anthropology, bilingual educators and specialists in English as a Second Language (ESL) may be more sensitive to this danger. An important goal of bilingual education is to bridge language barriers between school and home and to promote changes in school processes to meet the educational needs of immigrant and ethnic minority families.

Josué M. González

See also Container Theory of Language; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Deficit-Based Education Theory; Multicultural Education

Further Readings

- Harrison, L. E. (1997). *The Pan-American dream: Do Latin America's cultural values discourage partnership with the United States and Canada?* New York: Basic Books.
- Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order.* New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Maslow, A. (1970). *Motivation and personality* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper & Row.

NATIONALIZATION OF LANGUAGES

Languages are one of our most important human assets. Although most of the early human languages have either disappeared or evolved into something different, no evidence indicates that any human group has ever survived without language. Paleoanthropologists Donald Johanson and Blake Edgar describe two

different ways in which humans came to rely on languages: as a means for social groups to bond, and as art to help them communicate and express feelings and emotions. Among the mammals of the world, humans appear to be uniquely suited to use language, and we have elevated language to be one of our most important tools for surviving, moving ahead, and imposing ourselves on others. Identification of social groups with particular languages and the attribution of a high status to such languages is a phenomenon that evolved later in history. This entry explores, briefly, the relationship between languages and polity and attempts to relate those links to contemporary language policy in schools and society.

Languages in Human History

As our early ancestors moved out into different parts of the world, languages became diversified and wonderfully varied. Similar patterns of diversification and adaptation attended every branch of the human family as people spread throughout the world, over thousands of years. Languages grew in importance as people used different symbol systems to represent them, creating writing systems to leave markings on caves, monuments, parchment, and papyrus.

Early merchants and traders spoke several languages and carried with them translators to assist them in their travels. Languages were learned and used as needed. Eventually, merchants must have found that in a given territory where a certain language was used, their trading profits were greater. The association of particular languages with successful trading spots was perhaps the beginning of the association of particular languages with nationalism.

Such association of languages with the greatness or high status of a community, country, or region began to change as early civilizations and empires started to dominate others. Rich and powerful groups of people began to define themselves as members of the same community. Some of the markers of distinction they chose were cultural and linguistic, especially languages in various literary forms. Other indicators of high status may have been dress and adornment, art and architecture, and military might. Languages thus joined flags, banners, and other national symbols as objects of pride and a willingness to protect them against "the other," those who did not carry the same flags and symbols and did not speak the same language.

Nation-States and Their Languages Emerge in Tandem

The cultural and political importance of languages in relation to one another was a phenomenon that did not develop until well-defined nation-states and empires had emerged. Distinctions between the concepts of nation and state can be traced back to the Greek and Roman civilizations. For the Greeks, the term *polis* is better aligned with the current conception of *nation*: This is a population situated in a sociopolitical area, sharing a culture and history. For the Romans, the concept of *res publica* aligns with the current definition of *state*; referring to the legal and political authority regulating the citizens. Historical linguist Robert McColl Millar explains that before the early modern period, nations could be considered a part of larger states—giving as example the fact that several ethnic groups were ruled by one dynastic state.

Linguistic anthropologist Patrick Eisenlohr explains two different views of what constitutes a nation: a group that traces its origins as an identity group to premodern times, when certain ethnic groups developed into nations by the 18th and 19th centuries, and a group that views nations from a modernist perspective, linking their emergence to industrialization. For the former group, common languages were one of the aspects that united what later became the nations of Europe. France, Germany, and Spain are clear examples. For these nations and others, a common language was adopted for administrative and pragmatic reasons as industrialization and better transportation systems developed. The original intent was not to assign nationalistic symbolism to these languages of administration.

Eisenlohr notes the difference between these approaches to nation and languages, and that of linguistic anthropology, the discipline that explores the relation between language and ethnicity. John Gumperz, in his book *Language in Social Groups*, explains that a speech community does not necessarily have to be a group as large as a modern nation. A speech community can also refer to regions or smaller units, as long as there were significant differences in language use; he analyzes the case of India, where a great number of speech communities are found within one nation-state. He regards the standard languages of modern nation-states as representing the majority speech, codified and spread through education, urban centers, or mass media and, hence, associated with a certain prestige.

These processes came into play among emerging nation-states when they began to compete with one another for various forms of wealth, status, and power; an important identifier of who belonged to what group was language. In time, the relative status of one nation compared with another extended to its respective languages. A strong nation-state was assumed to have a mature and well-developed language, whereas the language associated with a small nation struggling to survive was regarded as primitive and uninspired. To propitiate the status of their respective languages, rulers and potentates throughout the world allotted resources to support the work of artists, writers, and poets to polish their respective uses of language; such works, in turn, reflected even greater glory on their respective nations. Poets and artists worked to gain the sponsorship of their rulers to devote themselves totally to the *belles lettres*. Schools and universities arose, which tended to favor certain languages over others. Thus, literary production helped to boost languages that were already on the way to being prestigious. When printing presses were invented and used widely, the most prestigious languages appeared in print first. The spread of certain languages continued in colonial contexts, where religion and the standard variety of language of the colonizers had important implications for colonial peoples.

Nation-States and Their Languages Today

By the mid-20th century, with few exceptions, almost every important language in the world was associated with a country or family of nations. Whether those languages were borrowed freely or imposed through subjugation, many people accept the use of these languages and their national associations without questioning the history behind them. Others reject imposed languages and fight against those they consider to be symbols of oppression. The world of the 21st century has many examples of these relationships and their various origins.

Several African countries have accepted the languages of their former colonizers and continue to use them alongside their own. Nigerian linguist Ayo Bamgbose explains that a multilingual approach is necessary for communication in most African countries. He describes a three-language model commonly used: This encompasses languages for use at the local/regional (several local languages/one regional

language), national, and international levels. He stresses the complexity in choosing a language for communication between African states, and the struggles to choose between African languages such as Swahili and Hausa, or languages of wider communication, such as English or French, as official languages for the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

India is a single country with 428 languages in common use, according to *Ethnologue*, an online reference resource on the languages of the world; 22 of them bear the label of official or “scheduled” languages. Rama K. Agnihotri explains that in 1967, a three-language formula was adopted in India, keeping regional languages for group identity purposes, Hindi as a national language, and English for administrative and technology-related arenas. China, long unified under a single political banner, is home to many languages. *Ethnologue* lists 236 languages found in China, with Mandarin as the country’s official language. Alone among the great contemporary powers, China and India are countries whose rising greatness on the international scene is not linked solely to one language.

In almost every case, however, a single national language is assumed to be the core language of the country. Every marriage of language to nation is not characterized by sweet harmony. Millar explores this issue comparing multilingual societies with those in which monolingualism is the norm. He uses France as an example where the ability to speak standard French has been the marker of belonging and being considered a “true” French citizen. Actually, the territories that now constitute France were a polyglot aggregation of regions where several other languages, now almost forgotten, were used. With the consolidation of the various “nations” into one, French was imposed as the language of the greater nation-state, and all other languages were discarded.

Claire Mar-Molinero describes the situation of the Catalans and the Galicians in Spain as groups that have kept their native languages alive, despite the Castilianization process and the role these languages play in marking their respective ethnic identity. Mar-Molinero notes that such situations challenge, especially in the 20th century, a notion of a monocultural nation-state. She also notes the struggle of indigenous communities in Latin America: the case of Nahuatl in Mexico, which is the indigenous language with the largest population of speakers, but that continues to dwindle because of the hegemony of

Spanish; Quechua in Peru, for which some bilingual programs exist, but more of a transitional kind; and Guaraní in Paraguay, where it shares official status with Spanish. She refers to this latter case as an exception compared with other indigenous languages; however, she points out that the “official” status accorded Guaraní does not necessarily mean it performs the same roles as Spanish does in Paraguayan society.

Linguistic Nationalism in the United States

As the American colonies began to unify into a single nation-state, the matter of language was not initially given much importance or debated in the chambers that produced the U.S. Constitution. Two European languages were in common use in the 13 colonies, but the shared challenge of independence from England and the creation of a well-supported form of democratic government took up the time and attention of the framers of the constitution. No official language was declared, but the issue of a national language was not unattended for long. A distinct preference for English, and only English, prevailed.

There have been several attempts to make English the language that marks what it means to be “American.” James Crawford, in his book *Language Loyalties*, reprints Noah Webster’s “Declaration of Linguistic Independence.” In 1789, Webster predicted that English would be the root from which North America’s national language would derive. He called for uniformity and standardization of American English, a task in which Webster’s dictionary was meant to play a role. As a nation of immigrants, the influx of different ethnic and linguistic groups continued through different historical periods, and so emerged political efforts to make English the official language of the United States. Senator S. I. Hayakawa, a naturalized citizen, sponsored the first version of an English Language Amendment in 1981. Today, groups such as U.S. English work continuously to make English the official and only language of the country. These efforts are often linked to propositions intended to eradicate bilingual education.

What lessons can be learned about national identity in monolingual and multilingual societies in the future? Absent a crystal ball, the answer to this question is little more than guesswork. The reason is that the world has changed greatly, as has the meaning of nationality and citizenship, and these changes continue

at an accelerated pace. Most Americans find it challenging to give a cogent explanation of the difference between nationality and citizenship in the United States. Many simply shrug and admit not knowing the difference. Further, globalization is perhaps the centerpiece of this change. Global-local processes related to technology, mass media, international commerce, finance, and immigration have a crucial role that must be considered. Millar points out that even powerful nation-states are part of a global economy; regardless, English is becoming a language for international communication. He believes full participation in this global economy will imply the mastery of more than one language, as other nation-states gain economic and political power, and processes of hybridity and transnationalism challenge the rigid and archaic view of one nation-one language. It remains for history to record whether the United States, an adherent of this view, will abandon it in favor of greater linguistic democracy in keeping with its oft-proclaimed adherence to that concept.

Josué M. González and Silvia C. Noguérón

See also Canadian and U.S. Language Policies; English-Only Organizations; Hayakawa, S. I.; Official English Legislation, Position of English Teachers on; Paradox of Bilingualism; Spanish, the Second National Language; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad.

Further Readings

- Agnihotri, R. (2007). Identity and multilinguality: The case of India. In A. B. Tsui & J. W. Tollefson (Eds.), *Language policy, culture, and identity in Asian contexts* (pp. 185–204). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bamgbose, A. (1991). *Language and the nation: The language question in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crawford, J. (Ed.). (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the Official English controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Eisenlohr, P. (2006). Linguistic ethnonationalism. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (pp. 187–193). Oxford, UK: Elsevier.
- Encyclopædia Britannica (2007). *State*. Available from <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9001296>
- Gordon, R. G., Jr. (Ed.). (2005). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (15th ed.). Dallas, TX: SIL International. Available from <http://www.ethnologue.com>
- Gumperz, J. (1971). *Language in social groups*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Johanson, D., & Edgar, B. (2006). *From Lucy to language*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Mar-Molinero, C. (2000). *The politics of language in the Spanish-speaking world: From colonisation to globalisation*. New York: Routledge.
- Millar, R. M. (2005). *Language, nation and power: An introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nadeau, J., & Barlow, J. (2006). *The story of French*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

NATIONAL LITERACY PANEL

Through an award to SRI International and the Center for Applied Linguistics by the U.S. Department of Education, a project was undertaken to convene a national panel of experts to review and synthesize the available research on the literacy development of language minority children and youth. The project began on October 1, 2001, and the report of the panel was published in July 2006. Through five full-panel meetings and a series of small-group meetings and conference calls, the panel reviewed and synthesized the research on the following topics: the development of literacy in language minority children and youth; cross-linguistic and cross-modal (i.e., from oral proficiency to literacy) relationships, the sociocultural contexts and literacy development, instruction and professional development, and student assessment of literacy. The synthesis provides useful information to researchers and school personnel about the development of literacy in children who come from homes where a language other than English is spoken. This entry describes the work of the National Literacy Panel.

The panel's review indicated that many factors influence second-language literacy development, among them the age at which skills are acquired; individual differences in second-language oral proficiency and cognitive abilities, first-language oral proficiency and literacy, some sociocultural variables, and classroom and school factors. With regard to teaching literacy to second-language learners, the panel found that enhanced teaching of the key components of English literacy (i.e., phonics, fluency, vocabulary, comprehension, and writing) provides a clear advantage to English language learners. More complex, innovative programs typically taught several of these components simultaneously—and these efforts were usually successful in improving literacy for language minority students. However, although approaches that are

similar to those used with native-language populations are effective, the research suggests that adjustments to these approaches are needed for maximum benefit with language minority students.

Panel Process

The U.S. Department of Education constituted the panel in 2001. Panel participants included Diane August, who was principal investigator and managed the project; Timothy Shanahan, the chairperson, who helped guide the panel's work; and 12 other well-known panelists with expertise in various aspects of the problem under study. Donna Christian and Frederick Erickson served as senior advisers to the panel. In addition, the panel was staffed by two senior research associates who were instrumental in preparing several of the chapters. In addition to the reviews by the senior advisers and those of outside reviewers contracted by the panel, the final report also reflects the input of anonymous reviewers solicited by the funding agency. These reviewers provided detailed commentary on multiple drafts of the report, and their unnamed contributions were an instrumental part of the process leading to this final report.

To address the research domains listed earlier, the panel was divided into five working groups, each focused on a particular domain. Within each research domain, the panel identified a series of research questions that guided the review of research in that domain:

Development of literacy in language minority children and youth: What are the differences and similarities between language minority and native speakers in the development of various literacy skills in the societal language? What are the profiles of those language minority students identified as having literacy difficulties? What factors affect the literacy development of language-minority students? What is the relationship between English oral proficiency and English word-level skills? What is the relationship between English oral proficiency and English text-level skills?

Cross-linguistic and cross-modal relationships: What is the relationship between language-minority children's first-language and second-language oral development in domains related to literacy? What is the relationship between oral development in the first language and literacy development in the second language? What is the relationship between literacy skills acquired in the first language and literacy skills

acquired in the second language for children who are learning English as a second or foreign language?

Sociocultural contexts and literacy development: What is the influence of *immigration* (generation status and immigration circumstances) on literacy development, defined broadly? What is the influence of differences in *discourse and interaction characteristics* between children's homes and classrooms? What is the influence of *other* social and cultural characteristics of students and teachers? What is the influence of *parents and families*? What is the influence of policies at the *district, state, and federal levels*? What is the influence of *language status or prestige*?

Instruction and professional development: What impact does language of instruction have on the literacy learning of language minority students? Is it better to immerse students in English language instruction, or are there benefits to first developing a firm basis in the home language? What can be done to improve achievement in reading, spelling, and writing for language minority children? What do we know about various approaches to literacy instruction with language minority students, including language minority students in special education settings? What does the research tell us about teacher beliefs and attitudes, the nature of professional development of teachers who will teach literacy to language minority students, and the influence of professional development on teacher beliefs and practice?

Student assessment: What assessments do states and school districts use with language minority students for identification, program placement, and reclassification purposes? Are the assessments used for these purposes useful and appropriate? What do we know about alternative assessments of oral English proficiency and literacy? What first- and second-language vocabulary and wide-scale literacy assessments for language minority students have been investigated? What does the research say about accommodations for language minority students taking these assessments? Are the assessments currently used to predict the literacy performance of language minority students (including those with reading disabilities) useful and appropriate? What research has focused on language and literacy measures or methods developed for the identification of language minority students eligible for special education services (including speech and hearing)? What standardized

(commercial) and researcher-developed oral proficiency, literacy, and literacy-related assessments have been used by the researchers whose work is reviewed throughout this report?

Through the various mechanisms created for interacting with and reaching out to stakeholders, panelists established parameters for the synthesis. The synthesis focused on language-minority children ages 3 to 18 acquiring literacy in a societal language. To answer several of the questions, the panel also reviewed research on the acquisition of literacy in a foreign language, if the foreign language was English. For the most part, panelists reviewed only research published in peer-reviewed journals, dissertations, and technical reports dating back to 1980.

To identify studies for use in this review, the panel conducted extensive searches of various electronic databases and hand searches of particular journals. The purpose of these search procedures was to ensure the most comprehensive, unbiased search possible for all studies relevant to the questions. In addition, the intent was to use a set of search procedures that could be replicated for future reviews. In all, seven searches of the research literature were conducted.

A coding instrument was developed, and once studies had been identified, they were coded. It was important that key information be abstracted from each study so that it could be combined or compared with information from other studies, and that the coding process could be used to document why some studies were not used for the various analyses. The data in the coding instrument was also used to create a searchable database that is available with the report.

The approximately 1,800 titles initially identified were gradually reduced as the panelists examined each study more carefully. The database now consists of 972 studies, of which 299 were used for this report because they are especially relevant to the research questions posed and meet methodological criteria established by the panel. The societal language most represented in the database is English. Most studies were conducted in the United States, followed by the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia. However, studies from the Netherlands, Finland, and Israel appear as well.

When a sufficient number of quantitative studies addressed the same conceptual hypothesis relevant to a given research question and met the other criteria specified later, meta-analytic techniques were used in

the review to make sense of the results. For those questions for which quantitative techniques were not appropriate, narrative review methods were employed. For each research question, using an iterative process, studies were categorized by major themes or foci. Studies in each group were reread and classified with regard to similarities, differences, and results to determine cross-cutting themes, as well as methodological strengths and weaknesses.

To gain public advice and input from educators, community members, and researchers who were not on the panel, two sets of outreach meetings were held. The first set of meetings was held to determine what the research, policy, and practitioner communities considered important research questions. The second set of meetings was held to obtain feedback on the draft final report. At both meetings, panelists presented preliminary findings from the draft report and answered questions from the audience.

Organization of the Report

The final report of the panel is organized partly around the traditional distinction between basic and applied research but is also structured to reflect specific areas of concern for educational policymakers. The first two parts of the report (I and II) address basic research questions about bilingualism, second-language acquisition, and relationships between first- and second-language oral proficiency and literacy. Part III, on sociocultural context and literacy development, addresses both basic research about the relationship between sociocultural variables and student outcomes and more applied research related to the influence of sociocultural variables on the contexts in which students acquire second-language literacy. Parts IV and V are organized around more practical issues: program evaluations that explore the influence of native-language instruction on second-language literacy, effective instruction, schooling processes and programming, professional development, and assessment. These topics were selected because they represent key areas of concern in current discussions of educational reform.

With regard to the chapters that focus on schooling and instruction, differing research traditions (program evaluation, research on effective instructional practice, and research that examines instructional and schooling processes or the context in which schooling occurs) are treated separately in individual chapters to

provide the reader with a sense of how the evidence from each tradition or data source is analyzed and how inferences are drawn. The chapters on language of instruction (Chapter 14) and research on effective instruction (Chapter 15) are based on experimental and quasi-experimental studies, but the chapter that examines instructional processes and contexts (Chapter 16) is based on qualitative studies.

A final contextual parameter for this report is a set of assumptions shared by the majority of panel members, which echo those of the Committee on Developing a Research Agenda on the Education of Limited-English Proficient and Bilingual Students: (1) All children in the United States should be able to function fully in the English language, (2) English language learners should be held to the same expectations and have the same opportunities for achievement in academic content areas as other students, and (3) in an increasingly global economic and political world, proficiency in languages other than English and an understanding of different cultures are valuable in their own right and represent a worthwhile goal for schools.

Diane August

See also Literacy and Biliteracy; Literacy Instruction, First and Second Language

Further Readings

August, D., & Shanahan, T. (Eds.). (2006). *Developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

August, D., & Shanahan, T. (Eds.). (2006, July). *Executive summary of the report from the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth*. Available from <http://www.cal.org>

NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES, LEGAL SUPPORT FOR

Several federal laws enacted since the late 1960s support the Native American interest in strengthening and continuing to develop Native American languages. Such laws have provided limited financial assistance as well as a change in federal policy regarding indigenous languages. They have proven useful in the various

American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian efforts to teach students in their languages. This entry reviews some of the advocacy efforts to create legislative protection and encouragement for native-language retention.

Historically, the indigenous peoples of North America recognized, as a necessary requirement of trade and other intergroup activity, that the learning and use of other languages were important skills to develop. Examples of this understanding are evident in the development of the Chinook Jargon (used among the Indian Tribes in the Pacific Northwest and Southeast Alaska, and with early Europeans) and in that many native peoples spoke more than one tribal or indigenous language.

As different Native American groups encountered early explorers and settlers from the European nations, they also began to learn those languages. The degree to which this happened depended upon the level and quality of direct contact among Native Americans, early explorers, fur traders, whalers, and missionaries. In addition, as the traditional educational systems of the different native groups were replaced by the more formal schools of the settlers, European languages were introduced in these schools. Indigenous languages were dropped, partly because these new trainers and teachers did not know the native language and partly because of a general belief that continued use of indigenous languages would limit the acquisition of English in school, or simply that Indian languages had little or no value for joining the emerging American society.

The level of contact with the Russians, the Spanish, the French, the English, and later the European Americans, or in some cases, governmental requirements for formal schooling, helped determine the speed by which native languages began to disappear. The stories of older relatives, formal governmental and church reports, and the literature on early schools indicate that the different tribal and indigenous groups had a mix of attitudes and experiences regarding the new and formal schools created by early European settlers and missionaries. In some cases, the experiences were positive; in many cases, those experiences were traumatic. A 1928 U.S. Senate report (the Meriam report) documented these experiences and was also the earliest comprehensive federally sponsored report promoting the use of American Indian languages as languages of instruction in schools, and supporting the continued use and development of those languages in the everyday lives of Indian peoples.

Hawai'i

In 1893, American businessmen with the help of the U.S. Marines overthrew the indigenous Hawaiian monarchy and began the process that led to the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States. Under this monarchy, Native Hawaiians had an extensive educational system that used the Hawaiian language as the language of instruction. It also incorporated the teaching of English and other additional languages as necessary in a modern world. After annexation, the Hawaiian language was outlawed as the language of instruction and replaced with English. At the time, literacy levels of Native Hawaiians were higher than those of Whites and Asians, and many were literate in two or more languages. Today, Native Hawaiians have a literacy rate significantly lower than Whites and Asians. Some scholars attribute this to the loss of the heritage language and attempts in the formal educational system to ignore or extinguish the Hawaiian cultural base. Eventually, there was little left of the base on which to build healthy linguistic and secure Hawaiian communities.

Alaska

In Southeast Alaska, the early Russian American Company introduced schools around 1784 for the Tlingit that allowed continued use of the Tlingit language as well as development in Russian and advanced training in business and medicine for a new "Tlingit professional." Other parts of Alaska were offered early opportunities for formal schools through the Russian Orthodox Church. Sheldon Jackson, a Presbyterian missionary, later had an important influence on territorial schools, which focused on English as the language of instruction, a policy that continues to this day in the state's public schools. Academic performance levels of Native Alaskans do not compare well with English-speaking students who are not Native Alaskans; especially in areas where the heritage language is still used daily and students are tested in English. Several native communities are trying to restructure the schools, introduce teaching in the heritage language, and create a curriculum that supports the different cultural priorities of Alaska Native communities.

The Lower Forty-Eight States

In the lower forty-eight states, some tribes maintained native language use into the 1970s, but scholars and tribal members have found that without a concerted

effort to maintain their language, Indian languages will continue to disappear. Scholars increasingly believe that native languages will only survive if they become the language of the school and if they are used in daily social and cultural activities. There is a similar recognition that complementary use of media such as radio and television, along with the development of the arts, all support indigenous language development.

As a result of these understandings, and the renewed interest in preserving, maintaining, and developing indigenous languages, a growing interest to provide opportunities to teach in native languages emerged in the mid-to-late 1960s and early 1970s. The Navajo Nation carried out one of the very first initiatives, forming a partnership with the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to start the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona in 1966. The idea of a culturally based school curriculum and intensive study of native languages was further enhanced through the creation of the Navajo Community College (now called Diné College) in 1968 on the Navajo Reservation. In Alaska, during the late 1960s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs started a culturally based Yup'ik language program in the region of Bethel, and William Demmert started a culturally based education program in a public school in the region of Klawock, where the Tlingit language is taught as the heritage language. The 1928 Meriam Report describes earlier advocacy efforts. Since then, many individuals have noted the loss of native languages in the Americas and added their voices to the call for native language preservation and continued development.

Indian Education Act of 1972

Events leading to the creation of the Indian Education Act of 1972 (also known as the Kennedy Act) and the legislation itself, introduced a new and exciting period into the field of Indian education. This legislation helped support isolated and innovative approaches to the education of Native American students and helped to expand ideas about the role of culture and native languages in the education of Native America. Indian educators and tribal groups significantly influenced the content of the Indian Education Act of 1972 (now known as the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 [NCLB]).

To begin this process, the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education scheduled a series of

hearings across several states with large Indian populations. The committee invited Indian and Alaska Native tribal leaders, educators, and parents to present testimony regarding the education of their children. The National Indian Education Association—a new organization chartered in 1970—worked directly with the U.S. Senate on the wording and content of this legislation. The first cohort of Native American Indian students attending the Harvard Graduate School of Education in 1970 was instrumental in contacting their tribal leadership to gather direct support for the legislation when it was in danger of not being introduced in the U.S. Senate.

The report of this Special Subcommittee on Indian Education set the base for the contents of the original Indian Education Act of 1972. This legislation authorized the development of programs to meet the special educational needs of Native American and Alaska Native students by providing funding for the development of culturally based education programs and curriculum. Title VII, No Child Left Behind (NCLB), as the act is now referred to, includes a separate provision for Native Hawaiians and Alaska Natives for additional program support. Native Hawaiians were not included in the original version of the legislation. A section was added to the act in 1988 to provide support to those communities. Regrettably, few Native tribal groups or public schools have taken advantage of the opportunities to develop native language programs or culturally based education curricula allowed in the current NCLB version of the act.

Native American Languages Act of 1990

William H. Wilson describes a resurgence of interest in the highly endangered Hawaiian language and culture in the 1970s in Hawai‘i, parallel with a similar movement in Māori New Zealand, and with major activity in indigenous language studies elsewhere. At the time, Wilson and his wife, Kauanoie Kamanā, were studying Hawaiian, and raising their children to speak Hawaiian as their first language. With the help of Māori language activists, Wilson and Kamanā joined with other Hawaiian-language-speaking educators in 1983 to form the nonprofit organization known as *‘Aha Pūnana Leo*, aimed to reestablish schools with instruction in the Hawaiian language. As part of this organizing work, a decision was made to craft legislative language using the model established by the

Native American Religious Freedom Act (a separate piece of legislation rather than an amendment to existing legislation); at the same time, the *‘Aha Pūnana Leo* moved forward locally to provide Hawaiian language education for families, beginning with language nests for preschoolers in 1984.

In 1986, after considerable lobbying by the *‘Aha Pūnana Leo*, the state of Hawai‘i removed a century-old ban on the use of the Hawaiian language in the public schools. The following year, *‘Aha Pūnana Leo*’s program expanded, and its students moved into the public schools. Concomitantly, the Hawai‘i state legislature passed a resolution calling on the federal government to establish legal recognition and protection of Hawaiian and Native American languages.

Lucille Watahomagie, a bilingual educator from Arizona was instrumental in spreading this initiative to tribes nationwide. She shared ideas, textbooks, program structures, and pedagogical approaches with Kamanā for the Hawaiian language schools. At the Native American Language Issues Institute’s (NALI) 1985 and 1966 annual conferences, she also introduced Kamanā and other *‘Aha Pūnana Leo* members to several native scholars and linguists. Wilson drafted proposed federal legislation and with the help of other native education leaders, their work was introduced in Congress.

These events helped sustain local support and stimulated the national support required for the development of federal legislation. The partnership with Indian educators and tribal groups, and the interest of Senator Daniel Inouye and his staff in promoting the development of native language programs, eventually resulted in passage of legislation, first the 1990 Native American Languages Act, and subsequently the 1992 Native American Languages Act. Senator Inouye was successful in obtaining appropriation language for \$1 million as part of President Bill Clinton’s 1994–1995 budget.

Bilingual Education Act of 1968

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act [ESEA]) was drafted and promoted by Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas. Its purpose was to stimulate new programs to teach Spanish as a native language and English as a second language. This legislation became the most important vehicle for funding programs of bilingual education in the nation. It also

established an alternative to segregated schools as a way for ethnic minorities to receive special services and instruction in a language other than English.

Native Americans became eligible for funding under the 1974 reauthorization of the law. Schools serving Indian children were awarded about 10% of the total funding to serve roughly the same proportion of Indian students eligible for the program. Because of the *Lau v. Nichols* Court decision in 1974, a priority for teaching English to nonnative speakers was established. This priority was based on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which established the principle that school districts must take affirmative steps to meet the language needs of limited-English-speaking students.

These events, and the priority for teaching English as the primary focus under the Bilingual Education Act, were not met with widespread support in the Native American communities that were more interested in promoting the use and development of Native American languages in the schools. Beginning with President Ronald Reagan's administration, the U.S. Department of Education began to limit program support for the development of native language programs in preschool programs. The 'Aha Pūnana Leo program in Hawai'i was one of the programs that had difficulty accepting the focus on developing English language skills as a priority under Title VII, ESEA, because the primary focus for this program was the development of the Hawaiian language among its students as a way of "saving the Hawaiian language." As a result of concerns expressed by native professionals, William Demmert organized a seminar at Stanford University in 1991 to address these concerns. This seminar offered the first formal contact between the newly formed Indian Nations at Risk Task Force and the leadership of the 'Aha Pūnana Leo program. A partnership was formed to work on an amendment to the Bilingual Education Act that would support a native language focus, as allowed under the Indian Education Act of 1972 and later, the Native American Languages Act of 1990.

Demmert, Pila Wilson, and Bob Arnold attempted to develop language for an amendment for the Bilingual Education Act, which was scheduled for reauthorization in 1994. This effort was coordinated with the Stanford Working Group led by Kenji Hakuta. After extensive discussion and debate, the majority of the Stanford Working Group agreed to support the recommendation. The group agreed that the most

efficient strategy would be a simple amendment that would grant Indian schools the same right as that given to Puerto Rico: the right to teach participating children in their home language even though Title VII itself, was now oriented toward the teaching of English.

Esther Martínez Native Languages Preservation Act of 2006

The Esther Martínez Native Language Preservation Act of 2006 was signed into law by President George W. Bush on December 6, 2006, and is the result of important and successful work performed by a group of scholars, a professional lobbying team representing the National Indian Education Association, and the direct involvement of the Navajo code talkers and other Indian groups.

Variations of this law had been introduced in previous Congresses but there was little traction or input provided from national Indian organizations. The impetus for the legislation that was reintroduced in the 109th Congress resulted from a personal interest of David Beaulieu and Ryan Wilson to ensure that there was program support for native-language school programs found at this time. Initially, Beaulieu suggested the need to support existing native-language immersion schools because these efforts were showing positive results both with regard to academic achievement and language preservation. Beaulieu also felt that in addition for the need to demonstrate research results for long-term policy benefit, a focused program effort would provide the best opportunity to move forward with scarce resources for native-language restoration.

There was concern about potential conflict between the Native Languages Act reauthorization and the Esther Martínez Native Language Preservation Act. This concern was eventually resolved between the House of Representatives, the U.S. Senate, and members of different native communities through the addition of grants for restoration programs and amended eligibility requirements that broadened the potential applicant pool. The restoration programs are primarily efforts at schools and community-based language programs that may take the form of language camps, after-school classes, community classes, or language classes at a school that does not meet the eligibility requirements for the language nests or survival schools. The restoration programs were added after further consultation with Indian Country (the states with a large

Indian population) and a field hearing held in New Mexico on the proposed legislation.

Although the bill passed fairly smoothly in the House, there were some challenges in the Senate. Senator Daniel Akaka expressed concern about the Esther Martínez Act and its potential impact on the reauthorization of the NCLB Act. Akaka had introduced a bill that provided grants for language survival schools and language nests that would be housed in the Department of Education and could potentially be included in the following session during the reauthorization of NCLB. This concern was resolved once it became clear that the reauthorization of NCLB could take years and that because of rapid erosion, many of the native languages did not have the time to wait.

Another potential problem was a concern expressed by Senator Tom Coburn regarding the learning of English. His concern was resolved by legislative language requiring that students participating in the program would do so with parental consent. Further, that the students would be assessed and would be expected to perform at grade level in English.

Discussion of Legislative Initiatives

Traditionally, members of different Native American communities have recognized the value of multiple language learning. With the arrival of European explorers, fur traders, and European settlers, English became the dominant language of the schools attended by native children. Early policymakers and educators did not value the continued development and use of indigenous languages, and laws were enacted or policies were initiated that limited the use and development of these languages, or outlawed them altogether. These attitudes and practices were first challenged by the Meriam Report of 1928 as misguided and, much later, by the Indian Education Act of 1972.

The landmark Native American Languages Act of 1990 (as amended) introduced a new federal policy regarding the use and development of native languages. This innovative legislation set in place a new federal policy of supporting the development and use of native languages. The Bilingual Education Act, as amended in 1994 (as Title III of the NCLB), and the recent Esther Martínez Native Languages Preservation Act provide additional support. In addition, President Clinton's executive order of August 6, 1998, and President Bush's executive order of April 30, 2004,

both supported native language development and culturally based education programs.

Despite favorable research findings, federal legislation, and the two presidential executive orders, many public schools and federal programs continue to oppose native language and culturally based education programs. The reason generally given has been that the NCLB legislative requirements for annual yearly academic progress (AYP) do not leave time during the school day for teaching native languages and culturally based curriculum. Advocates remain undeterred in their efforts to use the public schools as tools to preserve Native American languages. Today several innovative projects use a culturally based education curriculum and the native language either as the language of instruction or as a subject area in the school curricula.

Ministries of Education in Circumpolar Nations or States, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and other international groups have shown considerable interest in native language issues in the United States. This interest by international organizations underscores the importance of the work by Native American advocates in the United States and encourages those who believe that a strong relationship exists between heritage language development and school success by young Native Americans.

William G. Demmert

See also *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Stanford Working Group; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments

Further Readings

- A blueprint for the second generation.* (1993). Report of the Stanford Working Group, Federal Education Programs for Limited-English-Proficient Students, Stanford, California.
- Bell, T., & Demmert, W. (1992). *Indian nations at risk: An educational strategy for action.* Indian Nations at Risk Task Force. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90-247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- Diné College (n.d.). *History of Diné College.* Retrieved from <https://www.dinecollege.edu/ics/About%20DC>
- Esther Martínez Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006, H. R. 4766, 109th Congress (2006).

- Indian Education Act of 1972, Title IV, Pub. L. No. 92-318 (1972).
- Johnson, F. T., & Legatz, J. (2006). Tsehootsooi dine biolta. *Journal of American Indian Education, 45*(2), 26–33.
- Meriam, L., Brown, R. A., Cloud, H. R., Dale, E. E., Duke, E., Edwards, H. R., et al. (1928). *The problem of Indian administration: Report of a survey made at the request of the Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him, February 21st, 1928*. Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Native American Languages Act, Pub. L. No. 101-477 (1990).
- Native American Languages Act, Pub. L. No. 102-524 (1992).
- Native American Religious Freedom Act, Pub. L. No. 95-341 (1996).
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107-110 (2002).
- Roessel, R. A., Jr. (1968). An overview of the rough rock demonstration school. *Journal of American Indian Education, 7*(3), 2–14.
- Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. (1969). *Indian education: A national tragedy—a national challenge*. S. Res. 80 (91st Cong., 1st Session). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <http://www.tedna.org/pubs/Kennedy/toc.htm>
- Wilson, W. H., & Kamanā, K. (2006). For the interest of the Hawaiians themselves: Reclaiming the benefits of Hawaiian medium education. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being, 3*(1), 153–181.
- Wilson, W. H., Kamanā, K., & Rawlins, N. (2006). Nāwahi Hawaiian Laboratory School. *Journal of American Indian Education, 45*(2), 42–44.

NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS REDEFINED

English is a dynamic and ubiquitous language. No other language comes close to achieving the international acceptance English has gained around the globe. According to David Crystal, 400 million people worldwide speak English as a first language and 430 million have learned it as a second or foreign language. Aside from being the historic primary (and often only) language of Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States, English is spoken as a foreign or second, third, or even fourth language in India, Africa, and the Pacific Rim. English also has an official or semi-official status in more than 70 countries and plays a critical role in 20 others. As a result of its versatility and use for international communications, science, business, and education

and in technological products such as iPods, Palm Pilots, and Blackberries, it is rapidly becoming the “lingua franca” of the world.

As English proficiency and use become more widespread, people who once were the undisputed “native speakers of English” are being outnumbered by new and different native English speakers across the globe. In the process, a second linguistic phenomenon is occurring: The number of monoglot English speakers declines and the number of multilingual speakers of English continues to increase to meet the communication needs of a global economy and international markets. These new native speakers also speak the other important languages of the world, chiefly Spanish, Arabic, Hindi/Urdu, and Mandarin. David Graddol, a British applied linguist and author of *English Next*, contends that world trends relative to English will ebb and flow with respect to that language. In time, they may diminish English as the primary world language as the younger populations prepare for the realities of a different future that encourages (and requires) them to acquire fluency in more than one language.

These contemporary trends in the growing number of English speakers worldwide have given rise to a new situation in which it is useful to reexamine the definition of a native speaker of English, as described in this entry. Traditionally, native speakers of British and American English have been regarded as the authoritative stewards of the quality and standards for English. Australians, Canadians, and New Zealanders are often included in the mix. Both American and British teachers are often considered the best teachers of English. The British, through the British Council (established in 1934 to promote knowledge about the United Kingdom and the English language abroad, as explained in its Web site), have earned a competitive edge with their active efforts to teach English worldwide. Many linguists and other observers of the situation believe that major changes are on the horizon. Traditional native speakers (British and United States) tend to be monolingual. In particular, they often do not possess the multilingual and multicultural background and skills, such as the ability to translate and interpret as well as teach various languages or to serve as cultural mediators.

In a number of areas in the world where English is flourishing, it does not exist alone but rather, in tandem with other critically important languages: Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, and Russian. Based on national

security needs, the United States has adopted a National Security Language Initiative through which \$114 million is being invested to strengthen America's foreign-language education in languages deemed critical to national security—specifically Russian, Arabic, Korean, and Chinese. Although the southern border of the United States is often mentioned as being critically important for national security, Spanish is not included in the Security Language Initiative.

Through interpretation, appropriation, and transformation, the new varieties of English have made the idea of a standard form of English, a language favored by privileged socioeconomic classes in certain English-speaking nations, ambiguous and debatable. Indeed, it turns out that only 20% of the world's English speakers are found in the United States, the country with the largest number of English-speaking citizens. In the same vein, millions of speakers of English throughout the world have learned English in a variety of forms reflecting their local circumstances, present situations, and histories—for many nations, colonial histories—and referred to as *New Englishes*, *World Englishes*, or *Global Englishes*. Along with this is the notion of nativeness, or what Braj Kachru distinguishes as “functional nativeness” from “genetic nativeness,” the latter refers to indigenous native speakers of English although the prior refers to those who have learned English as a second or foreign language. Peter Trudgill, for instance, describes New Zealand English as a “new dialect formation” in which some speakers have a unique sound of their own, although others resemble English, Scottish, or Irish people. In India, where Hindu/Urdu and 15 or so regional languages share official language status, several varieties of South Asian English are spoken. Collectively, these South Asian speakers rival the population size of English speakers in England. Another example is evident in the case of African countries, which inherited their forms of English from the colonial era but that now regard it as a vehicle of democracy and resistance. The Nigerian novelist, poet, and literary critic Chinua Achebe posits that African writers should have as a goal to craft a variety of English that can be universal, but also reflect the local experiences; this English should merge ancestral knowledge with the new needs Africans face. Similar transformations of English are occurring in other countries, thus making it more difficult to maintain the idea of a standard language that symbolizes

nativeness. In Great Britain, for instance, there are more of what might be called non-standard English speakers than British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) or Oxford English speakers; only a small minority speaks the latter variety.

Graddol contends that as more people learn English as a second, third, or fourth language and make it their own, bilingualism, or multilingualism will become recognized as the norm. Paradoxically, mother-tongue education will also include learning in a language other than the home language. All in all, these modern transformations of English have led to a reexamination and reinventing of the teaching of English in ways that protects a country's unique national language and identity. This in turn has resulted in a rethinking of pedagogical practices and strategies in English as a Second Language (ESL) and foreign-language classes and in bilingual education as that concept is understood in the United States. For example, in China, the goal of language teaching is shifting from linguistic competence, which is based on traditional language teaching methods that focus on grammar and vocabulary and rote learning practices, to communicative competence, which focus on both receptive and productive skills that develop higher level expressive and reasoning abilities in English. Curiously, although spelling reforms of English were discussed extensively in the middle of the 20th century, none of the regional Englishes of the world today is making major efforts to reform the notoriously irrational orthography of English.

Because of the nature of language, especially a transnational language such as English, the spread of English has not been without political complications associated with power and prestige. English has been so widespread that those who come from English-speaking countries may believe that they do not need to learn another language because the world already speaks English. But, as business opportunities around the world continue to expand, more than one language is advantageous, beneficial, and necessary. For these and other reasons related to culture and identity as well as trade and commerce, English speakers today reflect a changed polyglossic reality that is transforming our understanding of how we define native speakers of English. Children and youth who participate in additive forms of bilingual education in which heritage languages are supported and maintained are more likely to benefit from these changes in the world's linguistic profile.

See also English in the World; Heritage Language Education; Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; World Englishes

Further Readings

- Achebe, C. (1964). *Morning yet on creation day*. London: Heinemann.
- Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Graddol, D. (2006). *English next: Why global English may mean the end of "English as a foreign language."* English Company (UK) Ltd. Available from <http://www.english.co.uk>
- Kachru, B. (1992). *The other tongue: English across cultures* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Rushdie, S. (1991). *Imaginary homelands: Essays and criticism 1981–1991*. New York: Viking.
- Trudgill, P. (2004). *New dialect formation: The inevitability of colonial English*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Web Sites

British Council: <http://www.britishcouncil.org>

NATIVE LANGUAGE SUPPORT

See PRIMARY-LANGUAGE SUPPORT

NATIVISM

See ETHNOCENTRISM

NATURAL APPROACH

The natural approach, described in this entry, is a language-teaching philosophy that incorporates naturalistic principles identified by researchers in second-language acquisition. It espouses second-language acquisition without recourse to native language for support or reliance on grammatical analysis or drilling about the target language. The natural approach is often associated with Tracy Terrell's experiences teaching Spanish in California in the 1970s. Terrell subsequently worked with linguist Stephen Krashen in elaborating a theoretical rationale for the natural approach.

Terrell and Krashen identified the natural approach with an earlier natural method, which was also known as the direct method, a teaching method that predominated in the early 20th century in Europe. The two differ in a number of respects. In the natural method, emphasis was placed on teacher monologues, direct repetition, and formal production of sentences in the target language. In the natural approach, the emphasis is on providing exposure to language through comprehensible inputs, optimizing emotional readiness for learning, and openness to employing written materials and reading as a means to expose learners to the target language.

Similarly to their colleagues in other communicative orientations to language acquisition, Terrell and Krashen rejected the audio-lingual and other earlier methods of language teaching with a grammatical or structural focus. They maintained that the earlier methods were not theoretically grounded in the research knowledge in language acquisition, but in grammatical structure. Unlike their colleagues in the *communicative approach*, they pay little attention to language theory, other than to maintain that language is a vehicle for communicating meanings and messages.

Rather, Terrell and Krashen focused on language acquisition processes. According to these authors, language consists of lexical items, structures, and messages; grammatical structure does not require explicit attention by the teacher, by the learner, or to the learning materials for language acquisition to occur. Despite their disagreement with the audio-lingual method in general, Terrell and Krashen do share the audio-lingual method's view that learners acquire language via mastery of structures by stages.

Theoretical Framework

Terrell and Krashen's strong applied theoretical base in language acquisition theory, which some refer to as Krashen's language acquisition theory, distinguished the natural approach from other existing second-language learning methods and approaches of the time, which employed linguistics as a predominant theoretical focus. Krashen's language acquisition theory is summarized in a number of hypotheses: (a) the acquisition/learning hypothesis, in which a distinction is made between language acquisition as a natural phenomenon and language learning as one that is taught and learned like any other school subject; (b) the monitor hypothesis, which points out requirements so

learners can monitor their learning to improve second-language proficiency; (c) the natural order hypothesis, which maintains that the acquisition of grammatical structures occurs in a predictable order; (d) the input hypothesis, which relates what a learner is exposed to with language acquisition; and (d) the affective filter hypothesis, which argues that the learner's emotional state or emotions can pass, impede, or block input necessary to language acquisition.

The natural approach resembles the communicative approach in that it offers a general set of principles that apply to a variety of teaching and learning situations, depending on student's needs, interests, and the level of skill brought in the target language. Instructional arrangements are approached from two points of view. First are typical goals, such as the development of personal and academic communication skills orally and in writing. These goals may also be expressed as situations, functions, and topics. Second, Krashen and Terrell maintained that purposes of language courses tend to vary, depending on students' needs and interests, and as such are inconsistent with the prescription for instructional arrangements made by the first perspective. It is difficult to specify communicative goals that fit all students' needs. Nonetheless, content selection should aim to reduce the affective filter through interesting content and a friendly, nonthreatening learning environment. Instructional arrangements should provide broad exposure to vocabulary useful to basic personal communication and resist focusing on grammatical structures. Mastery of grammatical structures will emerge naturally through their incorporation in a variety of communicative topics and functions over time.

Practices and Roles

The primary emphasis in classroom instruction in the natural approach is presenting comprehensible input in the target language. Teacher talk focuses on objects in the classroom and the content of pictures. To minimize stress, students are not required to say anything until they are ready, though they are expected to respond to the teacher in other ways. The teacher speaks slowly and deliberately and offers simple response opportunities when students are ready to talk. Response opportunities begin with one-word answers and progress gradually from yes/no questions, through either-or questions, to questions that students can answer with words they heard used by the teacher. Acquisition

activities—those that emphasize communication over grammatical form—include pair or group work, followed by whole-class discussion led by the teacher, and complete the continuum of communications activities that are employed in instruction.

Learner roles are viewed as fluid in the natural approach, and they flow through four stages. In the preproduction stage, students participate in language acquisition through action; they can act out physical commands or point out objects the teacher describes in the target language. In the early-production stage, students respond to either-or questions, use single words or short phrases, fill in charts, and use fixed conversational patterns. In the speech-emergent stage, students involve themselves in role plays and games, contribute personal information and opinions, or participate in group problem-solving activities. In the intermediate fluency stage, learners can comprehend more and respond with more complex sentences and participate in more complex group problem-solving and role-play situations.

Learners have four kinds of responsibilities in the natural approach classroom. They provide information about their language acquisition goals, so that the teacher can structure activities according to their needs. They take an active role in ensuring comprehensible input through conversational management techniques to regulate input. They decide when to start producing speech and when to upgrade it. They decide with the teacher the amount of time to spend on particular learning activities and which parts should be completed and corrected independently. In addition, learners are also expected to interact with other learners, even though they fail to provide learners with well-formed and comprehensible input at a level slightly more advanced than the level of the speaker.

The natural approach teacher has three roles. First, the teacher provides a constant flow of comprehensible input in the target language. *Comprehensible input* is defined as cues that lie just beyond the skill or structure already known to the student. This avoids frustration and increases interest because the student realizes that he *almost* understands the cue and that he can do so without undue effort. This role places the teacher as the focal point in classroom instruction. Second, the teacher creates an interesting and friendly classroom environment. Finally, the teacher selects and orchestrates a rich mix of classroom activities, involving different group sizes, content, and contexts. The teacher is responsible to collect materials and

design their use, based not only on their perceptions but also on needs and interests elicited from students. In addition, the teacher communicates clearly the assumptions, organization, and expectations of the natural approach because in many cases these will conflict with what students would normally expect language learning and teaching to be.

Instructional materials consist principally of *realia*, objects such as coins or tools found in “real life.” Other typical materials include schedules, brochures, maps, and books at appropriate levels of difficulty. Games are particularly useful tools because they, by nature, encourage learners to focus on a larger goal than language structure. The goal of their use is to provide a context that helps the learner acquire the language by relating classroom activities to the real world and to foster interaction among learners. The aim is to promote comprehension and communication.

Practitioners of the natural approach employ a variety of strategies and techniques, including Total Physical Response (TPR), Situational Language Teaching, and Communicative Language Teaching. For instance, in a class at the preproduction level, the teacher may begin with general TPR commands that require learners to respond through action such as standing up or raising their right hands. The teacher then proceeds to targeted TPR exercises on a specific topic. If the topic were parts of the body, the teacher may request that students put their hand on their heads, or point to their feet. Then the teacher could change topics and introduce classroom objects into the TPR repertoire (e.g., “Lift your pencil.”). Then the teacher could use visuals to introduce new vocabulary and continue with activities that require only student names in response. In the activity, after describing the picture, the teacher could pass the pictures to students and then ask students who had a picture of a particular description. Then the teacher could combine the visuals with TPR, by requesting that particular students take particular pictures and give them to another student. In all of these activities, and others, the teacher maintains a constant flow of comprehensible input in the target language, using key vocabulary, gestures, context, repetition, and paraphrase to ensure that the input remains comprehensible throughout the sequence.

Contributions to Bilingual Education Practice

The natural approach complements other communicative approaches to second-language acquisition. The

approach focuses on authentic communication as its primary goal and is characterized by a low-anxiety environment in which to acquire a second language, where speech is not forced, and meaning takes precedence over form. It is guided by these principles: comprehension precedes production, production emerges in stages, curriculum consists of communicative goals, and task-based activities aim to reduce learner anxiety.

The natural approach addresses some of the shortcomings of the *communicative approach* and leaves others unaddressed. First, in the natural approach one finds a cogent theoretical rationale linked to language acquisition, which is an improvement over a theoretical base limited to linguistics that is the norm in other communicative approaches. The language acquisition theoretical rationale supports development of curriculum and instructional arrangements that are both responsive to learner characteristics and interests yet are also applicable to multiple situations, thus rendering them more readily replicable and understandable by practitioners preparing to implement the approach in instruction.

The natural approach leaves several unanswered questions. Terrell and Krashen recognized an inherent weakness in using pair and group work, which is inconsistent with an aspect of the input hypothesis stating that people acquire language best by understanding input that is slightly beyond their current level of competence. Yet they offer no remedy, and research literature beyond Terrell and Krashen’s work is minimal and offers no additional insight into the problem. The natural approach also leaves unanswered questions about teacher preparation regarding additional burdens placed on teachers, including most notably group process management skills and instructional materials development in lieu of using a textbook. An implicit assumption in the approach is that instructional materials would be compiled over time into packages resembling textbooks, but the feasibility of commercial development of these materials is not addressed.

These weaknesses notwithstanding, the natural approach has contributed to bilingual education by distinguishing between learning and acquiring language and developing a theoretical rationale advocating for the latter.

The natural approach has roots in classroom practice that were elaborated by research. This grounds the literature on the approach in terms that practitioners can understand, instead of using a research-driven agenda that was difficult to implement in the classroom.

Though its instructional strategies are arguably not innovative, the approach has extended attention to other, less-tangible aspects of language acquisition, such as setting clear expectations with learners and setting learning tasks in real-life contexts. These aspects have profound influence on learners' progress in acquiring a second language.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Affective Filter; Audio-Lingual Method; Communicative Approach; First-Language Acquisition; Krashen, Stephen D.; Monitor Model; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Krashen, S., & Terrell, T. (1983). *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon.
- Richards, J., & Rodgers, T. (2001). *Approaches and methods in language teaching* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

NAVAJO CODE TALKERS

The need for mastering other languages is often linked to national security concerns. An episode in one of the fiercest battles of World War II, as the United States fought the Japanese, drove this point home. At Iwo Jima, one of the bloodiest battles of the Pacific theater, a mysterious language was heard crackling from American radios amid falling bombs and gunfire. These were the secret messages developed and transmitted by Native American soldiers who served as Navajo code talkers over tactical military radios. This entry describes the service of the Navajo code talkers in World War II, and the instrumental use of the Navajo language.

The Japanese military was known for its highly skilled code breakers. Until then, they had deciphered every message sent between American troops. Early in 1942, Phillip Johnston, a son of Presbyterian missionaries to the Navajo reservation who had learned the Navajo language from the age of 4, proposed the use of the Navajo language for combat communications to Major General Clayton P. Vogel. Vogel was then commanding general of Amphibious Corps, Pacific Fleet. Johnston's rationale for the use of Navajo was based on the complexity of that language.

He told the general that fluency is extremely difficult if the language is not learned from birth because, at the time, it had no alphabet or symbols and was used only in remote areas of the American Southwest. The language was unknown outside the region and was likely to be totally foreign to Japanese code breakers.

According to retired Marine Alexander Molnar Jr., fewer than 30 non-Navajos could understand the language at the onset of World War II, and none of them was Japanese. This helped convince Vogel that the Japanese would be unable to break messages coded in that language by native speakers. Under simulated combat conditions, Johnston demonstrated how Navajo volunteers were easily able to encode, transmit, and decode a few lines of English in 20 seconds and break a cryptographic machine record that would typically take 30 minutes to send. Based on this demonstration, Vogel made an immediate recommendation to Commandant Thomas Holcomb of the Marine Corps to recruit Navajo volunteers.

In May 1942, the Marines started interviewing Navajos aged 17 to 32, of good physical condition, with high school diplomas, and with fluency in both the English and Navajo languages. The first 29 Navajo recruits were chosen and were sent to a boot camp in California. After a crash course in military coding systems, the Navajo recruits created and developed 411 terms often used in combat. A codebook was developed but was never taken into the battlefield. The code talkers memorized all the English-Navajo and Navajo-English word associations in the codebook. According to Molnar, when the Navajo code talker received a message, he had to translate each Navajo word into the English equivalent and then use the first letter of the English equivalent to encode the term in Navajo. For instance, the word "navy" could be coded as *tsah* (needle), *wol-lachee* (ant), *ah-keh-di-glini* (victor), and *tsah-ah-dzoh* (yucca).

More than 500 Navajos served in the Marines during World War II. Of these, some 400 were trained as code talkers who became invaluable assets to hasten the end of the war. Major Howard Connor praised the Navajos for the skills, speed, and accuracy they demonstrated as links between the various units in which they served. Connor had six code talkers in his division and according to him, "Were it not for the Navajos, the Marines would never have taken Iwo Jima." The code talkers played a vital role in every attack the U.S. Marines conducted in Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Peleliu, and Iwo Jima during World War II.

The Navajo code talkers had never experienced the valuing of their language to the same degree as they experienced during the war. By their fortitude, they inspired many people to keep their language and culture intact despite the linguistic repression they had experienced in the past. Yet these unique Marines went officially unrecognized for many years. Finally, on September 17, 1992, they were honored in a ceremony at the Pentagon. The renewed pride in their ancestral language led many of them to become supporters of bilingual education.

Lani Asturias

See also Critical Languages for the United States; Indigenous Language Revitalization; Language Socialization of Indigenous Children; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Department of the Navy, & Information Please Database. (n.d.). *Navajo Code Talkers*. Retrieved June 15, 2007, from <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/aihmcod1.html>
- History Channel. (1998). *Navajo Code Talker*. New York: A&E Television Networks.
- McClain, S. (2001). *Navajo weapon: The Navajo code talkers*. Tucson, AZ: Rio Nuevo.
- Molnar, A., Jr. (1997). *Navajo code talkers: World War II Fact Sheet*. Retrieved June 15, 2007, from <http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq61-2.htm>

NCLB

See NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT OF 2001
(ALL ENTRIES)

NEWCOMER PROGRAMS

Ricardo is an immigrant teenager from Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula who recently moved to Oakland, California, to live with his aunt and uncle. When he arrived in the United States, everything was foreign to him, including his relatives. Ricardo had never met the relatives he would be living with, nor had he ever had any interaction with people from "el norte" (a name commonly used in Mexico and South America to refer to the United States). Because of economic circumstances and inconsistent school attendance, Ricardo,

who is 15 years old, has received little formal schooling. His attire makes him stand out, and his new neighbors taunt him about coming straight from "el rancho." Furthermore, Ricardo did not expect to encounter the social tensions that exist between native-born U.S. Mexicans and those who immigrated to the United States. Personal safety is a concern, as a gang presence and high crime rates directly affect his daily life. Ricardo's new life is in turmoil because of his struggle to adapt linguistically, socially, psychologically, and academically to life in the United States.

For students like Ricardo, school districts with large concentrations of English language learners (ELLs) who are recent immigrants have developed newcomer programs or entire schools to help them make the transition and succeed. *Newcomer* refers to any immigrant who has recently arrived and has limited proficiency in the English language or little or no experience attending school. Many school districts are facing increasing numbers of immigrant students at the secondary level who, in many cases, have low levels of language literacy development in both their native language and in English. A significant number, like Ricardo, have gaps in their formal education. In some instances, immigrant youngsters have never attended school anywhere and are faced with the prospect of attending American high schools that are culturally alien, sometimes hostile. These students are required to learn English, take required content matter courses, and adapt socially to the school culture at the same time they are also struggling to fit into mainstream society.

Newcomer programs, as described in this entry, are designed to meet the myriad needs of immigrant students who enter secondary public schools in the United States. The main goals of newcomer programs are to assist students in the process of developing English literacy skills, provide instruction in core academic areas, and help students acculturate to the schools as well as youth culture in the United States. Some programs also include native-language development.

Newcomer programs vary throughout the United States and are structured in different ways, depending on the school district. Some types of programs are housed within a school, some are located at separate locations to accommodate students from more than one school, and others consist of an entire school in itself. For instructional design, most newcomer programs offer courses that are designed to meet specific stated goals of these programs; these also vary

depending on need and school district. The designers of newcomer programs believe recent immigrant students need time to adjust to their new schools and social surroundings without the pressure of being immersed in American youth culture too quickly. Although these programs provide a safe environment where students are able to build a strong foundation for English language development, acclimatize to the American school system, and succeed academically, these programs often face issues such as inadequate funding, a limited time in which to provide English and content instruction, low literacy skills of students, and student transportation. These programs are often pressured to keep students for only a short period to avoid illegal segregation.

Rationale for Establishing Newcomer Programs

Until the 1980s, special programs for newcomer students were extremely rare. However, during the 1980s, the arrival of nine million immigrants, including two million school-aged children soon created a serious need for these specialized programs.

School districts soon realized they had to meet the needs of students like Ricardo and had to develop program models that went beyond traditional programs, designed to focus only on English language development. The rationale for establishing newcomer programs differs across sites. According to researcher Deborah Short, programs may be developed for the following reasons: (a) students are at risk of failing educationally or of dropping out of school, (b) students are too old for their grade placement because of low skills and lack of a formal education, (c) students' needs are greater than the instructional design currently in place for ELLs, or (d) students are lacking in English or native-language literacy skills. Monica Friedlander maintains that to meet the needs of immigrant students, it is important to recognize the diversity within that population, even among the same nationalities. Friedlander considers these individual differences to be a critical consideration when developing programs and strategies that may require different approaches.

Program Types

Newcomer programs are categorized into three types, depending on their location: programs within a school, separate programs at different locations, and

whole schools dedicated to newcomers. In the most common program types, students attend a program situated within the school building (known as school-within-a-school). This type of setting gives newcomer students various opportunities to interact with English speakers in nonacademic classes (e.g., physical education, music, or art) during part of the school day. The time a student may attend a newcomer program within a school varies from one to two class periods, to half a day, or a full day. Available resources, time constraints, and the specific needs of the newcomer population determine the length of time a student spends in the program. In general, newcomer students in these types of programs attend a half or full day, and typically stay in the program for a full year. Some programs allow students more time within the program, depending on available resources.

A second type of program model is a secondary site. This is especially beneficial when school districts choose to develop a program that will serve more than one school. Students in this type of program typically attend for a full school day. Some school districts offer bus transportation to and from the students' designated home school and integrate students into their home school for part of the school day. Most students in this program model stay for approximately 1 year.

The third type of program entails an entire school designed for students who are new immigrants. This program is the least common of the various program types; presently, only six newcomer high schools exist nationwide. International High School at La Guardia Community College, in Long Island City, New York, is perhaps the best-known newcomer school. The school's goal is "to develop the linguistic, cognitive and cultural skills necessary for success in high school, college, and beyond." This school only accepts students who have limited formal educational experiences and have lived in the United States for less than 4 years. Students in a number of newcomer high schools are allowed to remain in the program until they graduate or until they reach the age of 21.

Instructional Design

International High School differs in this regard, but most newcomer programs are designed to provide services for a limited time. Courses within these programs are designed to develop language skills as well as facilitating students' cultural and social integration into the school culture and the culture of the larger

community. All newcomer programs offer intensive English language development courses to newcomer students. Some programs also offer heritage language literacy opportunities. All programs also offer content area instruction, though programs vary in how instruction is delivered. Content area instruction may be delivered via sheltered instruction, which uses English as the language of instruction but also uses a variety of strategies to make academic content comprehensible to non-English speakers. Instruction may also be delivered in students' native languages or a combination of both sheltered and native language. Effective newcomer programs may also offer courses and strategies for initial literacy development because many students enter these programs without formal literacy skills in any language. An instructional model known as "native-language support" may also be used. Courses and activities for orientation to U.S. schools and the community may also be part of a program's instructional design. A number of programs also offer career awareness courses.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Newcomer Programs

Three main benefits have been identified for students in newcomer programs. These include cultural participation, cultural sensitivity, and a collective sense of belonging. Newcomer programs provide a safe environment for recently immigrated students and provide more opportunities for them to participate fully while they develop language skills and engage in an academic curriculum. Recently immigrated students may also encounter teachers who are trained to be more sensitive to their linguistic, academic, and social needs. Generally, teachers in these programs have more preparation and experience than do general content teachers, especially at the secondary level. A collective sense of belonging is also a benefit to students in newcomer programs because most immigrant students often experience and share similar challenges and successes, and this helps them create a bond.

A number of issues should be considered when programs segregate recently immigrated students from native English speakers. Separating students may lead to linguistic isolation and limit the opportunities for newcomer students to converse and develop their English language skills through the help of native English speakers. Social isolation may also become a problem and can lead to negative stereotypes and limit

cross-cultural understanding. Another drawback of newcomer programs is labeling. Students who attend newcomer programs may be labeled as monolinguals, or are given other identifying terms that imply language limitation. Unfortunately, many of these labels also denote intellectual inferiority or learning disability. These labels may directly affect a student's identity and self-esteem because they are already struggling with issues of identity. Finally, newcomer programs may not always be equal to regular classes and programs in regard to materials available, the opportunities to participate within the school, and the preparation of teachers. English instruction may be limited to drill-and-practice instruction, emphasizing memorization and rote work.

Although newcomer programs segregate immigrant students from the mainstream population, the programs' design distinguishes between this type of segregation and the type of ethnic and racial segregation that is illegal. Many school districts have avoided the creation of newcomer schools or centers, fearing the entanglements of illegal segregation. The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) has reviewed several of these programs. Although OCR has been cautious in endorsing the design, they have not found programs of this type to be in violation of the Civil Rights Act.

Transitions to Regular Classrooms

Procedures for students to leave a newcomer program and transition to regular classrooms vary widely. In many 1-year programs, students exit automatically when the school year ends. A significant number of programs test students for language proficiency, and in some cases, content areas, to determine when newcomers can participate in regular school programs. Most newcomer programs allow flexibility, and students are allowed to exit before the end of a program term if they have made good progress, based on assessment. Students may also extend their time in the program if they arrived in the second semester of the year, or if they need additional time to address significant gaps in their educational or linguistic background.

To make the transition as smooth as possible, planning is imperative. Good program models include ongoing conversations between administrators and teachers about the students who will be transitioning. Decisions are usually made by committees rather than by a single teacher or administrator. Students may be given the opportunity to observe the classes

they will be attending, or collaborate with students in mainstream classes before their transition. When students must transition to a new school, it is important to provide opportunities to attend orientations or preregistration events conducted in their own languages. Another key to newcomer students' continued success after transition is to provide continued monitoring and support.

Even with the limitations and issues these programs face, their development has provided welcoming spaces for newly arrived students, and an opportunity to develop a sense of community. Newcomer programs benefit students like Ricardo directly, making the transition between two countries, cultures, languages, and educational systems less overwhelming.

Margarita Jimenez-Silva

See also Academic English; Affirmative Steps to English; Assimilation; BICS/CALP Theory; English, How Long to Learn; English as a Second Language (ESL) Approaches; Language and Identity; Primary-Language Support

Further Readings

- Boyson, B., & Short, D. (2003). *Secondary school newcomer programs in the United States*. Santa Cruz, CA: Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.
- Faltis, C., & Coulter, C. (2007). *Teaching English learners and immigrant students in secondary schools*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Friedlander, M. (1991). The newcomer program: Helping immigrant students succeed in U.S. schools. *NCBE program information guide series*, (8). Retrieved from <http://www.ncele.gwu.edu/pubs/pigs/pig8.htm>
- Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. (n.d.). *Meeting the needs of immigrant students*. Retrieved from <http://www.nwrel.org/cnorse/booklets/immigration/5.html>
- Short, D. (2002). Newcomer programs: An educational alternative for secondary immigrant students. *Education and Urban Society*, 34, 173–198.

NIETO, SONIA (1943–)

Sonia Nieto, a prominent author in the field of multicultural education, is Professor Emerita of Language, Literacy and Culture in the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where she taught from 1980 until her retirement in 2005. One of

her most significant contributions to education is her conceptual work in which she places bilingual education within multicultural education. Previously, these two fields had been seen as parallel routes to equity and enhanced education for minority group children.

Nieto's education, career, and awards are described in this entry.

Born in 1943 in Brooklyn, New York, to Esther and Federico Cortés, Sonia Nieto began her education in the New York City public schools speaking only Spanish. She experienced firsthand the difficulties of learning English as a second language in a climate of discrimination and low expectations of language minority children. However, her mother and father, proud of their Puerto Rican culture, ignored pressure to speak only English and continued to speak Spanish in the home. By high school, Sonia Nieto was in honors classes.

Nieto received a BS in elementary education from St. John's University in 1965. She received her MA in Spanish and Hispanic literature in 1966 from the New York University Graduate Year in Madrid, Spain. That year, she began her career in teaching as a junior high school teacher of English and Spanish in the Ocean Hill–Brownsville community in Brooklyn, and in 1968 became a fourth-grade bilingual teacher at P.S. 25 in the Bronx, the first completely bilingual school in the Northeast and one of the first in the country to be funded by the new Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), Bilingual Education Program. Her first position in higher education was as an instructor in the Puerto Rican Studies Department at Brooklyn College, where she worked in a joint program in bilingual education with the School of Education. In 1975, she and her family moved to Massachusetts, where she earned her doctoral degree in curriculum studies from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, with special concentrations in multicultural and bilingual education.

Her work on the areas of multicultural and bilingual education is explicated in her book, *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education*, now in its fourth edition. Her books and articles are used widely in multicultural education and professional development courses. The National



Association for Multicultural Education recognized her work with its Educator of the Year Award in 1997. She also received the New England Educator of the Year Award from Region One of the same organization in 1998.

In addition to multicultural and bilingual education, Nieto's scholarly work has focused on teacher education; curriculum reform; Puerto Rican children's literature; and the education of Latinos, immigrants, and other culturally and linguistically diverse student populations. Her books include *What Keeps Teachers Going?* (2003), *Language, Culture and Teaching: Critical Perspectives for a New Century* (2002), and *The Light in Their Eyes: Creating Multicultural Learning Communities* (1999). She edited *Why We Teach* (2005) and *Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Schools* (2000). She has also written chapters and articles on these issues in journals such as *Educational Leadership*, *Theory Into Practice*, *The Harvard Educational Review*, and *Multicultural Education*.

Her experience also includes working as the *Lau* Compliance Coordinator for the Massachusetts Department of Education from 1979 to 1980 and, while at the University of Massachusetts, she was a Parent/Teacher Trainer for the Bilingual Education Service Center from 1980 to 1983 through a consortium with Brown University.

Nieto's leadership and community service include serving on local, regional, national, and international commissions, panels, and advisory boards that focus on educational equity for all students. Among these have been the Massachusetts Advocacy Center, an advisory committee for California Tomorrow, and the National Advisory Boards of both Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO) and Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR). She has received many awards for her research and advocacy, including the Human and Civil Rights Award from the Massachusetts Teachers Association (1989), the Community Change of Boston Drylongso Award for Anti-Racist Activists (1995), and the Teacher of the Year Award from the Hispanic Educators Association of Massachusetts (1996), among others.

Nieto was also a recipient of the Annenberg Institute Senior Fellowship for 1998 to 2000, and she has received two honorary doctorates: one in Humane Letters from Lesley University in 1999 and the other in Intercultural Relations from Bridgewater State College in 2004. In June 2000, she was awarded a month-long residency at the Bellagio

Center in Italy, and in 2003, she was named to the *Críticas* Journal Hall of Fame as the Spanish-Language Community Advocate of the Year. In 2005, she received the Outstanding Educator in the English Language Arts Award from the National Council of Teachers of English, and in 2006, she was given the Enrique T. Trueba Lifetime Achievement Award. She is married to Angel Nieto, and they have 2 daughters and 10 grandchildren.

Marietta Saravia-Shore

See also Biculturalism; Culturally Competent Teaching; Multicultural Education

Further Readings

- Nieto, S. (Ed.). (1999). *The light in their eyes: Creating multicultural learning communities*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Nieto, S. (Ed). (2000). *Puerto Rican students in U.S. schools*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Nieto, S. (2002). *Language, culture and teaching: Critical perspectives for a new century*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Nieto, S. (2003). *What keeps teachers going?* New York: Teachers College Press.
- Nieto, S. (2004). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education* (4th ed.). New York: Allyn & Bacon.
- Nieto, S. (Ed.). (2005). *Why we teach*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Web Sites

- Sonia Nieto's Web Page:
<http://www-unix.oit.umass.edu/~snieto/index.html>

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT OF 2001, TESTING REQUIREMENTS

In 2001, Congress passed education legislation promoting school accountability and the implementation of standards and assessment for all students. These standards articulate what students should know and be able to do as they advance through school and are meant to align curriculum, instruction, and assessment. In accordance with these mandates, the purpose of

assessment, which generally translates into student testing, is to measure the extent to which students have met the standards that have been set. Ostensibly, standards and assessment offer a way to hold students, educators, schools, districts, and states accountable for student achievement. These mandates, as indicated by the legislation, include students who speak a language other than English at home and who are in need of language support services to succeed in English-medium classrooms. This population of students is commonly referred to as English language learners (ELLs).

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), as amended by the 1994 Improving America's Schools Act, required states to adopt academic content and performance standards and assessments to evaluate student progress toward those standards. The recently reauthorized ESEA, titled the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), builds upon earlier legislation and focuses even more heavily on accountability. In this way, NCLB has greatly intensified the involvement of the federal government in the education that each state provides. Within the law's accountability framework, student performance on assessments is used to determine whether schools will continue to receive federal funds without sanctions. Although NCLB does not specifically require states to use standardized tests for their statewide assessment systems, this is what is happening across the country because it is how the law has been interpreted by most states. As a result, standardized tests have become increasingly high stakes since the passage of this federal legislation, as a way for states to demonstrate measurable student progress and meet the law's accountability requirements. This entry describes the assessment requirements of NCLB as they pertain to ELLs.

"No Child Left Behind" Assessment Mandates for English Language Learners

NCLB mandates that accountability requirements apply to all students and entails the inclusion of ELLs as what the law terms a "subgroup" which must make measurable academic progress. Each state was required to put in place an assessment system that includes ELLs by the completion of the 2000–2001 school year. NCLB mandates a participation rate of at least 95% of all students in state assessments used for NCLB compliance. Central to this legislation is that all students must achieve the level of "proficient" in state assessment

systems by the 2013–2014 school year. With this emphasis on the inclusion of all students for accountability to the federal government, performance by ELLs on assessments can greatly affect the appraisal of a teacher, school, district, or state.

The assessment and accountability provisions of NCLB are spelled out in both Title I and Title III of the law. Title I provides additional federal resources to school districts and schools with high concentrations of poverty. Most ELLs are Title I recipients and attend schools that receive this funding, so they are greatly affected by the education reform efforts promoted through Title I legislation. In addition, Title III of NCLB is called "Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students," and funds the programming for ELLs that school districts provide (ELLs are referred to as "Limited English Proficient" in federal legislation). According to the U.S. Department of Education, Title I and Title III programs are more closely intertwined than ever before.

Titles I and III mandate both academic content and English language proficiency assessments for ELLs. The original legislation requires that inclusion in state assessment systems begin immediately, even if an ELL has been in the United States less than 3 years. Although there is great concern about this provision, the current law allows no exemptions for short-term residents or those who have not had adequate instruction in English. English language proficiency assessments are intended to evaluate a student's progress toward acquiring listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills in the English language. This type of assessment is mandated only for ELLs, so these students and those who educate them are required to prepare for additional assessments when compared with non-ELL students. A state must also evaluate the achievement of any ELL in meeting its reading or language arts academic standards, using assessments in English if the student has attended school in the country for 3 or more consecutive years. Furthermore, states must include all ELLs in their academic content assessments for subjects such as math and science by providing test accommodations or modifications. Accommodations or modifications are meant to make test content more accessible to ELLs, for example, by providing students with extra time or allowing them to use a bilingual dictionary. NCLB leaves it to the individual states to decide which assessments they will use and also which test accommodations or modifications they will permit to meet the law's mandates.

Title I Section 1111(b)(7) of NCLB requires each state to show that local education agencies will assess the English proficiency of all ELLs annually. In accordance with Title I, a state must include ELLs in its statewide academic assessment system and assess them in a “valid and reliable manner” that includes the following:

1. Reasonable accommodations; and,
2. To the extent practicable, assessments in the language and form most likely to yield accurate and reliable information on what those students know and can do to determine their mastery of skills in subjects other than English until they have achieved English language proficiency.

States must also identify all of the languages other than English that are present in the student population.

More accountability requirements are outlined in Title III of No Child Left Behind, which are aligned to those in Title I. Title III, Part II is titled “Standards, Assessment, and Accountability,” and required that each state set measurable achievement objectives in 2003. Each state is required to have goals for what NCLB terms “adequate yearly progress,” sometimes called simply AYP, which are achievement objectives measured each year to ensure that ELLs are developing English proficiency and meeting the same academic content standards as those of native-English speakers. As the law states, these objectives must reflect the following:

1. The length of time an individual child has been enrolled in a language instruction educational program; and,
2. Increases in the number or percentage of children making progress in learning English and in attaining English proficiency by the end of each school year, as determined by a valid and reliable assessment of English proficiency consistent with Title I section 1111 (b)(7).

Each state must determine the starting points for adequate yearly progress of ELLs and match the academic content standards and adequate yearly progress targets for ELLs to those of native-English speakers.

Challenges of “No Child Left Behind” Mandates for English Language Learners

The premise underlying the ESEA assessment provisions is that including English language learners in a state’s accountability system will improve the quality of education that these students receive. However, NCLB is increasingly receiving criticism for its top-down approach and lack of sufficient attention to providing the necessary resources to ensure that all students can attain the standards that have been set. Bilingual education supporters attack this position because NCLB removed the term *bilingual* from the 1994 version of the ESEA and the new law only emphasizes English acquisition. For example, the U.S. Department of Education’s Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs was renamed by NCLB as the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students. Many ELL advocates disapprove of NCLB for creating a context in which ELL students are penalized for their limited proficiency in English. The challenges that English language learners face in meeting the demands of NCLB mainly stem from the law’s emphasis on assessment. To prove that students are making “adequate yearly progress,” most states use standardized tests that were developed for the assessment of native-English speakers, not ELLs, and that are only provided to students in English. Only eight states permit the use of test translations for their statewide exams, and just five of these actually provide the translations they permit. Research indicates that any assessment of an ELL administered in English will be greatly affected by a student’s lack of English language proficiency. This is because testing in English makes any test, including a test of math or science, actually an assessment of English language skills, even if the test is intended to evaluate content knowledge.

As stated earlier, NCLB does not specifically mandate the implementation of statewide standardized tests, though this is how most states have interpreted it. In large part, states have done so because standardized tests are typically quite feasible and affordable on a wide scale. However, there are some examples of states seeking viable alternatives they feel may more accurately assess ELLs. The state of Delaware is piloting the use of portfolio assessments

to evaluate ELLs on a wide scale, with the intention that their portfolio system will meet NCLB requirements.

In most states, the same standardized tests used to comply with the NCLB assessment and accountability provisions are being used to make other crucial decisions that affect students' lives, such as grade promotion, high school graduation, and program tracking. ELLs typically do not perform as well as native-English speakers on these tests, and because of this, they are being penalized. The law is also being blamed for promoting standardized, proscriptive curricula and, overall, for changing programming and instruction for ELLs in ways that are more negative than positive. When this legislation comes up for reauthorization, ELL advocates are expected to lobby for major changes to be made to the law, particularly with regard to the assessment mandates for ELLs. NCLB has greatly affected the education of ELLs in recent years, but it remains to be seen if it will continue to do so.

Kate Menken

See also High-Stakes Testing; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (*all entries*); Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Becomes Title III, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001

Further Readings

Crawford, J. (2004). *No Child Left Behind: Misguided approach to school accountability for English language learners*. Paper for the Forum on ideas to improve the NCLB accountability provisions for students with disabilities and English language learners. Washington, DC: Center on Education Policy & National Association for Bilingual Education.

Glickman, C. (Ed.) (2004). *Letters to the next president: What we can do about the real crisis in public education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Menken, K. (2000, September). What are the critical issues in wide-scale assessment of English language learners? *NCBE Issue Brief No. 6*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Menken, K. (2001, May/June). When all means all: Standards-based reform and English language learners. *NABE News*, 24(5).

Menken, K. (2006). Teaching to the test: How standardized testing promoted by *No Child Left Behind* impacts

language policy, curriculum, and instruction for English language learners. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 30(2), 521–546. Available from http://brj.asu.edu/vol30_no2/art13.pdf

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002). Sullivan, P., Yeager, M., Chudowsky, N., Kober, N., O'Brien, E., & Gayler, K. (2005). *State high school exit exams: States try harder, but gaps persist*. Washington, DC: Center on Education Policy.

U.S. Department of Education. (1994). *The Improving America's Schools Act of 1994: Summary sheets*. Washington, DC: Author.

U.S. Department of Education, Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students (2003, February). *DRAFT Non-regulatory guidance on the Title III state formula grant program. Part II: Standards, assessments, and accountability*. Washington, DC: Author.

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT OF 2001, TITLE I

The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 is the continuing reauthorization of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. Signed into law in January 2002, NCLB provides funding to states and schools and establishes federal education policy. Title I of NCLB, “Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged,” is designed to provide federal assistance to states and school districts in meeting the educational needs of low-achieving children in high-poverty schools, limited-English-proficient students, migratory children, children with disabilities, Native American children, neglected or delinquent children, and young children in need of reading assistance, as discussed in this entry. Title I provides both formula grants to states to pass on to school districts and other funds that go directly to schools for special purposes. The act also provides competitive grant programs. When states and outlying areas of the United States accept federal educational funding—as all currently do—they must comply with the mandates of NCLB. Although some states have complained bitterly about these requirements and threatened to refuse funding, none have actually done so.

The stated purpose of Title I is to ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity

to obtain a high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on state-level academic achievement standards as measured by state academic assessments (§1001). To achieve this purpose, Title I mandates annual student assessments of all students in Grades 3 through 8, and once in high school. It requires each state to create its own academic content and achievement standards and assessments to measure those standards, and use the results to hold schools, districts, and the state itself accountable. Assessments must include math and reading/language arts annually, and science must be tested three times between Grades 3 and 12. Title I also requires annual English language proficiency testing of all limited-English-proficient (LEP) students. States must issue individual student reports, as well as school and district “report cards” annually, that include the results of the student achievement assessments and are made available to parents and the public.

All students are expected to meet or exceed their state’s academic standards by 2014. In other words, Title I mandates that by 2014, 100% of students will meet passing criteria on their state’s assessment. Test score data must be disaggregated into different subgroups, including each major racial and ethnic group, students with disabilities, students with limited English proficiency, and economically disadvantaged students (§1111(a)(2)(C)(v)(II)). States must set annual measurable achievement objectives (AMAOs), which indicate the percentage of students expected to pass their state assessments each year; the AMAOs typically increase each year relative to the goal of ensuring that all students in each subgroup pass by 2014.

A subgroup is deemed to be making adequate yearly progress (AYP) if it meets or exceeds that year’s AMAO. In addition, to be deemed as making AYP, at least 95% of the students in the subgroup must be tested each year, and each subgroup must meet the criteria of one other achievement indicator (typically attendance or graduation rates). Thus, if a subgroup does not reach its AMAO or if fewer than 95% of the students in that group take the test, that subgroup is deemed as “failing” to make AYP. Furthermore, schools and school districts are held accountable for ensuring that each subgroup reaches its AMAO. If any one of its subgroups does not, then the entire school (or district) is deemed as failing to make adequate yearly progress.

Once a school has been deemed as “failing” to make AYP for 2 consecutive years, it is identified by

the state for “school improvement.” The school must notify parents and must provide students the opportunity to transfer to another school that is not “failing” and cover any necessary transportation costs (§1116(b)(1)(D)). Within 3 months, the “failing” school must develop and implement a 2-year school improvement plan. If the school fails to make AYP the following year, it must provide “supplemental educational services” to students from an outside provider, such as after-school tutoring from a private company. The district must also take “corrective action,” which could include appointing outside experts to advise the school, decreasing the authority of the school’s management, or even replacing school staff (§1116(b)(7)). If the school fails to make AYP the following year, it is subject to “Restructuring,” which could entail state takeover of the school, replacing the entire staff, converting the school into a charter school, or turning the school over to a private company (§1116(b)(8)). Title I does not clearly provide for accountability after state or private takeover, and no indication of when or how a school is to be returned to regular school district operation.

Before 2002, states and school districts were given flexibility in statewide testing and how and when to include LEP students. Title I of NCLB, in contrast, requires LEP students to take state academic assessments regardless of their English language proficiency and regardless of how long they have attended school in the United States. In other words, a non-English-speaking English language learning (ELL) student who arrived in the United States for the first time on the day testing began would nonetheless be required to take one or more state assessments. However, states are required to assess LEP students “in a valid and reliable manner” and must also provide “reasonable accommodations.” Guidelines issued by the U.S. Department of Education in 2003 suggest that these accommodations might include extra time, small-group administration, flexible scheduling, simplified instructions, audiotaped instructions in the native language or English, or providing additional clarifying information.

Reasonable accommodations for LEP students could also include, to the extent practicable, assessments in the language and form most likely to yield accurate data on what such students know and can do in academic content areas, until such students have achieved English language proficiency (§1111(b)(3)(C)(ix)(II)).

Title I requires each state to identify the languages other than English spoken by students, and languages for which state assessments are needed but not available. States are required to make every effort to develop such assessments and may request assistance from the U.S. Department of Education if linguistically accessible academic assessment measures are needed (§1111(b)(6)). If states do have native-language versions of their assessments, LEP students may only take these tests for 3 consecutive years, after which they must take the assessments in English. However, a 2-year extension may be granted for native-language assessments on an individual case-by-case basis, if it is determined that this would yield more accurate and reliable information on what the student knows and can do on tests (written in English) of reading or language arts (§1111(b)(3)(C)(x)). U.S. Department of Education guidelines make it clear that native-language assessments are only required “to the extent practicable.” At the time of this writing, fewer than 10 states have found it practicable to offer native-language assessments; thus, most ELL students are required to take, and are expected to pass, their state assessments in English.

In addition to its standards, assessment, and accountability mandates, Title I includes funding for drop-out prevention programs, family literacy programs, advanced placement programs, programs for migratory students, and programs for children and youth who are neglected, delinquent, or at-risk. Title I also includes the Reading First grant program, designed to assist schools establish scientifically based reading programs in Grades K–3 for struggling readers. Schools receiving Reading First grants typically have large numbers of ELL students.

Critics and proponents of NCLB agree that NCLB in general, and Title I (and Title III) in particular, have brought renewed attention to the needs of ELL students. If a school’s LEP subgroup fails to make AYP, the entire school is labeled as failing and subject to sanctions. Thus, districts and schools that have long neglected their ELLs can no longer afford to do so.

Negative Aspects of Title I for ELL Students

Intentions notwithstanding, scholarly research has provided evidence that the mandates of Title I related to ELLs may be causing more harm than good. One issue is that Title I indirectly discourages bilingual

education because of the immense pressure schools are under to raise ELL student test scores and that most ELLs take their state’s assessments in English. Researchers have also found that narrow test-preparation curriculum and instruction (teaching-to-the-test) have diverted time and resources away from English as a Second Language (ESL) and effective sheltered English content-area instruction. A criticism with ample documentation is that the high-stakes nature of state assessments has led to a narrowing of curriculum to only those subjects—and those skills within those subjects—that are included on state assessments, thus preventing ELLs and other students from receiving full-access to the core curriculum. Given this pressure, and given technical flaws of Title I, many state and school district officials have been finding creative and sometimes questionable means to avoid having the requisite number of ELLs in a given school, and thus, avoid being held accountable for the achievement of an LEP subgroup.

Even more problematic are technical flaws that ultimately will make it impossible for any school with an LEP subgroup to make AYP. These problems are outlined in the following sections.

Problems With Requirements and Expectations for ELLs

Common sense dictates that it is difficult to pass a written test in a language in which one is not yet proficient. Title I attempts to address this issue by calling on states to assess ELLs in a valid and reliable manner through the use of “reasonable accommodations.” However, this is a case of easier said than done. Charlene Rivera, Executive Director of the George Washington University Center for Equity and Excellence in Education, and her colleagues conducted an extensive review of research on testing accommodation for ELLs and on state-level accommodation policies. They found little research in this area and that which does exist is inconclusive. They also found that state practices vary widely and that most do little to address the fact that ELLs are not proficient in the language of the test. Rivera and her colleagues conclude that much more research is needed before it can be determined how ELLs can be included in statewide assessment programs in a valid and reliable manner, and the researchers call on the federal government to provide more funding for research.

Although testing students in the native language (L1 tests) appears to be the best accommodation, the creation of valid and reliable L1 tests that are parallel to their English versions is an expensive and time-consuming process few states have found practicable. Only a small number of states have L1 versions of their state tests, nearly all of them in Spanish. Thus, most ELLs, especially those who speak a language other than Spanish, have no access to this accommodation. Even states that have L1 tests may only have them for certain grade levels and may have restrictions for how many years students can take L1 tests. Furthermore, many ELLs are illiterate in their native languages because they have only received literacy instruction in English. Even if they are literate in the L1, they may not be familiar with L1 academic vocabulary if most of their instruction has been in English. Thus, L1 tests only make sense for ELLs who (a) are literate in their L1, and (b) have received L1 content instruction in the subjects being tested, such as students enrolled in bilingual education programs or newcomers with adequate schooling in their home country.

Flaws in Determining AYP for the LEP Subgroup

At least two major flaws in NCLB will affect any school with large numbers of ELL students. The first is related to the AMAOs set by the states. Schools with large numbers of ELL students will likely be well below the AMAOs for any given school year and, thus, have farther to go to catch up than other schools. Also, the AYP requirements are unable to account for newly arrived ELLs; these students end up being expected to make the same progress at the same rate as their peers, but without having had the benefit of instruction or sufficient opportunity to first learn English. NCLB's AYP provisions assume all students progress through the school system starting in kindergarten at the beginning of the school year. The reality, however, is that newcomer ELLs can arrive at any time, at any age, and in any grade level, thus, AYP expectations for these students are unreasonable.

The other flaw is even more detrimental, with the potential to deem any school with an LEP subgroup as failing to make AYP and ultimately subject to state takeover. Title I treats the LEP subgroup as it does all other subgroups; however, unlike other subgroups such as ethnicity, the membership of the LEP subgroup

does not stay the same. Few students who enter school designated as LEP are still LEP by the end of 12th grade. ELLs eventually learn English and are removed from the LEP subgroup. They are replaced each year by newly arrived ELLs with the lowest levels of English proficiency. In other words, the ELLs with the highest levels of English proficiency—those most likely to be able to pass state assessments—are replaced by those with the least amount of English proficiency—those least likely to pass. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

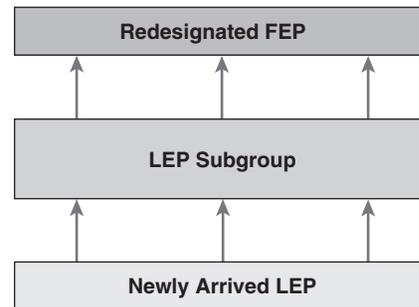


Figure 1 Movement Into and out of the LEP Subgroup

Notes: Fluent English Proficient (FEP). Limited English Proficient (LEP).

Given the nature of this movement into and out of the group, and depending on immigration patterns, the LEP subgroup could appear as if no progress is being made by ELL students, and the school may be designated as failing to make AYP and subject to sanctions. What has happened is that potentially every child who is redesignated as no longer LEP will have been replaced by a newly arrived immigrant child making it appear as if no progress had been made in reducing the number of ELLs.

In partial recognition of this flaw, in 2004 the U.S. Department of Education (DOE) announced two changes to the way the LEP subgroup is treated for AYP purposes. First, LEP students could be excluded from the reading test in English for the first year, allowing the English language proficiency test to serve as a substitute, though results would not be counted for AYP purposes. Second, test scores of redesignated LEP students would be counted for 2 years after redesignation as fluent English proficient. Newly arrived ELL students were still expected to take—and pass—their state's math assessment, and their scores would count in the school's AYP calculations. Two years later

in 2006, however, the DOE made a slight change to this requirement as well. Newly arrived ELLs in the country for less than 12 months would still be required to take the state math assessment; however, their scores could be excluded from the school's AYP calculations. Unfortunately, these changes are insufficient, and at best delay the problem rather than solve it. Concerned educators have pointed out that it is unreasonable to expect newly arrived ELLs to learn enough English in one school year (about 180 school days) to pass the same reading and math assessments as their English-fluent peers. Although the allowance for counting ELLs for 2 years after redesignation may help a little, it does not solve the basic problem of the highest students being replaced by the lowest students in English language proficiency. Thus, these changes are insufficient to ensure that the LEP subgroup will be able to make AYP.

By NCLB's own definition, an LEP student's difficulties with the English language may be sufficient to deny the individual the ability to meet the state's proficient level of achievement on state assessments. Nonetheless, Title I mandates that they do just that. Concerned educators have pointed out that to identify a group of students who by definition cannot meet the standards, treat that group as static, and then require that 100% of students in that group attain proficiency in those standards is not reasonable.

Other Problems With Title I for ELLs

Another problem affecting instruction for ELLs is related to the Title I requirement that paraprofessionals working in classrooms have at least 2 years of college. This requirement has made it difficult for schools to keep or recruit bilingual paraprofessionals who provide primary-language support and other needed assistance for ELL students under the supervision of certified classroom teachers.

Yet another problem with Title I is related to the Reading First grants. In 2006, the federal Office of Inspector General identified corruption within the U.S. Department of Education in regards to Reading First's application process. One result of this corruption was the requirement of school districts to adopt specific reading programs—program that several members of the expert review panel had commercial ties with and thus personally profited from by requiring their adoption. Many recipients of Reading First grants are schools serving large numbers of ELL

students. Despite questionable claims from the DOE that these programs were "scientifically based" (as required by NCLB), concerned ELL educators have questioned the mandated instructional and assessment material, which they believe are inappropriate for addressing the unique language and academic needs of ELL students.

Failure of the DOE to Provide Adequate Assistance

In 2006, the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) issued a report acknowledging most of the problems outlined in this entry. The GAO report noted that its panel of experts found states were failing to take adequate steps to create valid and reliable assessments for ELLs and that no state had implemented an assessment program for ELLs consistent with technical standards. The GAO looked closely at 48 states and found that in nearly two-thirds of them, ELLs did not meet state proficiency goals in language arts and math, and that in most of these states, elementary school ELLs scored lower on math than other student groups did. Furthermore, the GAO found that given the complexities of testing of ELLs in a valid and reliable manner, states needed more guidance and assistance than the U.S. Department of Education was offering.

An immediate result of this GAO report was the creation of the LEP Partnership in July 2006 by the U.S. Department of Education to provide more technical assistance to states in developing appropriate assessments for ELLs. As of this writing, however, documents published by the LEP Partnership, made available on the DOE Web site, merely point out the problems and offer little technical assistance in how to actually create assessments that are valid and reliable for ELLs and that fulfill the requirements of Title I.

Wayne E. Wright

See also Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; High-Stakes Testing; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III

Further Readings

Abedi, J. (2004). The No Child Left Behind Act and English language learners: Assessment and accountability issues. *Educational Researcher*, 33(1), 4–14.

- Crawford, J. (2007). *No Child Left Behind: A failure for English language learners*. Takoma Park, MD: Institute for Language and Education Policy. Available from http://www.elladvocates.org/documents/nclb/NCLB_and_ELLs.pdf
- Menken, K. (2006). Teaching to the test: How standardized testing promoted by No Child Left Behind impacts language policy, curriculum, and instruction for English language learners. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 30, 521–546. Available from http://brj.asu.edu/vol30_no2/art13.pdf
- Nichols, S., & Berliner, D. C. (2007). *Collateral damage: How high-stakes testing corrupts America's schools*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- Office of Inspector General. (2006). *The Reading First Grant's application process*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Available from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oig/aireports/i13f0017.pdf>
- Rivera, C., & Collum, E. (Eds.). (2006). *State assessment policy and practice for English language learners*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2006). *No Child Left Behind Act: Education assistance could help states better measure progress of students with limited English proficiency*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Wright, W. E. (2005). Evolution of federal policy and implications of No Child Left Behind for language minority students (No. EPSL-0501–101-LPRU). Tempe: Language Policy Research Unit, Education Policy Studies Laboratory, Arizona State University. Available from <http://epsl.asu.edu/epru/documents/EPSL-0501-101-LPRU.pdf>
- Wright, W. E. (2006). A Catch-22 for language learners. *Educational Leadership*, 64(3), 22–27.

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT OF 2001, TITLE III

Title III, “Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students,” is part of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001. It replaced, but is substantially different from, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), also known as the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. As a reauthorization of the 1965 ESEA, NCLB was signed into law in January 2002 to provide education funding to states and schools and to establish federal education policy. Title III was designed to provide federal assistance to states and school districts in meeting

the language and academic needs of students classified as limited-English-proficient (LEP). (Although English language learner [ELL] is the preferred term, LEP will be used in this article because it is the official classification in NCLB.) Title III provides states with formula grants to distribute among state schools with LEP students. When states and outlying areas of the United States accept federal education funding—as all currently do—they must comply with the mandates of NCLB. These mandates include strict accountability measures related to students’ progress in learning and attaining English proficiency and in meeting state academic standards. This entry describes Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, and its implications for the education of language learners.

The stated purpose of Title III is to improve the education of LEP children by assisting children to learn English and meet challenging academic content and student academic achievement standards. Title III provides formula grants to state education agencies (SEAs). The SEAs, in turn, make subgrants to eligible local education agencies (LEAs) (i.e., school districts and charter schools) that apply to the state for such funds.

Title III defines an LEP student as a student between ages 3 and 21, who is enrolled (or preparing to enroll) in an elementary or secondary school and whose difficulties in speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language may be sufficient to deny the individual (a) the ability to meet the state’s proficient level of achievement on state assessments described in Title I, (b) the ability to successfully achieve in classrooms where the language of instruction is English, or (c) the opportunity to participate fully in society.

Title III requires that LEP students be placed in a language instruction education program, defined simply as an instructional course in which an LEP student is placed for the purpose of developing and attaining English proficiency, while meeting challenging state academic content and student academic achievement standards. The law stipulates that these programs may make instructional use of both English and a child’s native language to enable the child to develop and attain English proficiency. Thus, Title III allows bilingual education, though it intentionally avoids the use of this term. Dual-language programs are also allowed under the stipulation that programs may include the participation of English-proficient children, if such course is designed to enable all participating children to become proficient in English and in a second language.

Essentially, Title III programs only need to meet two requirements: (a) teach English, and (b) teach content (as defined by state standards). Title III gives ultimate authority to each state in what types of program models for LEP students will be allowed. The law declares that Title III does not require states or schools to establish, continue, or eliminate any particular type of instructional program for LEP students, nor can the U.S. Secretary of Education mandate or preclude any instructional approach. Furthermore, the law declares, none of the requirements of Title III can be construed to negate or supersede state law; thus, in states with laws restricting bilingual education, schools cannot use the allowances for native-language instruction in Title III to offer bilingual programs (unless they meet the state's waiver requirements, if any).

School districts must submit Title III plans to the state, which in turn must submit plans to the U.S. Department of Education to receive Title III funds. In these plans, school districts and their states must describe how their language instruction curriculum is tied to scientifically based research on teaching LEP children that has been demonstrated to be effective.

NCLB requires each state to develop English language proficiency standards and English language proficiency assessments designed to measure LEP students' progress in attaining those standards. These standards and assessments must be based on the four domains of speaking, reading, listening, and writing and must include the domain of comprehension as exhibited through listening and reading. The English language proficiency assessments must be given annually to all LEP students enrolled in schools in the state. Most of the language proficiency assessments states and school districts used before NCLB did not meet these requirements, and thus, new statewide English language proficiency standards and assessments had to be developed. Most states have struggled to fully comply with these requirements by the deadlines set forth in NCLB.

Local school districts receiving Title III funds are required to submit an evaluation of their programs for LEP students every 2 years to the state. The evaluation must include the following: (a) progress of students (as determined by the mandated assessments) in attaining English language proficiency; (b) percentage of students attaining English language proficiency, and progress of students in attaining English language proficiency; (c) percentage of students transitioned into non-LEP instructional settings who have

a sufficient level of English language proficiency to achieve in English and make that transition; and (d) percentage of students who made progress in meeting state academic achievement standards, as measured by the state content achievement test.

Results of the English language proficiency assessments are a part of the state's accountability system. As with the state content area tests, the states must set annual measurable achievement objectives (AMAOs) to hold school districts accountable for the progress of LEP students in attaining proficiency in English. School districts' adequate yearly progress in achieving Title III AMAOs is determined by "annual increases in the number or percentage of children making progress in learning English" and "annual increases in the number or percentage of children attaining English proficiency by the end of each school year." In addition, AMAOs under Title III includes LEP students meeting the adequate yearly progress requirements (AYP) under Title I.

There are serious consequences for failing to make the AYP related to LEP student's attainment of English language proficiency. If a school district fails to make the AYP for 2 consecutive years, it must develop and submit an improvement plan to the state. The state is required to provide technical assistance to the district. If the district fails to make the adequate yearly progress after 4 consecutive years, the state may (a) require the district's school to modify its curriculum program or method of instruction, (b) withhold Title III funds, or (c) replace educational personnel in the district's schools.

Each state must submit detailed consolidated performance reports every year, and an evaluation report every 2 years to the U.S. Department of Education, using the evaluations from the local school districts. The results of English language proficiency assessments are also used to determine state-level AYP designations.

Positive Aspects of Title III for LEP Students

The change from the competitive grant system of the old Title VII to the new formula-grant system under Title III means that more federal funds for LEP students are reaching the most eligible students in the country. The mandates of Title III include all LEP students in all the schools in the country. Thus, Title III brings federal attention to the ELL needs of LEP

students to an all-time high. States, school districts, and their schools can no longer ignore the linguistic and academic needs of their LEP students.

The mandates for state English language proficiency standards, and assessments aligned to those standards, means each state must now make its expectations for students' English language development explicit to classroom teachers. Accountability for students' progress in learning English and attaining English proficiency highlights the need for programs and teachers that focus on English language development. Potentially, these requirements could lead to more training for teachers to enable them to provide the types of English as a Second Language (ESL) and content area instruction necessary to help LEP students meet or exceed these standards.

Negative Aspects of Title III for LEP Students

Title III focuses exclusively on English. In the transition from Title VII, ESEA, to Title III, NCLB, the word *bilingual* was completely expunged from the legislation and even from the names of offices previously connected with Title VII. The Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), which had been responsible for administering Title VII grants, was changed to the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students (and goes by the more manageable acronym, OELA). The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) was changed to the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (and goes by the shorter acronym, NCELA).

Title III has no lists of recognitions or findings related to LEP students as in past versions of Title VII, ESEA. There is only a long list of "purposes." Absent from Title III are any recognitions of the benefits of bilingual education and bilingualism, issues of cultural differences, or the need for multicultural understanding. Gone are any acknowledgments of the factors that have negatively affected the education of LEP students (e.g., segregation, improper placement in special education, underrepresentation in gifted and talented education, shortages of bilingual teachers). Acknowledgments of the personal and societal benefits of bilingual education and bilingualism no longer exist. The goal of Title III is to move LEP students

into all-English (mainstream) instruction settings as quickly as possible and to ensure that LEP students pass state tests in English.

Although the flexibility afforded state and local education agencies to define their own approaches to teaching LEP students potentially creates the opportunity for funding bilingual programs, Title III is unlikely to encourage more bilingual programs for several reasons. First, state education agencies have been given unprecedented power in deciding which types of programs they deem to be "scientifically based" and thus eligible for funding. In Arizona, for example, despite Proposition 203, bilingual programs are still possible through the waiver provisions. Nevertheless, in 2003, Arizona's superintendent of public instruction threatened to withhold Title III funds from schools that do not adhere to his strict interpretation of the waiver provisions. This superintendent's interpretation makes it nearly impossible for LEP students younger than 10 years of age to qualify and even for charter schools and schools on Indian Reservations previously deemed by the state's attorney general as exempt from Proposition 203. The superintendent cited a single magazine article as "scientific evidence" that bilingual education does not work. This represents the potential for abuse that the flexibility of Title III affords to state education officials.

In addition, the testing and accountability requirements of Title III for English proficiency are likely to discourage the use of bilingual education programs. Despite the allowances for native-language instruction, schools are under immense pressure to ensure that the LEP subgroup makes AYP in developing and attaining English proficiency as quickly as possible, at the risk of being labeled as failing and suffering the consequences outlined in the law. The Title III expectations for LEP students to pass the same state high-stakes tests as English-fluent students (as mandated by Title I), and that most LEP students take their state's tests in English, only further adds to this pressure. Many well-meaning administrators and teachers may incorrectly rationalize that all-English instruction is necessary to prepare students for English proficiency tests and content area tests in English.

Although the need for LEP students to attain fluency in English has not been debated, Title III has been challenged as a giant leap backward in promoting programs designed to help LEP students attain high levels of proficiency and literacy in both English and their native language. Other federal agencies,

such as those related to diplomacy, commerce, and national security, have been raising the alarm about the lack of its citizens' proficiency in languages other than English, and how this has greatly hampered the country's internal and international efforts. A federal report from the National Security Education Program in 2002 emphasized that the United States currently needs more speakers of more languages at higher levels of proficiency than ever before. The report also mentions the problem of the nation's schools annihilating any knowledge of other languages students initially learned to speak at home. Thus, the Title III exclusive focus on English is at odds with the urgent need for bilingual Americans identified by other federal agencies. It is also at odds with students' personal needs for and benefits of bilingualism, including better communication and relations with parents, relatives, and community members; the cognitive benefits of bilingualism; increased employment opportunities because of bilingual skills, the ability to travel or work in countries where their native language is the dominant language, and so forth.

Other Problems With Title III

Though few would disagree that it is important for schools to be held accountable for ensuring that LEP students make progress in learning English, and ultimately attain proficiency in the language, the Title III mandates and expectations have problems. First, there has to be some reasonable limit on the percentage of students expected to be redesignated as fluent English proficient each year. A more reasonable policy would have to consider the length of time the student has been in the United States and consider other factors outside the school that may affect English language learning.

The expectation for students to make progress each year toward the goal of English proficiency is not unreasonable; however, there can be problems here, too. Current research still supports the view that it takes from 5 to 7 years to obtain fluency in a second language. However, state assessments typically only define four or five levels of English proficiency, the highest being fluency. Let's then say, for example, a state has only four levels of proficiency, but it takes a student 6 years to become fluent. The student is expected to move up one proficiency level each year, but soon he will run out of levels to move to before attaining proficiency. This is precisely what is happening

in many states. In California, for example, state reports from the Legislative Analyst's Office in 2004 and 2006 have documented that LEP students quickly move from one level to the next at the lower levels, but get stuck in the higher levels for several years.

The biggest problem with the Title III AYP expectations, however, may be that they are entangled with the Title I AYP expectations. A school district's LEP students may make great progress in learning English, but if too many fail the regular state test required of all students (as mandated by Title I), they will not make the AYP under Title III. In other words, making AYP under Title III requires that LEP students make AYP under Title I. Because of both conceptual and technical flaws in Title I, most LEP students will likely not do well on a content area test written in English, nor will a school's LEP subgroup make AYP. In short, as the expectations increase each year, it will become increasingly difficult and ultimately impossible for school districts to make AYP under Title III. This failure to make AYP will have nothing to do with how well students are progressing in learning and attaining English fluency but, rather, will be the result of illogical reasoning and technical flaws within NCLB.

Another issue related to the Title III requirement is inconsistency in how states assess the English language proficiency of LEP students. Language proficiency tests used from one state to another vary widely. Different states and school districts also follow different procedures to use the results of language proficiency tests to make decisions regarding when to exit students from LEP programs.

Before NCLB, each state set its own policies regarding how to identify LEP students. In most states, schools would administer, at the time of initial school enrollment, a home language survey to determine if students come from a household with a "primary home language other than English" (PHLOTE). School districts were then required to assess these students with an English language proficiency test to identify LEP students. A number of such tests are on the market, and decisions regarding which test to use were frequently made at the district level. These different tests vary widely across practices from one district to the next, and across each state in assessments used and procedures followed to identify and report the number of LEP students. Even at the national level, attempts to accurately measure the national LEP student population proved problematic given the lack of data and inconsistencies between various data sets.

With the change to a formula grant process in Title III, a standardized procedure was needed to identify the size of the LEP (and immigrant) student population in each state. Title III stipulated that during the first 2 years of NCLB (2002–2003), the U.S. Secretary of Education would use data from the U.S. Census. After 2003, the secretary is directed to use data from the American Community Survey administered by the Department of Commerce. Alternatively, and most likely preferably, the secretary may determine the size of the LEP student population based on the number of students assessed in each state on new statewide English language proficiency assessments.

This lack of consistency leads to two major problems. First, regardless of what methods are used, the number of LEP students will most likely be underestimated, thus, the amount of Title III funds allocated will fail to reach all eligible students. Second, comparisons in the achievement of LEP students in both English language learning and academic achievement across states is problematic, given that each state identifies and redesignates its LEP students using different criteria. Simply put, a student identified as LEP in one state may be deemed as English-fluent in another state. States with easier language-proficiency tests, and content area tests, may appear to be making greater progress in helping LEP students learn English and meet academic standards than states with more challenging tests and rigorous standards.

Future of Title III

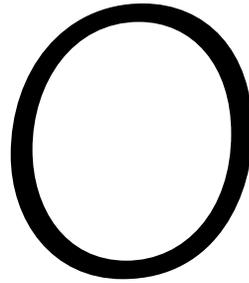
In whole or in part, the future of NCLB is murky. At the time of this writing, substantial debate surrounds the provisions and requirements of NCLB in the face of the upcoming reauthorization of the federal education law. Part of this debate focuses on the mandates for LEP students. The fundamental flaws inherent in the law, as well as its unrealistic expectations for LEP students, are increasingly recognized. Although some hope for a few changes to make the law a bit more reasonable, even the most optimistic advocates are doubtful that the kinds of substantial changes to the underlying principles and policies needed to fully and fairly address the linguistic and academic needs of LEP students will be made.

Wayne E. Wright

See also Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; High-Stakes Testing; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing Requirements; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title I; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Becomes Title III, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001

Further Readings

- Abedi, J. (2004). The No Child Left Behind Act and English language learners: Assessment and accountability issues. *Educational Researcher*, 33(1), 4–14.
- Crawford, J. (2002). *Obituary: The Bilingual Education Act, 1968–2002*. Tempe: Language Policy Research Unit, Education Policy Studies Laboratory, Arizona State University. Retrieved from <http://www.asu.edu/educ/epsl/LPRU/features/article2.htm>
- García, E. E. (Ed.). (2000). *Bilingual research journal, special issue, Implementation of California's Proposition 227: 1998–2000* (Vol. 24, 1–2). Washington, DC: National Association for Bilingual Education.
- González, J. M. (2002). *Bilingual education and the federal role, if any* (No. EPSL-0203–102-LPRU). Tempe: Language Policy Research Unit, Education Policy Studies Laboratory, Arizona State University. Retrieved from <http://www.language-policy.org/content/features/article1.htm>
- Hill, E. G. (2004). *A look at the progress of English learner students*. Sacramento, CA: Legislative Analyst's Office.
- Hill, E. G. (2006). *Update 2002–2004: The progress of English learner students*. Sacramento, CA: Legislative Analyst's Office.
- National Security Education Program. (2002). National briefing on language and national security. Retrieved from http://www.nflc.org/policy_and_strategy/language_and_national_security/nflc_briefing_january_2002/full_transcript
- Wright, W. E. (2005). *Evolution of federal policy and implications of No Child Left Behind for language minority students* (No. EPSL-0501–101-LPRU). Tempe: Language Policy Research Unit, Education Policy Studies Laboratory, Arizona State University. Available from <http://epsl.asu.edu/epru/documents/EPSL-0501-101-LPRU.pdf>
- Wright, W. E. (2006). A Catch-22 for language learners. *Educational Leadership*, 64(3), 22–27.
- Wright, W. E. (2007). Heritage language programs in the era of English-only and No Child Left Behind. *Heritage Language Journal*, 5(1), 1–26.
- Zehr, M. A. (2003, November 19). English proficiency can take a while in state ESEA plans. *Education Week*, 23(12), 1–17.



OBEMLA

See OFFICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND
MINORITY LANGUAGES AFFAIRS

OCR MEMORANDUM OF MAY 25, 1970

See AFFIRMATIVE STEPS TO ENGLISH; APPENDIX C

OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Education had its genesis in the civil rights movement and in the “War on Poverty” of the 1960s. The agency’s mission is ensuring equal access to education and promoting educational excellence through vigorous enforcement of civil rights protected by federal law. Much of the activity concerning language minority students and their rights occurred before the creation of the Department of Education under President Jimmy Carter. At that time, this activity was conducted by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW).

OCR is charged with the enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as it affects education.

Simply, that act prohibits discrimination based on race, color, and national origin by all recipients of federal funds. Since all school districts and state educational agencies receive federal funds, all are barred from engaging in national origin discrimination. *National origin discrimination* is that which is directed at a person or group because of ethnicity. It has also been construed to include discrimination based on common indicators of ethnicity, such as language.

Beyond the Civil Rights Act of 1964, OCR enforces a variety of laws. This is important information for educators and others concerned with the education of students categorized as limited English proficient (LEP), for the LEP student might also fall within another category and derive legal protection for that situation as well. For example, a student might be one with disabilities as well as being LEP, thus referred to as a SPEDLEP (special education limited-English-proficient) student in OCR parlance. The antidiscrimination laws enforced by OCR include Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (race, color, and national origin), Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (sex), Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Title II of the ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act), and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975.

OCR is charged with the promotion of the U.S. Department of Education’s mission of access to education and educational excellence. An assistant secretary for civil rights manages 12 regional enforcement offices that handle complaints, conduct agency-initiated compliance activities, and provide technical assistance. The span of OCR’s institutional coverage is broad. Its jurisdiction includes virtually all educational institutions receiving federal funding, including

state education agencies, school districts, colleges and universities, proprietary schools, libraries, museums, vocational rehabilitation programs, and educational programs in correctional institutions. The laws protect students as well as employees of these institutions.

Most of OCR's activities involve complaints of discrimination. The agency receives more than 5,000 complaints per year. Anyone can file an OCR complaint: the victim of discrimination, a teacher aware of discrimination, an advocacy organization, and so on. No attorney is required, and complaints need not be in English. They can be handwritten in any language and will be translated by OCR. Complaints must be filed within 180 days of the last act of discrimination, but continuing practices of discrimination can also be complained about. Complaints may be individual or class based. The agency has loose guidelines for timeliness in resolving complaints. Years ago, OCR was under court order to resolve cases in a timely manner, and the need to move expeditiously is generally accepted by agency personnel today.

OCR was established in the 1960s to create an administrative mechanism to combat school segregation. Over the years, OCR's jurisdiction has greatly expanded. Today, the majority of complaints involve disability discrimination. Examples of discriminatory conduct investigated by OCR include the following (as indicated on the OCR Web site):

- Title VI (race, color, or national origin): language discrimination, tracking/ability grouping, disparate discipline, student assignment policies, racial harassment, college/university admissions, unequal allocation of resources
- Title IX: women's athletics, sexual harassment, college/university admissions, treatment of pregnant students
- 504-ADA: access, free appropriate public education (FAPE), evaluation, least restrictive environment, discipline, accommodations, and auxiliary aides

In 2002, the president signed the Boy Scouts of America Equal Access Act, prohibiting denial of equal school access to the Boy Scouts. OCR was given the task of enforcing this law despite the organization's discrimination against homosexuals. Because it is an agency of the executive branch, conflicts of this type occasionally occur in OCR's work because of priorities and preferences of the administration currently in power.

Language Discrimination Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act

In this arena, OCR conducts its work in three different ways: (1) complaint resolutions, (2) compliance reviews, and (3) technical assistance. Its work is limited to looking into agencies and organizations that receive federal funding and does not include allegations made against individuals or companies. In complaint investigations, OCR is to act as a neutral fact finder. OCR does not represent the complainant; rather, it speaks for the U.S. government. Complaints can be filed with any of the enforcement offices or online. OCR resolves complaints through use of its "Case Resolution and Investigation Manual," also available online at the OCR Web site. This manual is regularly changed by each new administration. It gives the agency a fair amount of discretion in how to resolve complaints.

Should a violation of law be found, OCR's ultimate weapon is the termination of federal funds. This occurs only after full due process hearings and thus is quite rare. OCR cannot go to court and must rely on the U.S. Department of Justice if court action is deemed appropriate. As a consequence, most complaints are resolved through a negotiated agreement. Information on filing complaints with OCR, OCR processes, as well as substantive law followed may be found on OCR's Web site.

Compliance reviews are agency-initiated activities designed to treat major problems, national in scope or newly emerging. Over the years "Lau Reviews" (after the *Lau v. Nichols* decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1974) focusing on language minority students have been undertaken as reviews designed to help all of the students in a district. A few reviews also have concerned state education agency monitoring and enforcement activities. In addition, over the years, OCR has looked at the overrepresentation of minorities and LEP students in special education programs (MinSPED) as well as the underrepresentation of LEP students in gifted and talented programs.

Finally, OCR engages in technical assistance activities. This is often done at the request of school districts or parents. When OCR is in a proactive mode, it presents at national and state conferences to share information with the public. Technical assistance is an important outreach activity that informs the public of its right to file a complaint, and it is frequently a part of a resolution agreement.

As previously noted, federal involvement in bilingual education matters date back to the civil rights struggles of the 1960s and the passage in 1964 of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. While OCR's primary task is to enforce Title VI, it has been necessary for OCR to define what constitutes a violation of the act. This has been especially true with respect to language discrimination.

The first and most prominent of OCR's interpretations on this topic is known as the "May 25th Memorandum." Issued on May 25, 1970, it was the first government document concluding that the failure of a school district to address the language needs of national origin minority students constitutes discrimination under Title VI. The memorandum states that school districts must take "affirmative steps" to allow for "effective participation" in the educational program. Prior to the issuance of the May 25th Memorandum to school districts and its ratification by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lau v. Nichols*, school districts were not considered obligated to provide special assistance to students to address their language needs. The May 25th Memorandum also suggests that school districts with a significant number of English language learners must make school information linguistically available to parents. Parental notice in a language understandable to parents continues to be the rule, and OCR has enforced the rule in a number of recent cases (e.g., Tucson U.S.D., available on the OCR Web site). Finally, the memo also bars misclassification of language minority students in classes for the mentally retarded.

Lau v. Nichols (discussed elsewhere in this encyclopedia) held the May 25th Memorandum to be a valid interpretation of Title VI: "There is not equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum." This created a new interpretation of equality, the idea that some students are entitled to different treatment. This has been a critical concept for students with disabilities as well as for LEP students. From the earliest cases dealing with illegal segregation of students, the assumption was that all students must receive the same instructional program. Hence, *Lau v. Nichols* and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) deal with educational disparities differently because language differences were not a factor in the latter.

Neither *Lau* nor the May 25th Memorandum spelled out the specific obligations of school districts. Following the *Lau* decision in 1974, OCR convened a

panel of experts to advise the director and staff. The panel created a document known as the "*Lau* Remedies," which provided much greater guidance. Although never issued as a regulation, and nominally only a guideline to redress a previously found school district failure, "the Remedies" served as a model for appropriate services between 1975 and 1980. It set standards for entry and exit, delivery of programs, and teacher qualifications. Importantly, it required that where there was a nucleus of LEP pupils, a district should provide a teacher who spoke the children's language and should teach them in that language while they learned English. Using the Remedies as a guide, OCR negotiated approximately 500 "*Lau* Compliance Plans" during the 1975 to 1980 period.

In the late 1970s, there was an effort to turn the Remedies, with variations, into a formally published regulation. This "Notice of Proposed Rule Making" (NPRM) was published in the *Federal Register* in August 1980 but was withdrawn in the first month of the Reagan administration. No other regulation was ever issued to take its place. Since that time, OCR has generally enforced the May 25th Memorandum and *Lau v. Nichols*, using a standard based on a case known as *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981). The ruling requires that a school district must have (a) a reasonable approach to identify all students who are in need of special help due to a linguistic barrier, (b) a theory that addresses both the need to learn English and substantive work that relies upon responsible expertise, (c) an implemented plan designed to achieve success and assessment mechanisms to evaluate success or failure, and (d) the willingness to change in a reasonable manner, should the program prove inadequate.

OCR policy documents available at the OCR Web site include the May 25th Memorandum, a 1985 memo, and a 1991 memo that incorporates all of the above, including the *Castañeda* decision. All of the guidance discussed above is for the purpose of ensuring that school districts and states comply with Title VI. Compliance is generally accomplished by either compliance review or complaints filed with OCR by covered persons, their parents, and/or advocacy organizations. In late 1999, OCR published *Programs for English Language Learners: Resource Materials for Self-Assessments*. Drafted and edited by cautious voices in OCR, this document represents the bare minimum requirements that districts must meet to satisfy OCR. It also serves as a guideline for OCR investigations. Issues that may be involved in these

activities include identification, assessment, programming to teach English and subject matter, conducting classes in the least segregative manner, staffing (teachers and aides), access to other services, monitoring, and redesignation.

OCR's enforcement energy over the years has waxed and waned. During the Nixon and Ford administrations, successful lawsuits were brought against OCR to process complaints and compliance reviews in a timely manner. Agency priorities also change over time. In the 1990s, compliance activities for LEP students were a major national OCR priority. After 2000, the number of such activities substantially diminished. Complaints regarding disability, and to a lesser extent gender, flood OCR, making it easy for the agency to avoid the more politically controversial compliance reviews. In 2005, OCR's annual report noted that 52% of the complaints received involved disability. Only 18% of the complaints concerned Title VI (race, color, or national origin). Fewer language minority complaints are filed, perhaps because the students and their families are not as legally knowledgeable as other complainants (such as women and persons with disabilities) and may not be fluent in English. Thus, OCR-initiated compliance activities are essential in serving these students. According to the OCR report, in 2005, only 7 of the 73 compliance reviews concerned LEP students, and all of these involved special education (SPEDLEP) students. The majority of reviews, 39, were Title IX reviews.

Lau plans negotiated by OCR in the 1990s are much more detailed than current plans, which tend to simply outline the law and invite the district to fill in the detail. Technical assistance has often taken the place of serious enforcement of the civil rights laws. Technical assistance can be of great value; for example, after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, technical assistance targeting Arab American communities was undertaken to encourage filing of complaints for racial harassment and other illegal activities. Until that time, the Arabic-speaking community was largely unaware of OCR's activities. Unlike the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC), which posts signs in workplaces, OCR does not post signs in schools or conduct many outreach activities. As a consequence, there is a real need for OCR enforcement activities if LEP students are to receive an "equal educational opportunity."

OCR's technical assistance for LEP students is now highly scripted and regulated by the agency. All

presentations, including PowerPoint displays, must be approved at the Washington, D.C., level. Without meaningful technical assistance, complaints are not generated. The agency has also been hesitant to allow technical assistance at important gatherings of LEP educators.

At present, there are two national nonprofit organizations with significant experience in assisting persons to evaluate possible OCR complaints: Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META), which can be reached at 1-800-466-2226, and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), which can be reached at 1-213-629-2512.

Stefan M. Rosenzweig and Peter D. Roos

See also Affirmative Steps to English; *Castañeda* Three-Part Test; *Lau v. Nichols*, Enforcement Documents; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Appendix C

Further Readings

- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F. 2nd 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Office for Civil Rights. (1970). *May 25, 1970, memorandum: Identification of discrimination and denial of services on the basis of national origin*, 35 F. Reg. 11, 595.
- Office for Civil Rights. (2005). *About OCR*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/aboutocr.html>
- Office for Civil Rights. (2005). *Limited-English-proficient resources*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/ellresources.html>
- Office for Civil Rights. (2005). *OCR Letters: Tucson Unified School District*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/tucsonusd08011157.html>
- Office for Civil Rights. (2005). *Office for Civil Rights annual report to Congress FY 2005*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/print/about/reports/annual/ocr/annrpt2005/report.html>
- Office for Civil Rights. (2005). *Programs for English language learners (OCR)*. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/ell/index.html>
- Title VI of the 1964 Civil Right Act, 42 USC 2000(d).

Web Sites

- Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF): <http://www.maldef.org>

OFFICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND MINORITY LANGUAGES AFFAIRS

It is indisputable that the modern era of bilingual education in the United States is inextricably linked to the rise and fall of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, also known as the Bilingual Education Act. For much of the life of Title VII, the administrative unit responsible for setting funding guidelines and priorities and for distributing the funds provided under the act, the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), held center stage. In 1968, after Title VII was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson, the unit was a relatively small one in what was then the U.S. Office of Education (USOE). In keeping with the relatively small role of the federal government in public education at the time, USOE was also a small component of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the antecedent to the cabinet-level Department of Education, which had not yet been created. The counterpart antecedent to OBEMLA within USOE was the Office of Bilingual Education (OBE).

At the outset, Title VII funding was modest. The initial administrative unit was fashioned by the simple expedient of reassigning personnel who had worked in a unit that was disbanded in 1968. A national search for a program leader with knowledge and experience in the emerging field of bilingual education resulted in the appointment of Dr. Álbarr Peña, a Texas native, as director. Dr. Peña had also served as a teacher of Spanish and English in South Texas, one of the areas where bilingual education had begun to take root. Because program funding was limited and little controversy existed at the time, OBE met few obstacles in setting priority objectives. This was also facilitated by the fact that the legislation itself gave little direction and focus to the program. To a higher level than would later be possible, Peña and his staff were able to promote their own understanding of bilingual education, including the significant use of children's home languages and efforts to support programs with maintenance and biliteracy objectives.

It should be noted that, historically, there was little collective experience in USOE in managing discretionary grant programs. Title I, the largest funding program, was a formula-driven program in which funds were apportioned to states and school districts, according to the number and concentrations of children

in poverty. Title VII legislation was different. It gave the Commissioner of Education, the head of USOE, the power to select grantees from throughout the country. Creating competitive funding mechanisms and support structures were among the major tasks of the OBE. These processes were well established by the time OBEMLA came on the scene to replace OBE. Small programs, such as the Bilingual Vocational Education Program and services for immigrant and refugee children and youth, were added to OBEMLA's scope of work.

In 1980, President Jimmy Carter succeeded in creating a cabinet-level Department of Education. Bilingual education advocates took the opportunity created by the reorganization of existing units and the creation of new ones to raise the status of OBE. Their goal was to create an expanded unit headed by an assistant secretary of education, who would be part of the secretary's cabinet. These efforts were largely successful. Under the newly created U.S. Department of Education, the Office of Bilingual Education became the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs. The head of the unit was to be a "Schedule C" director, a political appointee. The first director of OBEMLA was Josué M. González, who had previously served in Washington as a staff member of a U.S. Senate Committee chaired by Senator Walter F. Mondale. González became director of OBEMLA in September 1978.

Under González, OBEMLA took on larger responsibilities for coordinating the work of the department in research, a function assigned to it under Part C of the 1988 reauthorization. Improving the knowledge base and disseminating research findings on bilingual education had become increasingly important as criticisms of bilingual education mounted. OBEMLA carried out this function in partnership with the National Institute of Education. It further increased its capacity to disseminate information by creating a National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education in 1977, an organization that continues its work today under the name of the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition. Similarly, OBEMLA played a major role in crafting departmental policies for the enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, in keeping with the mandate of the *Lau v. Nichols* decision, a 1974 ruling that had not been given a major emphasis in the intervening years. This aspect of OBEMLA's work in partnership with the Office of Civil Rights resulted in the publication, in August

1980, of a “Notice of Proposed Rulemaking” (NPRM) in the *Federal Register*. The document attempted to settle the issue of school district responsibilities in complying with the *Lau* decision. The *Lau* NPRM was denounced as overly intrusive by school boards and education organizations across the country, and the proposed rules never went into effect. They were withdrawn as part of Ronald Reagan’s presidential campaign promise to lessen the regulatory role of the federal government.

Between 1968 and 2001, through program accretion and rising public pressures relating to the education of English language learners, OBEMLA was an important resource for educators concerned with serving these students. At the peak of Title VII funding, over \$200 million annually flowed through OBEMLA to state departments of education, support centers, the National Clearinghouse, universities, and local school districts.

OBEMLA’s contributions to bilingual education went beyond the efficient management of grant funds, serving as internal advocate for the program and the students it endeavored to serve. Through a series of program management institutes, the National Clearinghouse, and participation in annual conferences, OBEMLA served as a professional development resource for those involved in program design, implementation, and evaluation. A doctoral fellowship program funded by OBEMLA to doctoral-degree-granting institutions allowed for the continued training of young scholars who agreed to work in the field of bilingual education, as a condition for receiving financial support for their own studies.

With the passage of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, the era of federal support for bilingual education ended. Bilingual education as a distinct program passed into history, to be replaced by a single-minded and unbending focus on learning English; OBEMLA, too, passed into history. Under NCLB, OBEMLA was replaced by the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students. All references to bilingual education were removed from its mission statement. Under NCLB, funding for English language program improvements are now channeled to the states, and their respective state departments of education decide the best use for those funds.

Josué M. González

Table 1 Title VII Appropriations FY 1969–FY 2001

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Total Funding</i>
1969	7,500
1970	21,250
1971	25,000
1972	35,000
1973	35,000
1974	68,000
1975	85,000
1976	98,000
1977	115,000
1978	135,000
1979	158,000
1980	166,963
1981	157,476
1982	134,372
1983	134,371
1984	135,679
1985	139,265
1986	133,284
1987	143,095
1988	146,537
1989	151,946
1990	158,530
1991	168,735
1992	195,407
1993	196,283
1994	201,163
1995	156,700
1996	128,000
1997	156,700
1998	199,000
1999	224,000
2000	224,000
2001	296,000

Sources: Reprinted from National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (2002).

Data from 1969–1980, *Bilingual Education Information Packet*, National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, updated 1981; 1981–2001 *Education Department Budget by Major Program*, U.S. Department of Education (2001).

See also García, Eugene E.; González, Josué M.; Improving America's Schools Act of 1994; *Lau v. Nichols*, Enforcement Documents; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; Peña, Álbarrán Antonio; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90-247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
 Crawford, J. (1999). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
 Department of Education Organization Act, Pub. L. No. 96-88 (1980).
 National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (2002). *2002 Supplement: Title VII Appropriations FY 1969-FY 2001*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/pairs/viifunding/supplement.htm>
 No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107-110 (2002).

OFFICIAL ENGLISH LEGISLATION, FAVORED

Essay

Editor's Note: *The author of this entry was invited to submit an article reflecting the views of his organization, U.S. English. We acknowledge that parts of it could be disputed or given an alternative interpretation. In several instances, we found this approach helpful in more realistically portraying the history and current status of bilingual education in the United States.*

The diversity of the United States has long been its hallmark. Although in many nations, the vast majority of the population shares the same background, the American population does not share a common ancestry or race. In other diverse countries, the differences in these immutable characteristics have often complicated the formation of a cohesive society. In the United States, these differences have been bridged largely through a common language: English.

This common bond has been a staple in what has long been a nation of immigrants. For more than 200 years, the societal expectation that immigrants would be on the road to learning English led to the creation of English classes and minimized government-sponsored multilingualism. Regardless of the leading nation of origin for that generation of immigrants,

English remained the focus. Though not legislated as such, it could be considered to have been the operational official language.

From the earliest days of the nation, it was possible to live in isolated communities and speak only one's native, non-English language, although most activity involving the government required English proficiency. As the population of certain immigrant groups swelled, government agencies began publishing materials and extending translations to speakers of these languages.

Since the late 1960s, there has been a gradual decline in governmental emphasis on a common language. Non-English-proficient individuals able to live in non-English-speaking communities and survive with jobs that did not require English fluency were now also receiving the message from the government that English proficiency was not necessary for life in the United States. This message was further underscored with a general decline in English-language-learning opportunities.

This growth in government-sponsored multilingualism also runs contrary to the fact that, for speakers of most languages, English remains the de facto official language of the United States. Speakers of Spanish and Vietnamese may have driver's licenses and zoning forms in their languages, but speakers of Gujarati and Latvian are afforded no such benefits. The latter groups are likely to interpret the government message as meaning that they must learn English. The former, noting that services in their native languages are commensurate with those offered in English, receive a strong message that the two languages have equal standing for getting by in the United States.

Full government multilingualism also has limits. Forms and documents may be easily translated from English into another language, but the subsequent demands would put a strain on the government. Individuals such as police officers and emergency workers cannot be fluent in all the languages spoken in a community. Road signs cannot be translated into all of the local languages, due to space and economic constraints. In the case of a sudden natural disaster, when warnings must be issued in a matter of minutes, only a very limited amount of information can be communicated. In these instances, such as a tornado or chemical catastrophe, there would be no way to get out messages in multiple languages. Furthermore, differences in dialects and word meanings can make translations difficult for some languages. For example, many Spanish words have various meanings in

various countries, and some languages in equatorial regions lack words for *snow*.

Official Language Policy as Beneficial Message

Official language policies mirror other government policies in that, when the government takes a position on an issue, presumably it is one that promotes individual and societal benefit. An emphasis on assimilation and language learning is in line with existing messages promoting high school graduation, prenatal care, and healthy eating habits. In each case, the individual makes the ultimate decision regarding the choice to make. Yet this individual freedom does not keep the government from suggesting the path with the best outcome.

Embodied in policy, government advice sends a constant message to the community at large. However, this message must be amplified when individuals approach government agencies for assistance. The government requires that individuals seeking unemployment benefits demonstrate good-faith efforts to find a job. Similarly, welfare recipients are granted assistance on proof that they are making an effort to improve their standing. In both cases, the extension of services is made only upon the demonstration of effort and, even then, only for a limited amount of time. By encouraging the individual to become self-supportive, the society will benefit from increased revenue and less dependency on government services. Otherwise, the provision of services in perpetuity, and with no demands for improvement, would stifle the growth of the nation.

Official language policies are built on the expectation of growth. The advancement of society must come with the advancement of its residents. With the understanding that lack of language proficiency, like unemployment and low education levels, is a solvable matter, official language laws ensure that language services are a short-term crutch, not a long-term solution.

Americans with limited English proficiency often struggle to find work. These individuals are less likely to be employed, less likely to be employed in desirable jobs, and often earn very low wages. Without growth in English, these employees cannot advance beyond their starting roles. Whether as dishwashers, maids, or landscapers, they are stuck in those positions. Individuals with a degree of English proficiency can become managers or go out on their own, but advancement is not possible for those fluent only in a non-English language. The lack of English proficiency also

makes it more difficult to find other employment if the business should close or move.

Official Language Policies Common Worldwide

Worldwide, official language policies are the rule, not the exception. More than 90% of the nations of the world have adopted a language policy for government. In some cases, the decision is a natural one, such as French in France or Spanish in Mexico. In other nations, such as India and Nigeria, a neutral language serves as the official language in order to ensure that one minority language is not placed above another. Furthermore, nations such as Austria, Canada, and Australia maintain proficiency in the official language or languages as a key component in determining fitness for naturalization.

Official languages also serve an important purpose within organizations. Multinational organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have an official language to facilitate communication and minimize costs. Due to the critical nature of communication and comprehension in the skies, the International Civil Aviation Organization has mandated English as their official language for more than 50 years. For the 2006 World Cup soccer tournament in Germany, all referees were required to be English proficient, even though the tournament contained teams with 15 different official languages.

It is often forgotten that an official language does not mean “the only language.” Most official language policies apply only to government business, addressing formal proceedings and written documents, such as legislative records and official communications. Emergency services, judicial proceedings, and other activities protected under federal law are specifically exempted from official English legislation. Similarly, exemptions are provided for items like mottoes and cultural works, tourism materials, and the teaching of foreign languages.

Courts have generally found no legal issues with official English legislation, so long as the measure does not impose on private communication or contradict existing federal law. Though Americans may have a right to speak as they choose, government employees are required to act as agents of the government and do not have a right to interpret policies or contradict existing policy as they see fit during their work. Just as an employee could not use the First

Amendment as a defense for insulting the individual's boss or the policies of the department, an employee could not use the same constitutional guarantee to defend the use of foreign languages while conducting government business.

Clients of the government also cannot claim First Amendment protections to the extreme. U.S. laws permit all residents with many freedoms, including speech, religion, and protection from illegal search and seizure. Americans remain free to practice their cultures and customs at their will, as long as the activity is not in violation of U.S. law. Religious and cultural customs, such as the use of certain drugs and the possession of certain animals, are not acceptable practices in the United States.

Though Americans are generally free to do as they choose, they do not have the right to demand that the government cater to their unique needs. Employees may take days off to celebrate certain cultural holidays, but they cannot ask that government offices shut down accordingly. They can practice certain eating customs, but they cannot require government food services to comply. They can speak whatever language they choose, but they cannot request the government to provide services in that language.

Official Language Policies Widely Supported

Official English legislation remains among the most widely supported issues in the United States. On the federal level, official English legislation has been introduced in Congress in every session since 1981. First proposed by Senator Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa of California, a former linguist, college professor, and university president, measures to make English the official language have received considerable support over the years. The U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill in 1996 to make English the official language of the United States, and the Senate passed a measure in 2006 to make English the national language, but neither was enacted into law.

At the state level, bills to make English the official language have been passed in more than half of the states and considered in nearly all of them. Counties, cities, and towns have also passed measures to make English the official language.

Nearly every poll regarding making English the official language has found 75% or more of the population favoring such legislation, with majority support among immigrants, Hispanics, and within

each political party. The widespread support is further demonstrated by the fact that voters have passed official English measures all eight times such measures have appeared on a statewide ballot.

For most, the appeal of a national language is both personal and patriotic. Residents of a nation generally support themes that encourage unity and pride, such as the waving of the flag, the playing of "The Star-Spangled Banner," and the celebration of Independence Day. In a nation where our differences outnumber our similarities, a showing of unity is often prized.

On a personal level, most Americans see the importance of a common language in their daily lives. Conversations with neighbors, friends, and colleagues could not occur without a common language. Business transactions would also be far more difficult absent a common language, a point underscored by the frustration customers often feel when they cannot understand an employee. Further, most Americans can trace their lineages outside of the United States and have knowledge of ancestors who took great pains to learn English once they had immigrated.

English, Our Unofficial Language

Although the United States has yet to make English the official language by law, government policies and practice illustrate the reliance on a common language. Even with the immigrant population numbering in the millions, official government acts, such as the Constitution, Bill of Rights, and the Congressional Record, have been printed only in English. English is the language spoken on the floor of Congress and in the halls of justice. Since the early 20th century, nearly all candidates for naturalization have been required to demonstrate fluency in English in order to achieve U.S. citizenship.

This history of assimilation, not a lack of consensus regarding the common language of the United States, minimized any discussion of an official language for more than 100 years. The issue of an official language legislation in the United States first arose during the nation's involvement in World War I. With the conflict ongoing in Germany, official English measures were first drawn up. As nearly all government business was already being conducted in English, these bills sought to influence the language spoken by individuals. As with many matters drawn up in response to fear, many of these laws were overly broad, banning the mere use of a language other than English. Due to the limits they placed on freedom of speech, many of these were later found to be unconstitutional.

Many opponents of official English legislation use restrictive English-only measures and their origin as the basis for opposing official English legislation today. However, the official English laws of today correctly place their focus on the language of government. A matter of policy, none claim that English is under “threat,” passing in states with historically low immigration levels, such as North Dakota, Iowa, and Tennessee, as well as those with a long legacy of immigration, such as California, Florida, and Arizona.

While there is considerable debate about the rates of English learning among today’s immigrants, the effect of the actual rate is unimportant when considering government policy. Laws emphasizing English acquisition are not based on current trends, but on the principle that the needs of the nation are best served if immigrants to the United States are on the road to learning English. In much the way that the government promotes high school graduation and discourages smoking, there is a need for policies that address these issues now, rather than deal with the repercussions later.

Our Common Language, Past and Future

English has long been, and will continue to be, the language that links all Americans. While foreign-language learning remains a worthwhile subject of study, history indicates that the most common second language of one generation may not be the most common second language of the next. The United States has long had a popular foreign language of the times. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, German was commonly spoken across much of the northern United States. French was widely suggested as the second language to learn in the 1960s, and Japanese received the same billing in the 1980s. Recently, the focus has been on Spanish, with some suggesting that Chinese or Arabic will be the next language to receive the spotlight.

For adults, children, and immigrants, a solid grasp of English is a requirement for success in the United States. The focus must remain on making sure that immigrants are learning English and not on asking the U.S. government and the American people to learn a specific second language in order to converse with fellow citizens and residents of this nation.

Robert Toonkel

See also Assimilation; English for the Children Campaign; English-Only Organizations; Hayakawa, S. I.; Nationalization of Languages; Official Language Designation; Appendix E

Further Readings

- Hanson, V. D. (2003). *Mexifornia: A state of becoming*. New York: Encounter Books.
- Hayakawa, S. I. (1990). *Language in thought and action* (5th ed.). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Huntington, S. P. (2004). *Who are we: The challenges to America’s national identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Wilkinson, J. H., III. (1997). *One nation indivisible: How ethnic separatism threatens America*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

OFFICIAL ENGLISH LEGISLATION, OPPOSED

See APPENDIX E

OFFICIAL ENGLISH LEGISLATION, POSITION OF ENGLISH TEACHERS ON

Given the evident interest on the part of many to preserve English as the common language in the United States, one might be curious about the position of English teachers concerning “official English” initiatives. This entry examines relevant documents of the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA, now known as the National Association of International Educators), the Modern Language Association (MLA), and the Speech Communication Association of America (SAA, now known as the National Communication Association, or NCA). All of these organizations recognized the need for research in English as a second language (ESL) in the 1950s and 1960s. From such documents, one can draw inferences about the stance of English teachers on official English.

Historical Background

The MLA was established in 1883 to promote the study and teaching of language and literature. The NCTE was established in 1911 to provide for the professional development of English teachers and a framework for cooperation to deal with issues that affect the teaching of English. Established in 1914 as the National Association of Academic Teachers of

Public Speaking (NAATPS) and known as the Speech Association of America from 1946 to 1969, the SAA was organized to provide for the development of speech as an academic subject apart from the NCTE, in which its membership had its roots, and specialists saw obstructions to achieving status as a full discipline. CAL was established in 1959 to be a resource base for ESL and to become a national resource for the application of linguistics, and of new methods generally, to the teaching and learning of second languages. NAFSA was founded in 1948 as the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers to promote the professional development of American college and university officials responsible for assisting and advising foreign students who had come to study in the United States after World War II. Together, these organizations were instrumental in the formation of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL, Inc.), which was established in 1966. TESOL brings together teachers and administrators at all educational levels with an interest in teaching English to speakers of other languages.

During the first half of the 20th century, no research of any consequence existed that would result in concern among English teachers or the general public about the many people in the United States who were not native speakers of English. In 1957, the NCTE sought to interest their Elementary Section in studying the problem of learning ESL in elementary schools, but according to a 1981 NCTE position statement, no action resulted until the publication in 1960 of *The National Interest and the Teaching of English as a Second Language*, which revealed a dearth of research on English language learning. A federally funded national survey followed, which was cosponsored and published by the NCTE in 1966. The survey results revealed inadequacies in teaching materials and teacher preparation.

One outcome of this study was the creation of TESOL. Two developments occurred as outcomes of the formation of this organization: (1) research-supported insistence that students with a language other than English receive at least the initial content instruction in their own language and (2) a concomitant cultural component that would enable students to value their ethnic and linguistic identities in their own minority groups. These developments did not articulate how to accomplish these conditions. However, these deliberations did yield recognition of the differences between bilingual/bicultural education and ESL. The former is a program, and the latter is a discipline, which can function as an integral part of the program or separately.

Relationship Between Organizational Policy Stance and Official English

The NCTE, NCA, and TESOL have since been the most vocal critics of official English and English-only policies. The NCTE Conference on College Composition and Communication's position statement on national language policy, revised in 1998, states that English-only laws are (a) unnecessary, because immigrants now, as always, are learning English; (b) unrealistic, because there are more people on waiting lists for English classes than there are classes and English-only laws do not normally account for increased demand in budgeting for programs; (c) educationally unsound, because they limit instead of expand educational opportunity; (d) unfair and dangerous, because the effect is to impede communication of essential information; (e) invasive of people's right to privacy and counterproductive to the need for multilingualism in a global economy; and (f) unconstitutional under the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

The NCA made a policy statement in 1996 that clearly and succinctly opposes legislative efforts to mandate English as the official language of the United States of America.

TESOL has a long history of opposition to official English initiatives through its 1987 "Resolution on Language Rights," its 2000 "Position Statement on Language Rights," and its 2005 "Position Paper on English-Only Legislation in the United States." In their "Position Paper," TESOL debunks five myths held by proponents of official English: (1) English-only promotes unity; (2) English-only will empower immigrants; (3) English-only will promote efficiency and fairness in government by conducting all official business in a single language; (4) English-only will help protect the English language in the United States, which is in danger of being replaced by Spanish; and (5) bilingual education and bilingualism prevent immigrants from effectively learning English and integrating effectively.

The histories, missions, and purposes of these professional organizations generally reflect a commitment to researching and developing linguistic and cultural pluralism. On this basis, one can infer that generally, English teachers oppose "official English" policies. Additional research on how educational language policy promoted by these organizations relates to educational practice among English teachers would be helpful in clarifying the veracity of this inference.

See also Alatis, James E.; Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus; English for the Children Campaign; English-Only Organizations; Official English Legislation, Favored; Official Language Designation; TESOL, Inc.; Appendix E

Further Readings

- Conference on College Composition and Communication. (1998/1992). *The national language policy*. Retrieved November 20, 2006, from <http://www.ncte.org/about/over/positions/category/div/107643.htm?source=gs>
- National Communication Association. (1996). *Policy on English as the official language of the United States*. Retrieved July 19, 2006, from <http://www.natcom.org/nca/Template2.asp?bid=519>
- National Council of Teachers of English. (1981). *Position statement*. Retrieved November 20, 2006, from <http://www.ncte.org/about/over/positions/category/div/107642.htm?source=gs>
- National Council of Teachers of English. (2006). *NCTE position paper on the role of English teachers in educating English language learners (ELLs)*. Retrieved June 6, 2006, from <http://www.ncte.org/edpolicy/ell/about/124545.htm>
- Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc. (n.d.). *Position statements and papers*. Retrieved July 19, 2006, from http://www.tesol.org/s_tesol/seccss.asp?CID=32&DID=37

Web Sites

- Association of International Educators: <http://nafsa.org>
 Center for Applied Linguistics: <http://www.cal.org>
 Modern Language Association: <http://www.mla.org>

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE DESIGNATION

The United States is one of only a few countries in the world that has never adopted an official language or languages. In the late 1970s, a movement began in Miami, Florida, that soon spread across the country, calling for the formal adoption of English as the sole and exclusive language of the country. The first organized effort was a voter initiative later overturned in the courts. It consisted of a poorly crafted ban on the use of public funds in Dade County for any expense in a language other than English and any culture other than “the American culture.” The voter initiative

passed handily, despite much opposition and warnings that it would not survive a court challenge. The ordinance passed, but later was successfully challenged in court.

In some cases, the focus for making English official and exclusive has been limited to an official language used for conducting the work of government agencies. Other versions of the demand for official English have been more encompassing: an order that the county, state, or federal government limit itself governmentally and socially to communicating in only one language in all spheres, including cultural and social institutions such as museums, libraries, and schools. Harsh measures are not common, but they are plausible in the political climate found after 2000. An English-only voter initiative adopted in Arizona in 2000 imposed a 5-year blacklisting on school administrators who willfully violate the English-only mandate of Proposition 203. Some advocates of official English have gone as far as to propose that radio and TV station licenses be limited to stations that broadcast only in English. The constitutionality of such a measure has yet to be well tested in the courts. In the case of Miami, when the first English-only measure was adopted, the results were tame and uninspired. The ordinance ended a variety of minor county services in other languages: bus schedules, health care brochures, and Latin signage on animal cages at the county zoo. The press editorialized that the new ordinance seemed to have no clear purpose other than to remind speakers of other languages that those languages were subservient to English.

The motivations that drive proponents of an official language designation are often muddled. Advocacy messages favoring official language legislation are often interlaced with anti-immigrant sentiments. It is not unusual to hear proponents of an official language simultaneously protest bilingual education, Spanish-language tests for obtaining driver licenses, and curtailment of immigration from the Spanish-speaking world. Some proponents have claimed that the English language is in danger of being overrun by Spanish. If English is not protected by granting it legal status, they claim, Spanish will someday displace English as the lingua franca of the nation. This position seems somewhat alarmist in that it ignores the fact that English is rapidly becoming the most commonly used language in the world and that no countermovement exists to supplant it with any other language.

In this entry, in broad terms, the question of adopting an official language is reviewed, specifically English in the case of the United States, and some of the allegations and positions on both sides of the issue. To further clarify the controversy and to examine in more detail the views of groups that oppose the concept and those who favor it, see Appendix E, Official English Legislation, Opposed. The issue is also discussed elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

What Does "Official Language" Mean?

Generally speaking, the designation of *official* implies that the item (or person) in question has had a special status bestowed on it by a government and that status makes it in some way more important than other items similarly situated. The extra measure of prestige or power may be truly meaningful or purely symbolic. A person wearing a military uniform is an official warrior of a particular government who is licensed by that government to kill others on its behalf. He or she is subject to special laws and a separate code of justice that differs from that which applies to civilians. But the designation of being in some way official may also mean much less. Thus, the officially designated state flower of Texas or the official bird of Indiana hold no particular status among their peers. Their function, by legislative action, is to serve as symbols of the beauty of the flora and fauna of a given state. The eagle, on the other hand holds a higher patriotic status in the eyes of most Americans than any state bird, including the turkey, the bird with which it competed to become the official symbol of the United States.

Perhaps the most ubiquitous use of the concept of *official* is in conjunction with currency. Most countries have an official currency that represents the wealth of the country and its citizens and the way that wealth will interact with other currencies around the world. Another common application of *official* relates to legal documents. A legal document emanating from a court or government agency is much more than an informative piece of paper. It contains a decision, an announcement, a measurement, or an order that must be obeyed. Violating the official nature of such a document can lead to a fine or some other civil punishment. In the United States, the deed to one's house is one of the most valued of official documents, because it guarantees shelter for its owner even when the owner has declared bankruptcy.

Perhaps the most sacred of all legal (official) documents in the country are the papers attesting to the

fact that a person is a citizen of the United States. Citizenship, more than anything else, offers the person the greatest status and privilege over other residents. A person who enters the country without the benefit of official documents is considered an *illegal alien* and is subject to punishment and deportation. Although it failed in the Senate and never became a law, a bill to make illegal aliens guilty of committing a felony by their presence here was introduced and approved by the House of Representatives on December 16, 2005 (HR 4437). Interestingly, depending on the circumstances, citizenship can be easy or difficult to obtain. It is difficult for foreign-born adults to acquire American citizenship. However, for example, a child born to a tourist mother who is temporarily in the United States can become an American citizen without difficulty. The only requirement is that the baby be born on U.S. soil, even if the mother's presence here was incidental.

Why Didn't the Founding Fathers Adopt an Official Language?

The historical record is unclear on this point. It would seem likely that the founders discussed the matter, but historians provide little explanation for lack of original sources. Some historians assume that the drafters of the Constitution simply had too many items to discuss and that the question of language was overlooked. Still other historians believe that the presence of a large number of German speakers in the Continental Congress would have made it difficult to adopt an official language if the choice was between English and German. Their assumption is that the drafters chose to avoid an internal confrontation over language in an effort to gain consensus on other contested points. German played an important role in the early colonies, but it never achieved official status. The myth that German missed becoming the U.S. official language by one vote is only that, a myth. A separate entry in this encyclopedia explores this point in greater detail.

Arguably, the most important point here is that for over 200 years, the absence of an official language was not an obstacle in the development of the country as a world power. Calls for designating English as the official language did not begin until the last quarter of the 20th century, when the hegemony of English was firmly established and its dominance as the *lingua franca* was unchallenged.

There are two situations under which the adoption of an official language is most important. The first is at the birth of a country when several languages prevail and the founders wish to clarify, for posterity, what their intentions are. The second is the point of emancipation of a country from the control of another, such as the decolonization of African nations from European powers. The first of these conditions did not exist in the territories that were to become the United States. Many languages existed, to be sure, including almost every European language and a multitude of Native American languages. But representatives of those groups—with the notable exception of German speakers—were not invited to join the deliberations leading to the unification of the European settlements under a new flag. Even French and Spanish speakers were absent from this conversation, although they occupied large segments of land in North America. In addition, both France and Spain had contributed men and other resources to help the English-speaking colonies wage their war of independence from England.

The exclusion of speakers of all language groups other than English and German from the discourse leading to the creation of a new nation could be the subject of much speculation. For these purposes, it suffices to note that the framers of the Constitution and the English colonists may have taken for granted that English would be the common language of the new country and that no formal steps needed to be taken in this regard. As opposed to the colonies of Africa, the 13 colonies of the Atlantic Coast were not seeking to create a new culture and language and social institutions totally different from those of England. The colonists were not uncomfortable in their English-speaking skins. Indeed, many had fought the mother country only reluctantly. Many were reluctant to abandon a monarchical form of government. The use of English for all of the documents surrounding independence and the writing of the Constitution attests to that.

There is little question that had the founders adopted English as the official language of the country, there would have been an immediate reaction: The German speakers who predominated in Pennsylvania, also known as the Pennsylvania Dutch, would have objected—how vehemently, we do not know. Given the bold nature of their revolt against a great European power and the difficulties of founding a new nation, it is likely that the organizers of the new republic did not feel they could take that chance. Subsequently, as the

nation expanded, steps were taken to underscore their commitment to English, but these efforts did not rise to the declaration of an official language. Most of this activity was directed at Native Americans and new immigrants from countries outside Western Europe. As Ronald Takaki details in his book, the push to Americanize was directed at the darker-skinned people of the Mediterranean and African and other racial minorities. It is not clear whether the primary cause of concern was that these people spoke other languages or that they simply looked sufficiently different from the White European colonists so as to cause the specter of racism to emerge.

What Problems Does Official Status Solve, and What Issues Does It Create?

Although English was not adopted as an official language early on to the exclusion of any other, there is considerable evidence that from the outset, the founders of the new nation envisioned a homogenous society composed primarily or exclusively of White, English-speaking people. In pursuit of this ideal, the colonial government passed the Naturalization Act of 1790. Thomas Jefferson, one of its proponents, believed that the act would create a nation in which citizens spoke a common language that would better link them to a democratic form of government. With the passage of this law, citizenship was reserved exclusively for Whites. Benjamin Franklin argued that any deviation from English was a danger to a pure, White race, and, in 1828, Noah Webster sought to improve the chances of achieving a common language with the publication of his dictionary.

While the nation did not adopt an official language, the close nexus between English and the preferred national identity was clear from the outset. The idea of a nation composed of White, English-speaking people was openly supported by several of the so-called founding fathers. Some went even further and proposed that the new nation should limit certain privileges and opportunities only to White citizens who were born in America. Election to the presidency, for example, is reserved for persons born in the United States. A willingness to embrace English and abandon other languages of origin soon became a symbol of national loyalty by immigrants. This early ideology may be compared to that of those who fear large-scale immigration today and advocate for

ending it by building walls along the southern border of the country.

It is not difficult to see how the concept of a cultural and linguistic “melting pot” arose a few decades later and grabbed the imagination of the majority. It is also not difficult to see how these proclamations and actions would be viewed with distrust by those who were not White and English speaking. The cases of Irish and Jewish immigrants and others are prime examples of groups that were not initially welcomed to these shores. Time and space limitations preclude a detailed examination of the many examples of exclusion and oppression on the basis of language that were visited on certain immigrants to the United States, even without the benefit of an “official language.” The accumulated history of these efforts makes contemporary language minorities wary that new instances of exclusion and linguistic restrictionism might not be far behind the adoption of English as the official language even today.

Like immigrants, American Indians have also experienced language chauvinism under the guise of helping them adapt to the American way of life. Their relationship to English may have been even harsher and more oppressive than it was for most immigrants. There were great pressures exerted on American Indians to learn and embrace English. The first step in this direction by the federal government was the Dawes Act of 1887. The act allotted plots of land to American Indian families and specified that if the families were able to work the lands productively for 25 years, they would then be eligible to receive title to that land. In addition to conveying land, the Dawes Act required that American Indian children be educated in English. Many were sent to boarding schools, distant from their parents and other family members; they were allowed little contact with their homes for fear that the Americanization process would be truncated.

The historical record is clear that Indian education policies from the 1880s through the 1920s focused on the forced assimilation of American Indians to non-Indian ways and the teaching of English at the expense of native tongues. One mechanism for making this goal work as intended was land granted in exchange for having the children of the family moved away, with the express hope that they would abandon the ancestral languages and become “less Indian.” It seems clear that for the half century that this policy was in effect, English was in fact the official language

for educating American Indian children and youth, even though the term *official* was not used.

Sensing the negative impact of designating a national official language 250 years after the founding of the country is far easier than identifying the benefits or advantages of such a measure if it were to be adopted today. Many observers reject the arguments commonly advanced by its proponents: that English is threatened and must be rescued, that national unity can be ensured only if all citizens are forced to speak the same language, and that social stability is not possible in a polyglot society. History does not lend credibility to these claims. The opposite seems to be true. Many societies rely on several languages and have done so for generations without conflict. Social bilingualism and diglossia have been studied and documented by linguists around the world.

In those countries where conflict has arisen over language, it appears to be linked to the desire by one group or another to set its language above all others, to be the chest-thumping king of the hill. A well-intentioned, rational, and tolerant approach to the existence of several languages seems to solve most problems associated with multilingualism. Declaring one language to be above all others—by action of the state—sets the stage for resentment and conflict. By design or not, languages are identified with specific cultures, and the designation of one language as the official language of the nation also gives a higher prestige to the culture represented by that language. In short, it creates categories of speaking and being.

The claim that the English language is threatened by other languages in U.S. society is a particularly weak claim. Almost no one in the country denies the critically important role of English. Many immigrants endure long waiting lists to learn it. Indeed, English has the best chance of becoming the lingua franca of the world, not merely the United States. This does not deny that immigrant speakers of some languages may wish to continue to speak their original languages for worship, for family conversation, or in social gatherings of their own group. These uses of language do not constitute a threat to other languages. It is axiomatic among linguists that language usage tends to follow paths of least resistance and utilitarian patterns. Languages survive and endure when they serve a special purpose in the life of a collective. They rarely flourish when they are mandated by powerful forces. Even a cursory look at the consequences of adopting an official language at this point in the nation’s history

suggests that it is variously too late, too meaningless, or too threatening to civic harmony to do so now.

How Official Does an Official Language Need to Be?

Technically, it is a simple act to qualify the degree of officialness of a language, although politically it can be quite difficult. A law designating English as the official language of a state could be limited to its usage in government matters such as the publication of laws in the *Federal Register* or holding hearings in Congress. Informally, that level of officiality already exists, since the U.S. Congress does not publish laws in any other language. A moderation of such a policy could specify that the official language should be used except in cases of eminent danger, in which case all common languages of the realm should be used to warn citizens of impending danger. Such a clause would require radio and TV stations, as well as all emergency warning systems, to issue emergency warnings in two or three languages in order to preserve life and property.

At an even higher level, the meaning of *official* could extend its use in social and cultural institutions, such as schools, libraries, and museums. This would be a difficult escalation because taxpayers whose taxes support those institutions may wish to have their languages used in the education of their children. Prohibiting the use of Chinese, Navajo, or Spanish in schools would in effect mean that millions of citizens would be precluded from having their languages passed on to future generations even though they support the schools with their taxes. A step very much like this has already been taken, by voter initiative, in Arizona, California, and Massachusetts, where bilingual education is prohibited. This is an odd departure from the concept of parental involvement in their children's education and their participation in setting school policy. In these states, at least, the message is that participation has its limits. It can be argued that such steps constitute abuse of power by the majority in that such actions nullify the wishes of one or more language minorities.

How Can a Language Be Made Official Today?

The Constitution of the United States specifies that all powers not formally assumed by the federal government

be reserved to the states. Since the Constitution is silent on the matter of official language, we can make the assumption that every state has the right to choose an official language and to define the breadth of the concept of official language by specifying the areas in which the language would be required and situations in which it might be optional. Many U.S. states have already declared English to be their official language, although few have specified what they intend by the designation of *official status*.

An alternative way for English to be declared the official language of the United States would be through adoption of a constitutional amendment, a rare and difficult process. In the history of the United States, the Constitution has been amended only 28 times. Measures to initiate the process of adopting a constitutional amendment to make English the official language have been introduced in almost every session of Congress over the last quarter century. The first of these was introduced by Senator S. I. Hayakawa, Republican of California, who introduced the first bill in 1981. His amendment proposal failed, as has every other attempt since then. The reason is that legislators are wary of opening up the process of a constitutional amendment and have it disintegrate into a morass of competing proposals that would mire the Congress for months or even years. Amending the Constitution requires that Congress pass the proposal by a two-thirds vote and that it then be adopted by a majority of state legislatures. In short, a constitutional amendment must be considered by both houses of Congress plus 50 other legislatures.

Prospects

Is the thrust to make English the official language of the United States motivated by linguistic necessity, cultural pride, or mere jingoism? Is the project doomed to fade away because it is a solution that seems to lack a consensual problem? Although the motivation of its proponents varies in its power to persuade, there can be no definitive answers to those questions. The project to make English the sole official language of the United States is likely to continue throughout this century as the immigration of speakers of other languages continues to exert linguistic and cultural pressures on the lingua franca. As long as political leaders regard immigration and the assimilation of immigrants as major problems to the maintenance of a national culture, they are not likely to

abandon the notion of adopting official English as an organizing tool. Proof of this is that every time the issue has been put to the electorate, the vote is nearly always overwhelmingly in favor of making English the official language. The situation seems to call for more dialogue, introspection, and reflection. Collectively, we may decide that the key question is not whether English should be made the official language of the United States, but rather *why*? As the nation's workforce grows older and the need to import workers becomes clearer, efforts will no doubt be made to differentiate the rights and privileges of those who have been here longer from those we are willing to grant to new arrivals. A vow of monolingualism in English may someday become another requirement for gaining citizenship in the United States.

Josué M. González

See also English for the Children Campaign; English in the World; Language Loyalty; Languages in Colonial Schools, Western; Official English Legislation, Favored; Social Bilingualism; Views of Language Difference; Appendix E

Further Readings

- Crawford, J. (Ed.). (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Edwards, V. (2004). Language and education: A history. In V. Edwards (Ed.), *Multilingualism in the English-speaking world* (pp. 94–104). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- González, R. D., & Melis, I. (Eds.). (2000). *Language ideologies: Critical perspectives on the official English movement* (Vols. 1 & 2). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Loewen, J. W. (1996). *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American history textbook got wrong*. New York: Touchstone.
- Macedo, D. (2000). The colonialism of the English-only movement. *Educational Researcher*, 29, 15–24.
- Phillipson, R. (2000). English in the new world order: Variations on a theme of linguistic imperialism and “world” English. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Ideologies, politics, and language politics: Focus on English* (pp. 87–106). Philadelphia: John Benjamin.
- Schmid, C. L. (2001). Historical background of language protection and restriction. In C. L. Schmid (Ed.), *The politics of language: Conflict, identity, and cultural pluralism in comparative perspective* (pp. 14–31). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Takaki, R. (1993). *A different mirror: A history of multicultural America*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Wiley, T. G. (2000). Continuity and change in the functions of language ideologies in the United States. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Ideologies, politics, and language politics: Focus on English* (pp. 67–85). Philadelphia: John Benjamin.

OGBU, JOHN (1939–2003)

John Uzo Ogbu (1939–2003), professor of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, was born and raised in Nigeria. He brought an *etic*, or outsider's, view to his anthropological studies of minority education in U.S. schools in their sociopolitical contexts. He is best known for his studies of differential educational achievement among minorities in the United States.

Ogbu was born May 9, 1939, in the village of Umudomi, to a family of farmers. Initially, he planned to become a Protestant minister. After attending Hope Waddell Training Institute and Methodist Teacher Training College, he taught for 2 years in a missionary high school in Nigeria. He emigrated to the United States to study at the theological seminary at Princeton University. After a short time in the United States, he decided to study anthropology and transferred to the University of California, Berkeley. There, Ogbu earned a BA in anthropology in 1965, a master's degree in 1969, and his PhD in anthropology in 1971. Beginning in 1970, he taught in Berkeley's Anthropology Department, was awarded tenure in 1976, and was promoted to full professor in 1980. In 1997, he was appointed Chancellor's Professor at this institution.

One of Ogbu's major contributions was conceiving a distinction between minority groups. He developed a classification scheme he termed *voluntary* and *involuntary* minorities in the United States. *Voluntary minorities* are immigrants who choose to emigrate from their countries to the United States for the chance of a better life, economically or politically. According to Ogbu, *involuntary minorities* are groups that historically have been incorporated into U.S. society against their will by having been conquered. Some examples of involuntary minorities include Native Americans who lost their lands and livelihood when forcibly moved to reservations, Mexican Americans who already lived in the territory of the United States at the conclusion of the Mexican American War in 1848, Puerto Ricans whose country was colonized as a result

of the Spanish-American War, and the descendants of Africans who were forced into slavery and brought to the United States in chains.

Ogbu believed that the history of discrimination against involuntary minorities has implications for the present sociopolitical context of their education and the ways in which they are regarded by members of the dominant society. An example of teachers' discriminatory attitudes toward parents of different socioeconomic levels was documented by Ogbu in an ethnographic study in California. In interviews, teachers said they felt accountable to the higher-socioeconomic-status (SES) "taxpayers," most of whom were White, but not accountable to the lower-SES Black and Mexican American parents, whom they regarded as "welfare clients" and to whom they were giving a service.

Although critics of Ogbu's scheme have pointed out that the distinction between voluntary and involuntary minorities may be overly simplistic and cannot explain all minorities over time or in other nations, his theory has become part of the framework for understanding race and ethnic differences in education as well as the difficulties minority students face in learning English. He learned from interviews that recent voluntary immigrants from Mexico, Central America, or parts of Asia believed in the "American dream." They left situations of poverty, hard labor, and sometimes war and worked hard to achieve an education because they believed it would lead to opportunity and economic success. By contrast, the involuntary minorities—lower-SES African Americans and Mexican Americans—usually had older relatives who had suffered discrimination; although they were educated and worked hard, they were not in positions earning incomes commensurate with their education. No longer believing that education and hard work would bring success, these students dropped out of school.

Further exploring the academic situation of African American students, Ogbu coauthored a study in 1986 with Signithia Fordam. They concluded that African American students in a Washington, D.C., high school did not live up to their academic potential because of the fear of being accused by peers of "acting White." This was an important contribution to the negative pressure exerted by some students on their peers. Ogbu also conducted ethnographic research to help Black middle-class parents in a highly regarded suburban school system in Shaker Heights, Ohio, understand why some of their children

were "disengaged" from academic work and performed less well than their White counterparts. In *Black American Students in an Affluent Suburb*, Ogbu concluded that the Black students' own cultural attitudes hindered academic achievement and that these attitudes were too often neglected by educators and policies.

In the late 1990s, Ogbu, as part of a task force on African American education in Oakland, California, took a controversial position over the place of Ebonics, or Black American English, in education. Ogbu considered Ebonics a distinct, rule-governed vernacular form of Black English spoken in the homes of African Americans across the United States, as documented by the sociolinguist William Labov. Ogbu encouraged teaching Ebonics as a way to help African American students transition to standard English.

In recognition of Ogbu's contributions to anthropology in education, a special issue of *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* of the American Anthropological Association was devoted to his work. Ogbu also received the American Educational Research Association's Research Contribution to Education Award and the Margaret Mead Award given by the Society for Applied Anthropology. In 1997, Ogbu was elected to the International Academy of Education. His articles and books have been translated into French, German, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, Spanish, and Croatian.

Ogbu was married to Marcellina Ogbu and had five children. He remained active with the Nigerian community in the United States and in Africa until his death on August 20, 2003.

Marietta Saravia-Shore

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Biculturalism; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Ebonics; Language and Identity; Peer Pressure and Language Learning; Transformative Teaching Model

Further Readings

- Glazier, J., Lowy, M., Molohon, K., Ogbu, J., & Peterson-Royce, A. P. (Eds.). (1984). Opportunity, constraint, and change: Essays in honor of Elizabeth Colson. *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, 63–64. Oakland, CA: GRT Printing.
- Maclay, K. (2003, August 26). Anthropology professor John Ogbu dies at age 64. *University of California, Berkeley*

- News. Retrieved from http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2003/08/26_ogbu.shtml
- Ogbu, J. (1974). *The next generation: An ethnography of education in an urban neighborhood*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ogbu, J. (1978). *Minority education and caste: The American system in cross-cultural perspective*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ogbu, J. (1991). *Cultural models and educational strategies of non-dominant peoples*. Paper presented at the 1989 Catherine Molony Memorial Lecture, City College, New York.
- Ogbu, J. (2003). *Black American students in an affluent suburb: A study of academic disengagement*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ogbu, J., & Fordham, S. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the burden of "acting White." *Urban Review*, 18, 172–206.
- Ogbu, J., & Gibson, M. A. (Eds.). (1991). *Minority status and schooling*. New York: Garland.

ONE PERSON-ONE LANGUAGE (OPOL)

The *one person-one language* (OPOL) strategy for helping develop bilingualism in families is also known as *one parent-one language*. It refers to a language strategy in which two parents who speak two different native languages use each of their native languages to converse with their children. The goal of OPOL is to raise the child to be a balanced bilingual or a native speaker of both languages by providing a highly structured bilingual environment for the child. The theory behind OPOL is that by strictly separating the two family languages, the child will acquire them in a balanced and fluent way, without much confusion from mixed language use.

According to Suzanne Barron-Hauwaert, the term was first used by French linguist Maurice Grammont in 1902 as *une personne: une langue* in French, literally translated as "one person: one language." In this approach, Grammont advised parents to simply speak to their children in their own languages consistently and not reverse the roles. By so doing, the child would unconsciously speak the languages without special effort. About a decade later, French linguist Jules Ronjat followed Grammont's formula and applied it to a study with his own son Louis, speaking to him in

French, the language of the mainstream society, while his wife spoke to the child in German. Ronjat and his wife spoke German to each other. Ronjat was very strict in keeping the two languages separate. In this case, in addition to a parent, there were other people who spoke the minority language to the child. They had several German servants, and they also often visited relatives on the mother's side in Germany. Both parents spent a lot of time with Louis. As a result, Louis Ronjat grew up to be a very-well-balanced bilingual adult.

Later, in the 1930s, German linguist Werner Leopold conducted an extensive study of the same type by raising his daughter Hildegard bilingually using OPOL. After earning his doctorate degree in English literature in Germany and a 3-year stay in Costa Rica, Leopold came to the United States and married a third-generation German American. When they had a baby, they wanted to raise their daughter bilingually from birth, and they decided to speak their own native languages after their daughter's birth. Leopold spoke German to their daughter; his wife spoke English to her; and they spoke English to each other in front of her. Leopold started, as a descriptive linguist, to keep a detailed diary of his daughter's language development, which was published in four volumes. The first three volumes described Hildegard's language development during her first 2 years: vocabulary development in Volume 1, sound system in Volume 2, and word combination and sentence formations in Volume 3. The fourth volume included his observations of other periods in the girl's life and that of her younger sister Karla. At that time, child language acquisition was an area not much studied by linguists, and thus Leopold's study was a pioneering work, later emulated by other researchers.

For the first 2 years, Hildegard appeared to confuse the two languages and seemed to mix them indiscriminately. She could not associate a specific language with specific people. However, at about age 3, she no longer mixed the languages and could use the correct language for the right person. When Hildegard was about 5 years old, they visited Germany, and she did not have any problem communicating in German with families and friends there. Although Leopold tried to keep the OPOL rules, he was not as strict as Ronjat in keeping the two languages separate. He often used English when they were speaking with English monolinguals. Hildegard's bilingual proficiency could not be considered balanced. Her dominant language had

always been English, and, at the age of 15, German became her weaker language.

Other studies on OPOL have been conducted using case study research methods, such as those authored by Traute Taeschner in 1983, Annick De Houwer in 1990, and Susanne Döpke in 1992. Most of the parents consciously adapted OPOL in order to facilitate their children's bilingual acquisition. The usual outcome was that the child acquired a passive competence in the minority or low-status language but did not actively use that language. Many pointed out that the consistency and the strict separation of two languages are the key points for success in this approach. However, the generalizability of the above statement is questioned by the critics because these studies feature minority languages that are not stigmatized and the children come from privileged families.

Many bilingual families with each parent speaking a different native language often search for the most effective language strategy that will promote their children's bilingual acquisition. One person-one language is often recommended as an optimal environment in which to raise children bilingually without privileging one language over the other. Although, theoretically, it seems pretty straightforward for parents to follow the guidelines, in reality some complexities exist in putting OPOL into practice. In real family interactions, parents do not always talk one-on-one with the child alone. Most of the time, they talk to the child with other people present and involved, such as siblings, extended family, friends, and neighbors, who might not share the same languages. Using the minority language in the mainstream community with people who do not understand can cause awkwardness. For example, let us say a mother decided to speak her native language to her child all the time in the United States. When her English-speaking in-laws are around, she and her child speak English to them, and then they switch to the mother's native language when they speak to each other, leaving others wondering what they are talking about. In many cultures, it is considered insensitive to speak one's language and exclude others who would otherwise naturally be part of the conversation.

The intricacy of these interactions raises some complexities in implementing OPOL in real life. Therefore, actual implementations of OPOL are not uniform. Although many people claim that they used OPOL, it might not be a classic use of the concept because of the variations that may creep in. This is a problem that affects mostly researchers, since the participants might find the variations quite easy to handle.

There are several criticisms against OPOL. The first concerns the socioeconomic backgrounds of the families in the studies using OPOL. Most of them come from middle-class or upper-class backgrounds and may not represent the situation of many bilingual families, such as migrating families who are in disadvantaged positions; often their languages are stigmatized.

A second criticism points to the artificiality of the language environment. OPOL is said to have too much unnecessary restriction of the natural interaction between people who speak more than one language. Some scholars say that code mixing and code switching among bilingual speakers are quite natural phenomena and those who grow up in this environment become competent bilinguals, which proves that OPOL is not a necessary condition for bilingual acquisition. Finally, OPOL does not automatically guarantee success due to other variables, and its outcomes are somewhat unpredictable given these variables.

However, there are some positive aspects of the use of OPOL strategies. By adapting OPOL, parents can manipulate a microlevel of interaction to provide a language environment in which the child can use a minority language. To acquire a language, a person needs to be a part of a speech community. When a parent uses a minority language with a child, the child becomes a member of that speech community, in which he or she will have opportunity to use the language with speakers other than parents. Because of the dominance of the majority language, in many cases minority languages are not maintained or acquired if not used in the family.

Although there is a belief that code mixing or code switching is a natural speech behavior of bilinguals, pedagogically, the principle behind OPOL somewhat supports the separate use of two languages. By not allowing mixing, OPOL forces children to use the words in both languages. Failure to use the language does not mean immediate loss of it, but continued lack of use of vocabulary can contribute to language attrition or at least make that knowledge passive. This is especially true with minority languages. Hence, bilinguals choose appropriate languages according to the context. The context can be a person, a place, or an occasion. In OPOL, the bilingual child uses the person as a reference point in choosing his or her language behavior. By adhering to a consistent language choice, parents create a domain for the minority language. Scholars such as Joshua A. Fishman and Susanne Döpke believe that without a clearly specified domain for a

minority language, the minority language will gradually give way when two languages compete.

Chanyoung Park

See also Code Switching; Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism; Raising Bilingual Children; Second-Language Acquisition; Spanglish; Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies

Further Readings

- Barron-Hauwaert, S. (2004). *Language strategies for bilingual families: The one-parent-one-language approach*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- De Houwer, A. (1990). *The acquisition of two languages from birth: A case study*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Döpke, S. (1992). *One parent, one language. An interactional approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Döpke, S. (1998). Can the principle of “one person-one language” be disregarded as unrealistically elitist? *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 21(1), 41–56.
- Fishman, J. A. (1980). Bilingualism and biculturalism as individual and as societal phenomena. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1, 3–17.
- Grammont, M. (1902). *Observations sur le langage des enfants* [Observations on the language of children]. Paris: Mélanges Meillet.
- Hakuta, K. (1986). *Mirror of language*. New York: Basic Books.
- Leopold, W. F. (1939, 1947, 1949a, 1949b). *Speech development of a bilingual child: A linguist's record* (Vols. I–IV). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Ronjat, J. (1913). *Le développement du langage observé chez un enfant bilingue* [Language development observed in a bilingual child's home]. Paris: Champion.
- Taeschner, T. (1983). *The sun is feminine: A study on language acquisition in bilingual children*. Berlin, Germany: Springer-Verlag.

OYAMA, HENRY (1926–)

Henry “Hank” Oyama, Jr., has been a vigorous proponent of cultural dignity and civil rights throughout most of his long life. A quiet and dignified activist, Oyama fought for the educational rights of Mexican American students for more than half a century. Oyama made his mark in bilingual education as a contributor to a landmark report on the educational needs of Mexican American students in the Southwest. The

report, titled *The Invisible Minority*, was published by the National Education Association in 1966 and led directly to the passage in Congress of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968.

Of Japanese descent, Oyama was born in Tucson, Arizona, on June 1, 1926, and was raised in a Mexican American barrio, speaking only Spanish at home. His mother was born in Hawai‘i but grew up in Mexico. She did not speak Japanese or English. Later, she met and married Henry Oyama, Sr., in Tucson. In 1942, the Oyama family was sent to a Japanese relocation camp near the Colorado River. There, after 1 year and 4 months, Oyama was permitted to leave after he agreed to work in places where there was a great hiring need. This included a hotel, and paper and aluminum factories in Missouri and Kansas. In 1945, he was inducted into the army at the age of 18. During basic training at Camp Hood, superior officers assumed Oyama spoke Japanese and announced their intention to send him to the South Pacific as an interpreter. He explained his lack of fluency in Japanese, and he was sent to a Minnesota language school, where military authorities discovered that he spoke fluent Spanish and posted him instead to the Panama Canal Zone as a bilingual counterintelligence officer.

After the war, Oyama returned to Tucson, where he attended the University of Arizona. In 1956, he became a teacher of history and Spanish at Pueblo High School, where he joined a remarkable group of educators, among them Adalberto Guerrero, María Urquides, and Rosita Cota. In the late 1950s, these forward-thinking educators pioneered the creation of Spanish Honors and Spanish for Native Speakers courses at Pueblo High School, in the Tucson Unified School District, as a way to maintain and enhance the Spanish language proficiency of Mexican-origin students. It was an early form of bilingual education.

Oyama’s efforts for social justice were not limited to the field of education. In 1959, his quiet struggle for racial equality and social justice became personal. That year, he met and fell in love with Mary Ann Jordan, a White woman, whom he was prevented from marrying by an Arizona state law (Arizona Statutes, 1942, Section 25–101, on Void and Prohibited Marriages). That law forbade “the marriage of persons of Caucasian blood with those of Negro, Mongoloid, Malay or Hindu blood.” Oyama and Jordan challenged the law, which was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962.

Meanwhile, Oyama continued to work on behalf of Mexican-origin students. In 1965, he was invited by

the National Education Association (NEA), together with Guerrero, Urquides, and Cota, to participate in the "Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking." Conducted in the southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, the survey documented the success of bilingual education programs under way at the time.

The work of Henry Oyama and his Pueblo High School colleagues had a direct bearing on the creation of the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Their efforts led to a national symposium later that year in Tucson, attended by U.S. Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas, who subsequently sponsored congressional hearings to discuss the importance of bilingual education for the educational success of Spanish-speaking students.

Oyama earned a bachelor's degree in Spanish, history, and political science and a master's degree in education at the University of Arizona. In 1970, he joined the faculty and staff at Pima County Community College as director of bilingual and international studies. Oyama rose through the administrative ranks at Pima Community College, becoming associate dean in 1978, a position he held for 10 years. In 1989, he became associate vice president of the college; he retired from this position in 1992. In 1993, he was honored with the Pima County Man of the Year Award, and, in 1996, received an honorary doctor of laws degree from the University of Arizona. He remains active in raising scholarship funds for minority students at Pima Community College.

Mary Carol Combs

See also Guerrero, Adalberto; National Education Association Tucson Symposium; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Urquides, María; Yarborough, Ralph

Further Readings

- Couple, stymied by court, will continue battle to wed. (1959, November 26). *Tucson Citizen*, p. A1.
- Hernández, R. (1990, April 25). Bilingual educators honor 4 Tucson "pioneers." *Tucson Citizen*, p. 2C.
- National Education Association. (1966). *The invisible minority . . . pero no vencibles*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Preciado, M. P. (1995). *Con mucho corazón: An oral history of 25 years of nurturing bilingual/multicultural education in TUSD*. Tucson, AZ: Tucson Unified School District.
- Schellie, D. (1959, November 17). Couple asks Supreme Court for right to wed in state. *Tucson Citizen*, p. A1.

OYSTER BILINGUAL SCHOOL

James F. Oyster Elementary School, a public elementary school located in the Woodley Park neighborhood of Washington, D.C., was built in 1926 as a 10-classroom school to accommodate 240 students. By the late 1960s, it was a school in decline, serving a predominantly White population that was aging and/or moving to the surrounding suburbs of Maryland. Importantly, its attendance zone stretched deep into the heart of the Adams Morgan neighborhood, which, in the late 1960s became the center of the expanding Hispanic community of Washington. This demographic change accelerated in 1965, when U.S. immigration laws were amended to increase the number of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere. Washington, D.C., became a port of entry for working-class immigrants from Central America, due to the immigration reforms of the 1960s. Prior to the Immigration Reform and Control Act, the Hispanic community of Washington had consisted mainly of professionals working in city, state, and federal governments and international agencies.

With the influx of large numbers of poorer Hispanic immigrants who settled into the Adams Morgan area, the number of Hispanic students enrolled in the D.C. Public Schools increased. Soon tensions rose, and subsequently there were even riots.

Using the 1960s "Great Society" rhetoric of President Lyndon Johnson's administration, which stressed the importance of education, grassroots leaders directed the energy and goals of the emerging Hispanic community toward improved education services. In June 1969, the District of Columbia Manpower Office funded Project Adelante, designed to teach English to adults. Hispanic leaders in the city also called for an elementary-level bilingual school that would serve both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students. They believed that a bilingual program for both groups, working together to learn each other's languages, would create in the school a microcosm of the community that would benefit the entire city.

Federal funds were sought and obtained through a project called "Model Schools." These funds provided teacher training for 20 native Spanish-speaking teachers selected to meet certification requirements for D.C. Public Schools. These teachers were charged with the responsibility for designing an integrated two-way bilingual school emphasizing language learning in a multiracial, multicultural environment; and together with community leaders, they were charged with

“selling” the program to the community. In the spring of 1971, after 2 years, the D.C. Public School Superintendent responded to community requests by proposing to use local funds to pay for the teaching and staff salaries of a bilingual school. The Ford Foundation provided a grant for curriculum development and program evaluation.

The existing Oyster Elementary School was selected as the ideal site to implement a two-way bilingual program for all its students. The reasons for selecting this school were that its student population had the highest number and percentage of Hispanic students in the city and the total school program would be small enough to test the educational model.

In the fall of 1971, Oyster School launched its two-way bilingual program for all its students. After the first year of the program, the student population began to grow, due to the influx of more Central Americans into the Adams Morgan neighborhood. By 1973, the student population was well over the capacity of the school, with students numbering beyond 300. The school became known unofficially as “Oyster Bilingual Elementary School.”

The Program

Oyster Bilingual Elementary School, with the adjective *bilingual* later added officially, is today a world-renowned, dual-language immersion program in which all students, from prekindergarten to sixth grade, participate in an *inclusive* learning environment. At the heart of Oyster Bilingual School’s mission and philosophy is the belief that every child’s learning ability, employment potential, and cultural interests are enriched by achieving competency in a language beyond his or her own—and this in a school where children from various cultures learn and share together. Native-Spanish-speaking children learn to perform better in English in an environment that respects their native language and provides continued growth in that language. The education of English-speaking children is enriched by achieving competency in a second language. Oyster Bilingual School’s explicit goals have always included additive bilingualism for all its students.

Since its inception in 1971, every classroom has housed one English-dominant teacher and a Spanish-dominant teacher. Because of this, equal weight is given to the acquisition of both languages and the learning of math, science, social studies, art, music, physical fitness, and technology in either language.

Throughout the grades, approximately 50% of the students’ instruction is in English, and 50% is in Spanish. This 50/50 distribution of language instruction across content matter provides the basis for the development of both cognitive and language skills. The two languages of instruction are equally distributed throughout the students’ week and throughout their academic experience. Ideally, the English-dominant teacher speaks and is spoken to only in English, and the Spanish-dominant teacher speaks and is spoken to only in Spanish.

English and Spanish Reading/Language Arts are taught everyday for a 2- to 3-hour block. During this time, the students separate into two heterogeneously mixed language groups—spending half of the time with the English-dominant teacher and the other half with the Spanish-dominant teacher. They learn to speak, understand, read, and write English and Spanish. Both languages are recognized by students and staff alike as being valuable. In this format, the two languages are mastered because they are the vehicle of instruction, rather than its object. Whole-language techniques are used so that the students learn the languages in meaningful ways. The teachers use real literature with students. Reading and writing activities are promoted, celebrated, and enjoyed. Where applicable, they are consistently incorporated in content-area lessons.

Typically, math, science, and social studies can be team taught, whereby concepts are introduced in one language and reinforced in the other, as long as the same language is not used to introduce the concepts all the time. Another method typically used is dividing the students into two groups, with each group receiving instruction in one language for a week, a month, or an entire semester in a given subject, and the reverse occurring after the specific period of time.

Oyster Bilingual School’s teachers, staff, and administration employ an educational discourse that socializes English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students into seeing themselves and each other as equal participants in school. Because the goal of the dual-language program is for all students to develop the necessary skills to become bilingual and to achieve academically in content areas in both Spanish and English, the motivating principle behind the students’ acquisition of two languages is interdependence. This interdependence revolves around the English-speaking and the Spanish-speaking students and is reinforced by the presence of two teachers in the classroom.

The hallmark of Oyster School's dual-language immersion program is that it nurtures students' valuing of themselves and their valuing of others. That cherishing of human growth comes in significant measure because of the way that the dual-language program is delivered at Oyster. While English and Spanish are the languages of instruction, the equal valuation of two languages communicates to the children that cultures and the people who are products of those cultures are also to be equally valued. Oyster students learn that to be good citizens of their communities, they must at the same time be good citizens of the world. The school community constantly builds on this solid base.

Oyster Bilingual School goes a step further in its promotion of bilingualism. It conducts its business in both languages. All documents sent home to parents and families are written in Spanish and in English. There are no page numbers used, and the official letterhead appears on both sides of every page. This avoids the subtle message that one language is privileged over the other. Brochures promoting Oyster's program are also written in both English and in Spanish. This policy is another symbolic reflection of the school's dedication to being bilingual and inclusive.

The Community

Oyster Bilingual School has had broad parental and community involvement since the beginning of its bilingual program. Decision making at the school is accomplished through the Oyster Community Council (OCC) and the Oyster School Restructuring Team (OSRT).

The OCC functions through its board of elected officers and committees. Committees can number as many as 25, depending on the need and the priorities of the school. Parents elect their officers, and teachers elect their representatives, but all teachers, parents, and staff compose its membership. The main functions of the OCC are directly related to fund-raising initiatives, to budgeting, and to support of instructional initiatives that are not typically provided for by D.C. Public Schools. The council's purpose is to augment and supplement, rather than to supplant.

Cochairs, one English speaking and one Spanish speaking, are charged with the task of ensuring that all information is available in both languages, either through bilingual oral communication at meetings, through simultaneous translations, or through the printed

word. Again, to the extent possible, equal weight is given to both languages. The language for conducting school business alternates at OCC meetings. One meeting is run in Spanish, with translations into English; the following is conducted in English, with translations into Spanish.

Working closely with the OCC, the ORST, since its inception in 1993, was established according to the districtwide guidelines, and it is the center of the governance system of the school. The OSRT is composed of an equal number of teachers and parents, elected by their constituents, the principal, the union representative, and an elected member of the support staff. It reaches decisions collegially, through consensus, and it shapes the educational policies and procedures of the school. To ensure communication and linkages with the OCC, a member of the executive board of OCC is a member of the OSRT. In addition to developing the local school improvement plans, the OSRT works closely with the OCC to establish funding priorities that are aligned with the school improvement plan. The OSRT reports on its activities at every OCC meeting and solicits input from its members.

The Building

From 1991 to 2001, the OCC oversaw the progress of the public/private partnership to rebuild and expand teaching space in the Oyster Bilingual School. Recognizing that Oyster's successful bilingual program was hindered in several ways by its small and aging facility, the Oyster Bilingual School community wrote a position paper on the facility needs of the school. The original school building had been built in 1926 and was slightly refurbished in 1977. Three portable classrooms ("dismountables") housed 25% of its student population and two of these temporary buildings were seriously deteriorated. Code violations of all types were a concern. Typical classrooms did not serve current teaching and learning methods well, with two teachers in every classroom using the cooperating learning model of instruction. The building did not support educational technology, and the optimal enrollment for the program was greater than the capacity of the building.

In the early 1990s, Oyster Bilingual School almost closed its doors forever. The D.C. Public Schools, suffering a fiscal crisis, considered closing the school because of the unsafe and unsuitable conditions of the

building. But the Oyster community mobilized, held press conferences, and organized hearings attended by experts in bilingualism from across the country, by local city leaders, and by graduates of the program. In response, the community was given 1 year to come up with an alternative plan.

The 21st Century School Fund, a nonprofit organization founded by a former Oyster School parent with community-organizing and construction experience, requested and received funding from the Ford Foundation to lead an effort to create what came to be called the “Oyster Public/Private Development Partnership.” The purpose of the project was to modernize the Oyster Bilingual School building using capital generated by private development of a portion of the school site. The site was developed with private financing to accommodate both a high-density residential apartment building and a new, modernized Oyster Bilingual School. The project survived three mayors, four superintendents, four school district governance structures, and seven project managers. The public-private partnership included the following elements:

1. The 21st Century School Fund was responsible for keeping the vision alive, for developing project milestones, and for managing and monitoring every detail for 8 years.
2. The District of Columbia Government, owner of the site, agreed to dedicate property taxes from the apartment building for 35 years to repay bonds that would help pay for the construction of the new building.
3. The District of Columbia Public Schools traded a portion of the existing Oyster School site in exchange for the design, construction, and furnishing of a new Oyster Bilingual School building.
4. LCOR, the developer, built on the site the new Oyster Bilingual School building and the Henry Adams House, a 211-unit apartment building.

During the construction process, beginning in August 1998, the students and staff of Oyster School were relocated for 3 years to an empty school building located near Howard University, approximately 3 miles from its original site and community. During this time, the entire school community worked especially hard to stay connected and active despite both the psychological and physical distances separating the community from its original home.

Enrollment and statistical information for the last school year (2000–2001) before relocating to the new school building was as follows:

<i>Total School Enrollment:</i>	325
Language Minority Students:	65%
Language Majority Students:	35%
Limited English Proficiency:	28%
Free/Reduced Lunch:	43%
Females:	59%
Males:	41%
Ethnic/Racial Student Groups:	
Hispanic	56%
Caucasian	24%
African American	17%
Asian/American Indian	3%
Students' Attendance Rate:	96%
Attendance at Parent-Teacher Conferences (4):	99.8%

Program Improvement

During the 3 years that Oyster Bilingual School awaited the completion of its new building, the principal and teachers embarked on a period of analysis and reflection of the dual-language program. High-stakes testing across the country had begun, and test results at Oyster were stagnant. In addition, students were not being tested in Spanish. The principal solicited funds from the OCC to administer Aprenda, the Spanish version of the SAT 9 standardized tests being used by the school system. The Aprenda test was administered for the first time in the spring of 1998.

Analysis of SAT 9 and Aprenda test scores on a class-by-class basis indicated that the students with the highest test scores in reading, in both English and Spanish, were those who participated in a challenging writing program. As a result, priorities were established for the following school year that included requiring all students to read 26 books per year, 13 in Spanish and 13 in English, and to write two books, one in English and one in Spanish. Prekindergarten and kindergarten students would “author” two big books, one in each language, per class. A “Young Authors’ Night” was held for the first time, and students were given the opportunity to read their books to parents and to other students. In addition, the school’s curriculum specialist, with feedback

Table 1 2000 SAT 9 and Aprenda Scores

SAT 9 in English				
<i>Reading:</i>	Below Basic 0	Basic 22%	Proficient 48%	Advanced 30%
<i>Math:</i>	Below Basic 0	Basic 19%	Proficient 45%	Advanced 36%
Aprenda in Spanish				
<i>Reading:</i>	Below Basic 6%	Basic 35%	Proficient 41%	Advanced 18%
<i>Math:</i>	Below Basic 3%	Basic 20%	Proficient 40%	Advanced 37%

from teachers and the principal, wrote a proposal for federal funding that was submitted by the D.C. Public Schools on behalf of Oyster Bilingual School, under the Bilingual Education Comprehensive School Grants Program (Title VII, ESEA) for Project OMAR (Oyster Dual-Language Model for Academic Reform). The program was approved for funding for 5 years. Project OMAR was based on implementing a unique model that included the adoption of America's Choice systemic reform model, created by the National Center for Education and the Economy. This component enabled Oyster to become a fully operating standards-based school for its English language curriculum, emphasizing writing.

Utilizing the framework of America's Choice, federal funding also enabled Oyster School to articulate, align, and translate the Spanish language component of the program, so that it too became standards based. The 5-year project goals addressed professional development, articulation and alignment of content and performance standards in Spanish and English, family involvement, student assessment, enrichment of curriculum and instruction, building community partnerships, and the development, replication, and dissemination of the model. Through this project, Oyster Bilingual School had the opportunity to standardize and solidify the reading and writing component of the dual-language program to meet the needs of all its students.

Test scores in the spring of 2000 soared in both the SAT 9 and Aprenda. School results are listed in Table 1.

Oyster Bilingual School had moved from being ranked 25th out of 119 elementary schools in the results of standardized test scores in reading in 1982 (top 21%) to being ranked 6th out of 110 elementary schools in its results in reading in 2000 (top 5%).

Recognition, Accolades, and Awards

The Oyster Bilingual Elementary School has received many accolades and national awards over its years of existence, including the following:

1. In 1987, the U.S. Department of Education's National Advisory and Coordinating Council for Bilingual Education gave it a Citation for Excellence on seven salient characteristics: high expectations/high achievement; whole-school, two-way model; team teaching; application of linguistic research; integration of program students with mainstream students; support of the administration; and parent/community involvement.
2. In 1993, Oyster was the first elementary school selected by *Hispanic: The Magazine for and About Hispanics* as the U.S. School of Excellence for its quality program and making a difference in the lives of its Hispanic students and community.
3. In 1998, Rebecca D. Freeman published a book titled *Bilingual Education and Social Change*, highlighting the Oyster program as an important model for effectively creating social change in the United States.
4. In 2000, Jim Cummins published a book titled *Language, Power, and Pedagogy*, which highlights Oyster's program as one of three schools that has demonstrated continued success for its effectiveness in its two-way bilingual program.

In September 2001, Oyster Bilingual School celebrated 30 years of offering a dual-language program to all its students and moved into its new 21st-century building designed specifically for the program. Above its main entrance, a sign reads, "Oyster Bilingual School/Escuela Bilingüe Oyster," its new official name.

Paquita B. Holland

See also Bilingual Charter Schools; Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Dual-Language Programs; Maintenance Policy Denied; Paradox of Bilingualism; Views of Bilingual Education

Further Readings

- Collier, V. (1989). How long? A synthesis of research on academic achievement in a second language. *TESOL Quarterly*, 23, 509–532.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Freeman, R. D. (1998). *Bilingual education and social change*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service. (1987). *United States History, 1600–1987*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

P

PARADOX OF BILINGUALISM

Essay

Editor's Note: *This essay is an abridged version of the Du Val Lee Lecture delivered by the author as part of the Community Faculty Lecture Series of the University of Arizona, in 1999.*

There is an essential paradox, a contradiction, in the way we have conceived of the role of languages other than English in public life in the United States. This paradox can be stated simply as follows: *Other languages are to be pursued by those who don't have them, but they are to be abandoned by those who do.* This paradox, now embedded in laws and pervading our norms, has led to a number of other strange and seemingly contradictory ideas that are the engines for much of U.S. public policy.

Many others have also noted this paradox and have described it in various ways. For example, Kurt Müller, in 2002, stated it in this way:

We prevent first-generation natives from developing competence in the language and culture of their heritage, and we require those already assimilated into the common culture to begin learning another language later than their competitors abroad. At its worst, in many school systems we limit the choice of languages to the very one that the objectors do not want the immigrants to maintain. (p. 10)

Müller sees it as our “self-imposed handicap in international affairs.” Sandra McKay and Sau-Ling Wong,

in 2000, made much the same point, characterizing existing language education policy as “curtailing mother-tongue maintenance among immigrants and then providing foreign-language programs for Anglophone monolinguals (many of whom are former bilinguals)” (p. 3). Patricia MacGregor-Mendoza goes further, suggesting that the number of cases in which Spanish speakers have been punished by the courts constitutes the “criminalization” of Spanish in the United States, but it is clear she is talking about local, “ethnic” varieties of Spanish. James Crawford, among many others, also analyses the paradoxical nature of policies on bilingual education.

Arizona is a state full of beautiful natural culture and linguistic diversity, yet its people are full of ambivalence with respect to it. We treasure our natural wonders yet see with suspicion efforts by environmentalists to preserve them for our children and grandchildren. Phoenix has been for a long time a “suburb” of Los Angeles, and California is the tail that wags the dog called Arizona. As previously mentioned, in 1988, Arizona passed a law making English the official language of the state by constitutional amendment; that was 2 years after California passed much the same law for the second time in its history. In 2000, just a few months after California passed a law by which teachers are told how best to teach bilingual students, Arizona did the same. Parts of Arizona have a long, established identity and a sense of purpose; as a state, we do not yet know what we are or where we are going. This is especially true with respect to cultural and linguistic diversity.

Finally, we are, in the United States, a country that has for more than two centuries resisted the idea of an

official language at the national level—yet has a long history of embracing restrictionist policies and laws with respect to the public use of languages other than English. The proposals for immigration reform discussed in the U.S. Congress after the 2006 elections make it clear that from one extreme of the political spectrum to the other, whatever disagreements there might be on other details, the primacy of English must be an absolute requirement in the law.

The historical and political contexts in which we live help to shape how we think about language and its role in our public life. Let us discuss briefly in more detail some of the principal historical developments that have influenced our perceptions. But there must be some dispelling of historical myths at the outset; in some ways, these are more powerful than any actual data that might be brought to bear.

One often hears on talk radio and reads in letters to the editor statements such as the following: “My ancestors came here from (wherever, usually Europe), and they didn’t have bilingual education, but they still got ahead. Why do the Spanish speakers need it?” We are about to see how wrong this perception among the general public is, but it is even more disturbing when it is held by those who should know better. One example, for instance, is the *New York Times* editorial by Joan Keefe, in 1985, who at the time was a member of the National Advisory and Coordinating Council on Bilingual Education of the U.S. Department of Education. She was described as a teacher of English as a Second Language (ESL) and French at Washington area universities. Keefe asked whether bilingual education is needed. She asserted,

If it had existed earlier in the century, some of today’s leading educators, scholars, and entertainers would have been placed in classes in languages their immigrant parents spoke. Would they have gained their present prominence—or have stagnated in cultural and linguistic ghettos? (p. A27)

There are many approaches to answering this question, which is why at universities we give whole courses devoted to addressing it. But for now, let us disabuse ourselves of some of this particular historical myth. At the time of Keefe’s editorial, some 182,000 children were being served in federally funded bilingual education programs. While it is true that many more were enrolled in state and locally supported programs, the number of children affected by these programs

was extremely small as a percentage of total school population. Keefe implied that these were unprecedented numbers. Nothing could be further from the truth.

German Language in the Midwest

The heyday of publicly funded bilingual education in this country was from about the middle of the 19th century to the second decade of the 20th, roughly 1840 to 1920. These programs primarily served western and northern European groups, the largest of which were the Germans. While there was some concern expressed early in the development of these programs that schools were spending too many public resources on non-English instruction (e.g., see work by Conrad Patzer and Bessie Pierce), these communities generally tended to be well received in urban neighborhoods and the schools. They met resistance to the extent that they were perceived as hostile to what was by that time the main purpose of the public schools—Americanization. The 1860s and 1870s saw a dramatic rise in the study of German in the public schools, and also study conducted in German. This accompanied the enhanced political status of Germans in the communities of the Midwest. By the middle of the century, Germans in St. Louis, for example, constituted one quarter of the population and according to St. Louis Public Schools, in 1876, had “a considerable portion of the active business and manufacturing community, holding a great amount of the wealth of the city, and contributing largely to its revenues” (p. 114).

The political status of Germans in the Midwest accompanied their heightened economic interest and weight, suggesting that the accommodations that could be made with public funds for the education of ethnic communities were proportional to the general perception of their economic benefit to the larger society. Advocates for including the German language in public school curricula argued that German study would encourage German parents to send their children to public schools, at that time a tenuous institution because of the strength of competing Catholic and Lutheran parochial school systems. These arguments prevailed: In 1864 and 1865, in St. Louis, 450 elementary students, about 5% of the school population in 5 schools, studied German under the tutelage of 5 specially trained German teachers furnished by the Cincinnati schools. By the end of that year, the Office of German Assistant Superintendent was established.

The increase in resources allocated for German instruction was dramatic. By 1870, 37% of the students studied German; in 1875, 73% studied German, with 73 teachers in 45 schools; and the numbers increased into the 1880s. This pattern was mirrored throughout the Midwest, especially in the so-called German triangle (St. Louis-Milwaukee-Cincinnati). Pierce and the St. Louis Public Schools state that in Milwaukee as late as 1907, some 70% of Milwaukee high school students were enrolled in German classes. The national statistics on foreign-language study in high school also show this interest in language study.

The historical context is important to keep in mind. The great majority of the teachers in these programs were not proficient in English, at least not to the extent that they could teach basic subjects in English. John Sterns and Jerome Waltrous confirm that many of them had been prepared at German seminaries such as those in Milwaukee and Chicago, having only recently arrived from Germany for the purpose of teaching basic subjects in German. In other words, while many of these students were studying the German language, it appears that many of them were also using the German language to learn other subjects. In effect, they were experiencing German immersion, a form of bilingual education, in public schools. The figures in Table 1 demonstrate the popularity of such study.

The table also illustrates the precipitous decline of German study throughout the country after 1915. In Milwaukee, for example, between 1916 and 1918, enrollment in German classes dropped from 30,000 to 400, and the number of German teachers from 200 to 1; by the end of the 1919 school year, the teaching of German was completely discontinued in elementary schools. Heinz Kloss and Bayrd Still maintain this was a common pattern throughout the Midwest in this period. This is understandable given the ethos of the time. Much had happened in the world to make people and institutions in the United States suspicious of anyone of German ancestry who wanted to study German. It became a sign of disloyalty and disrespect to maintain the language of a people at war with the United States. This association of language and political loyalty was to be ingrained in the public mentality from that period to the present. William Parker claims that from 1918 to 1925, about half the states passed anti-foreign-language laws, many of them aimed at schools. Shirley Brice Heath and Frederick Mandabach claim that perhaps the most remembered of these laws were the twin Siman and Bartels Laws, in Nebraska and Iowa, respectively; these became the subject of one of the most famous U.S. Supreme Court cases, *Meyer v. Nebraska*, in 1923. The arguments of the justices in these cases mirrored much of the sentiment in the country: Even while, in some instances, such as *Meyer*,

Table 1 Foreign-Language Enrollments in U.S. Public High Schools: 1890–1964

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total High School Enrollment</i>	<i>% Latin</i>	<i>Modern Languages</i>	<i>% French</i>	<i>% German</i>	<i>% Spanish</i>
1890	202,963	34.7	16.3	5.8	10.5	
1895	350,099	43.9	17.9	6.5	11.4	
1900	519,251	50.6	22.1	7.8	14.3	
1905	679,702	50.2	29.3	9.1	20.2	
1910	915,061	49.0	34.3	9.9	23.7	0.7
1915	1,328,984	37.3	35.9	8.8	24.4	2.7
1922	2,230,000	27.5	27.4	15.5	0.6	11.3
1928	3,354,473	22.0	25.2	14.0	1.8	9.4
1934	5,620,625	16.0	19.5	10.9	2.4	6.2
1949	5,399,452	7.8	13.7	4.7	0.8	8.2
1954	6,582,300	6.9	14.2	5.6	0.8	7.3
1958	7,897,232	7.8	16.4	6.1	1.2	8.8
1959	8,155,573	7.9	19.1	7.4	1.5	9.8
1964	11,056,639	5.4	26.2	10.8	2.6	12.3

Source: Adapted from Parker (1966, pp. 139, 140, 150).

they were compelled to find the laws unconstitutional, they nevertheless made it evident that states could find ways to restrict the public use of languages other than English. In Meyer, the justices even gave guidance on how that could happen, and the state quickly took its advantage: Nebraska's official English law is the oldest in the country, dating from 1923.

Spanish Language in the Southwest

The early situation of German Americans stands in stark contrast to the way in which, at the very same time, new Mexican citizens were being treated in the territorial Southwest. Not only was there no accommodation for their language and culture needs in schools, but they were viewed with considerable suspicion, to the extent that they were actively discriminated against in all aspects of the public sector. After numerous Mexicans were incorporated into the United States after the Mexican War in 1848, their lands were confiscated, their culture was undermined, and their language suppressed, sometimes in ruthless fashion. According to reports prepared by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights on the Education of Mexican Americans clear into the 1960s, Spanish was proscribed in many schools of the Southwest. No-Spanish rules were notorious in Texas, Arizona, and parts of California. Arizona developed a segregated system of education for Mexican Americans called the "1C Program"; some researchers compare it to the segregated schools for Blacks in the South of the same period, as Mary Carol Combs and her colleagues explain.

What accounts for this difference? It is part of the paradox of bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States.

The Paradox Restated

When Arizona was passing Proposition 106 in 1988, making English the official language of the state and targeting bilingual education, the state's department of education was promulgating rules, with much popular support, that would provide for every student in every grade level in every school in Arizona the opportunity to study a foreign language. Ironically, but predictably, Arizona follows the same pattern at the present time: The constitutional amendment passed in 2000 outlawing most instances of bilingual education is accompanied by initiatives in local districts

to promote foreign-language study. In 2007, the Arizona Department of Education has been pushing legislation by which the state would fund international schools promoting the study of foreign languages. In its most recent iteration in 2007, a bill to create three international schools failed to pass the state legislature amid criticisms from some legislators that such schools would be "un-American."

This apparent contradiction has to do in part with the ideas we have about language, about the roles that languages should play in our public life, and about the communities that use these languages, for example,

- We have a highly instrumentalized view of language. We see it as essentially a tool, an instrument for getting social goods. To the extent that it does that, we see a language as valuable; to the extent that it does not, we devalue it.
- This is in contrast to a view of language that sees it as part of identity, as part of the tradition and history and culture and personality of a community. While language can still be seen instrumentally, that is not its essence.

Ethnicity is seen as a sort of sentimentality, an allegiance toward community, toward local attachments, and toward intimate relationships, rather than toward the public, transethnified needs of the bureaucratic state. When we see ethnicity, we see a breakdown of the state based on a faulty commitment toward sentimentality demonstrated by the concern to maintain heritage languages other than English and the cultures of which they are a part. As a society, we devalue these groups, and we see their languages as equally depreciated. Even worse, we see these groups as threats to our way of life.

Language study that deemphasizes commitment to local community, that urges us toward allegiance toward the larger public state, and that promotes the instrumental values that fuel a capitalist system are those that are valued. Others are seen as at best inadequate, perhaps even threatening to the public good.

So, the paradox mentioned by Müller and others above is not perceived as a contradiction. Foreign languages are academic, not intimate. They do not form part of our personal identities, and they do not impel us to any sort of political action. They are not attached to a local community of which I am, or am becoming, a part. Their purpose is to enhance my academic or social status, and perhaps to allow me to travel with a

little more ease. One studies them for a year or two, but they are rarely if ever completely mastered, at least not through the current ways of teaching them employed by public schools, except perhaps to read; they are tools to be used on occasion, not a means to attach or reattach individuals to communities. This is precisely what local community languages are, or are perceived to be. Therefore, bilingual education is seen as the agent of irredentism, of maintaining or bringing back into the fold those who could be transformed by a severe acculturation into *real Americans*, loyal not to their parochial interests, but to those of the commonweal, the state.

The paradox described at the outset can thus be restated as such: Spanish (or French or German or any other non-English world standard foreign language) is to be pursued by those who do not have it, but Spanish (or French or German or any other “little” non-English community language) is to be abandoned by those children and youth who do. Spanish uplifts and enhances and builds up; Spanish tears down and fragments and holds back all who maintain it. If this is a paradox, it is easily accommodated by those who see these as quite different languages.

But there is an even more fundamental and puzzling paradox: Publicly funded, especially federally funded public school bilingual education, has never really been about bilingualism or about bilingualization. Although we have had a bilingual education law in the United States since 1968, there was very little in any of its pronouncements to allow us to infer that its purpose was true bilingualization. Those whose purpose it has been to implement these laws at the federal level have been consistent in their insistence that they were designed to promote the teaching and learning of English; all else is secondary. This position is stated explicitly in policy and position papers commissioned by federal education offices. Beatrice Birman and Alan Ginsburg, in 1981, provided the following prime example:

Underlying this paper is the assumption that the ultimate goals of bilingual education programs are to learn English and to keep up with English-speaking peers in subject matter. While bilingualism is a laudable and worthwhile outcome, we judge benefit in terms of English acquisition and subject matter learning. (p. 5n)

The United States is unusual if not unique in the world in this: Bilingual education is not designed to

create bilinguals, but rather monolinguals in English out of those who previously spoke another language. Joshua A. Fishman, a leading researcher and advocate for bilingual education in the world, has been blunt in his criticism of the U.S. law. According to Fishman, in 1981, it is “primarily an act for the Anglification of non-English speakers and not an act for bilingualism. . . . The act is basically not an act *for* bilingualism, but, rather, an act *against* bilingualism” (pp. 517–518). This is the irony of the present controversy in this state and in this country. Opponents of bilingual education argue against it because it promotes other languages over English. Proponents of bilingual education argue against most of what we have up to now called bilingual education because all it does is promote English over all other languages.

If we truly had bilingual education in this country, we might then be able to realize the great potential of those children who come to our schools speaking all those many and varied languages, build on those experiences to learn English and much more, and use their language proficiencies to make the world better. The present sociolinguistic and political dynamics in the United States preclude that bright future.

Richard Ruiz

See also Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; Language Rights in Education; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad; Views of Bilingual Education; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Birman, B. F., & Ginsburg, A. L. (1981, October 5). *Addressing the needs of language-minority children: Issues for federal policy*. Unpublished manuscript for the Department of Education, Washington, DC.
- Combs, M. C., Evans, C., Fletcher, T., Parra, E., & Jiménez, A. (2005). Bilingualism for the children: Implementing a dual-language program in an English-only state. *Educational Policy, 19*, 701–728.
- Crawford, J. (2000). Language politics in the United States: The paradox of bilingual education. In C. J. Ovando & P. McLaren (Eds.), *The politics of multiculturalism and bilingual education: Students and teachers caught in the crossfire* (pp. 107–125). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Fishman, J. A. (1981). Language policy: Past, present, and future. In C. A. Ferguson & S. B. Heath (Eds.), *Language in the USA* (pp. 516–526). New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Heath, S. B., & Mandabach, F. (1983). Language status decisions and the law in the United States. In J. Cobarrubias & J. A. Fishman (Eds.), *Progress in language planning: International perspectives* (pp. 87–105). Berlin, Germany: Mouton.
- Keefe, J. (1985, October 24). An alternative to bilingualism. *New York Times*, p. A27.
- Kloss, H. (1977). *The American bilingual tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (1998). The criminalization of Spanish in the United States. In D. Kibbee (Ed.), *Language legislation and language rights* (pp. 55–67). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- McKay, S. L., & Wong, S. -L. C. (Eds.). (2000). Introduction. *New immigrants in the United States: Readings for second-language educators* (pp. 1–7). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).
- Müller, K. E. (2002). Addressing counterterrorism: U.S. literacy in language and international affairs. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 26, 1–21.
- Parker, W. R. (1966). The national interest and foreign languages. *The language curtain and other essays on American education*. New York: Modern Language Association of America.
- Patzer, C. E. (1924). *Public education in Wisconsin*. Madison, WI: State Historical Society.
- Pierce, B. (1936). *History of Chicago*. New York: Knopf.
- Ruiz, R. (1984). *Language teaching in American education: Impact on second-language learning*. Unpublished synthesis report for the National Institute of Education, Washington, DC.
- St. Louis Public Schools. (1876). *Annual report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the year ending August 1, 1875*. St. Louis, MO: Author.
- Stearns, J. W. (1893). *The Columbian history of education in Wisconsin*. Milwaukee: State Committee on Educational Exhibit for Wisconsin.
- Still, B. (1948). *Milwaukee: The history of a city*. Madison, WI: State Historical Society.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (1971–1974). *The Mexican American education study* (Reports 1–6). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
- Watrous, J. A. (1909). *Memoirs of Milwaukee County* (Vol. 1). Madison, WI: Western Historical Society.

PEER PRESSURE AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Peer pressure is defined as the pressure individuals experience to adopt certain behaviors, patterns, or attitudes in order to be accepted as part of a group. Peer pressure associated with adolescence is particularly strong because during adolescence, children are seeking to fit in with their friends and differentiate themselves from their parents. This pressure to fit in may come directly from friends and schoolmates and also from the influences of music, television, and the Internet. Young people are particularly vulnerable to peer pressure because they are attempting to live up to factors they believe are favored by their peers. Eventually, this pressure exerted by others may be internalized and accepted as one's own. This search for social approval may supersede the traditional values, practices, and beliefs of the adolescents' families.

Peer pressure is not always welcome, but adolescents may elect to go along with choices made by their peers even if they may find those choices uncomfortable or distasteful. In contexts where two or more languages or language varieties are found, the choice of which language to use or learn is an area where peer pressure may play an important role.

In bilingual education settings, students come from diverse cultural backgrounds and have different needs and goals. These differences determine how certain groups may react to peer pressure. With adolescent language learners, peer pressure can be a powerful force that can (a) affect a learner's desire and ability to learn a second language, (b) determine how and when they use their ancestral language, (c) affect whether or not they engage in code switching, and (d) support or undermine goals set by parents and teachers.

For students learning English as a second language (ESL), trying to sound like a native speaker may be regarded by peers as a signal that an individual no longer wants to be a member of the native-language peer group. Bilingual education teachers need to understand second-language learners' peer pressures and be aware of the following issues: (a) What is the group's attitude toward the first and second languages involved? (b) What peer groups are influential in the school? and (c) What additional circumstances in the community environment may exert further pressures? As mentioned previously, different language groups experience peer pressures in their own way. One

PARAEDUCATORS

See BILINGUAL PARAPROFESSIONALS

group may be very amenable to keeping and improving the home language, while another is just as likely to abandon it in the context of a subtractive bilingual education program.

Teachers and other school personnel should examine social attitudes that have the potential to cause problems in the classroom. Specific attention should be given to how the schools deal with regularities, patterns, and traditions concerning language in the community served by the school. Although it is, of course, not recommended that linguistic conventions be promoted in a heavy-handed way, the school should inform students of the importance of conventions in the languages being studied. For example, success in school requires formal styles of talking and standard varieties of English (e.g., one does not use the word *ain't* in a typical English class), while conversations with friends and relatives may be full of nonstandard words that are perfectly acceptable in those settings. Consequently, students whose manner of speech outside of school is valued when used in the appropriate context are more likely to be open to acquiring a second language and to continue to develop their first. Under such conditions, students are more likely to realize that any new discourse will expand their communicative repertoire rather than displace their usual method of speaking.

At its best, peer pressure can mobilize adolescents' energy, motivate them for success, and encourage them to conform to healthy behavior. Peers can and do act as positive role models and also demonstrate appropriate behaviors. Adolescents often listen to each other when no one else will and accept one another unconditionally; they understand the frustrations, challenges, and concerns associated with being a teenager. By the same token, linguistic peer pressure cannot be ignored. Peer pressure has the capacity to eradicate any desire a language learner possesses for working toward achieving nativelike pronunciation, because, as noted earlier, pronouncing words like a native speaker may be unconsciously regarded by peers as a sign of one no longer belonging to the "native-language" group. Teachers working with students who are learning a second language should understand that these students do have peer influences, and an effort should be made to foster a positive image regarding second-language proficiency.

Generally speaking, adults differ from teens when learning a second language because their motivation for doing so is often more pragmatic. Some adults

may lack confidence (especially when speaking to a native speaker in the second language) and fear looking foolish or incompetent. Teens may share this problem, although with one added dimension: They are terrified to lose face in front of their peers, though losing face might mean that they not only want to avoid appearing ineffectual but also do not want to step outside the boundaries of their social group—showing their ability might appear as if they are acting like "they're somebody." What happens is that the adolescent skilled in second-language acquisition will appear to be the opposite, since that is what is expected in his or her peer group.

The learner's attitude regarding the target language can be crucial in determining success or failure. Language students frequently exhibit their beliefs regarding the target language, its speakers, its society, cultural mores, the social worth of acquiring the language, specific uses of the language, and themselves as members of their own culture. Students with positive outlooks who achieve some success will likely have their beliefs strengthened. The reverse is also true: If a student holds negative beliefs or attitudes about the language in question or its users, the effect may be slower progress in achieving mastery of the language. Many teachers have reported the experience of teaching second-language classes in which adolescents who possessed an upbeat, optimistic approach at the beginning adopted a negative attitude later on because of peer influences that were not attended to or given minimal importance. The intersection of language use, identity, and sense of belonging to a social group should be considered by teachers and school leaders seeking to broaden their conceptions of success or failure in language classrooms.

Cary Stacy Smith and Li-Ching Hung

See also Assimilation; Home Language and Self-Esteem; Language and Identity

Further Readings

- Adler, C., Kalyanpur, M., Peterson, D., & Bridger, T. (1995). *Engaging students: Thinking, talking, cooperating*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York: Plenum.
- Ellis, R. (2002). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- Gardner, H. (1989). *To open minds: Chinese clues to the dilemma of contemporary education*. New York: Basic Books.
- Rodríguez, R. (1982). *Hunger of memory: The education of Richard Rodríguez, an autobiography*. Toronto, Ontario, CA: Bantam.
- Skehan, P. (1989). *Individual differences in second-language learning*. London: Edward Arnold.

PEÑA, ÁLBARR ANTONIO (1931–1993)

Álbarr Antonio Peña, first director of bilingual education programs in the United States at the national level, was born in 1931, in Ciudad Mier, Mexico, and died in San Antonio, Texas, in 1993. His family, which included four older siblings, moved to Falfurrias, Texas, following the death of his father. Peña completed high school in Falfurrias and then served in the U.S. Air Force during the Korean War, rising to the rank of sergeant. Upon completion of his military service, Peña attended the University of Texas at Austin, where he completed a BA degree in foreign languages in 1957. Following college graduation, he married Englantina Canales, and the couple moved to Brownsville, Texas, where they worked as teachers in the Brownsville Independent School District. Subsequently, Peña completed an MA degree in Spanish and educational administration from Texas A&I University in 1961 and a PhD in curriculum and instruction, with specialization in bilingual education and English as a Second Language (ESL), from the University of Texas at Austin in 1967.

Peña became nationally known in the field of bilingual education following passage of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act), when he was asked to head the office created to administer the act. Between 1969 and 1973, Peña served as director of the Bilingual Education Programs Branch in the U.S. Office of Education, at a time when very little infrastructure existed to support the creation of bilingual education programs in school districts across the nation. Title VII legislation represented an attempt to respond to a wide array of needs, providing initial funding for demonstration bilingual education projects within participating school districts. Peña was responsible for planning, funding, and initial implementation of over

200 Title VII bilingual education projects throughout the nation that focused on development of bilingual instructional models as well as curriculum materials in non-English languages. In these programs, 24 languages were represented, and over 4,000 professional educators were directly involved in the initial funded experimentation of bilingual education projects at the local school district level. During his tenure in the U.S. Office of Education, in addition to guiding implementation of the first federally funded bilingual education projects, Peña also helped lay the groundwork for future enhancements in Title VII, including funding for relevant research as well as fellowships and teacher training grants designed to increase capacity in schools and universities to provide support in critical areas.

Peña's professional life was marked by a number of significant firsts. In addition to heading the first bilingual education office at the national level, he also served as the founding president of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), a professional organization whose mission included advocacy on behalf of language minority students and support for bilingual educators through a broad range of professional activities. During its initial year of existence in 1974, Peña administered NABE out of his office in San Antonio, Texas, with the help of a secretary and a small group of volunteers. At the time of his death almost 20 years later, the organization had developed into a full-fledged professional organization with thousands of members and a recognized national profile.

In 1973, Peña left his position in Washington, D.C., to return to Texas and serve as the founding director of the Division of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies at the University of Texas at San Antonio. At the time, no similar academic units existed within the United States, and hence no models existed for creation of degree programs within the area of "bicultural-bilingual studies." Drawing on his vision of a new kind of school within which bilingualism and biculturalism would be fostered for all children, Peña led a small group of interdisciplinary faculty in creating an innovative master's degree program in bicultural-bilingual studies designed to prepare professionals with the knowledge and skills to serve as leaders in the field. The creation of similar graduate programs at other institutions in Texas and elsewhere allowed for teacher certification in the area of bilingual education to emerge, thus solidifying professional preparation

efforts in this new teaching area. In addition, the hiring of specialized bilingual studies faculty within universities spurred the creation of relevant research agendas that over time helped develop a knowledge base for this emerging field.

In recognition of his important contributions, Peña received numerous awards as well as *Who's Who* listings in the areas of American government, international education, U.S. Hispanics, and bilingual education. Peña served as professor of bilingual education in the Division of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies at the University of Texas at San Antonio until his retirement in 1993.

Robert D. Milk

See also National Association for Bilingual Education; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

- Andersson, T., & Boyer, M. (1978). *Bilingual schooling in the United States*. Austin, TX: National Education Laboratory.
- LaFontaine, H., Persky, B., & Golubchick, L. H. (Eds.). (1978). *Bilingual education*. Wayne, NJ: Avery.

PÉREZ-HOGAN, CARMEN (1939–)

Carmen Ana Pérez-Hogan was born on July 28, 1939, in Vieques, an island off the coast of Puerto Rico. Her lifelong work has been to make the best educational opportunities available to children and youth who, like herself, spoke another language upon entering school. Only 7 years old when she came to New York City, she attended public schools on the Lower East Side and in Brooklyn before there were English as a Second Language (ESL) programs or bilingual classes. She went through the discomfort of repeating second grade while she learned English in a “sink or swim” school. After graduating from Bay Ridge High School, Pérez-Hogan earned a BA in Early Childhood Education from St. Joseph’s College in Brooklyn. She then earned a master’s degree in ESL from Hunter College of the City University of New York.

After several years of teaching sixth graders and ESL in District 13 (Brooklyn), Pérez-Hogan became district coordinator of the ESL program. When the

Bilingual Education Act was passed by the U.S. Congress in 1968, Pérez-Hogan wrote the first Title VII proposal for a bilingual program for District 13, which was funded to establish two bilingual schools in that district. Subsequently, she received a fellowship to do doctoral work in educational administration at New York University, where she studied for a year.

After working in District 13 for several years, Pérez-Hogan was invited to work in higher education in the Bilingual Education Project at the State University of New York (SUNY), Albany. She moved to Albany and taught courses, advised students, and wrote proposals for funding for the master’s and doctoral programs in bilingual education at that university. Pérez-Hogan also organized the first statewide conference of the New York State Association for Bilingual Education. She was elected president of the National Association for Bilingual Education in 1979.

Pérez-Hogan became chief of the Bureau of Bilingual Education of the New York State Education Department in 1978 and continued to manage the state’s bilingual education programs for 27 years as the leader of the State’s Office of Bilingual Education, playing a major role in shaping policy and practice until she retired in 2005. Among her accomplishments as the coordinator of the Office of Bilingual Education for the New York State Education Department are establishing state certification requirements for teachers of bilingual education and ESL; founding a Bilingual ESL Teacher Leadership Academy to identify and further prepare bilingual and ESL teachers with outstanding potential; securing more than \$100 million in state aid for English language learner (ELL) students over her career; developing and funding a two-way bilingual education program model; coordinating a technical assistance network of 13 Bilingual Education Technical Assistance Centers, including centers to address the specific needs of Asian, Haitian, and Spanish language communities; creating an ESL curriculum for secondary schools; drafting guidelines for the education of ELL children with handicapping conditions; producing bilingual glossaries for global history, American history, mathematics, and science in Chinese, Spanish, Haitian Kreyòl, Korean, Russian, and eight other languages; developing ESL and language arts standards and assessments for ELLs; and creating a successful parent leadership model for parents of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students.

Pérez-Hogan has also held several leadership positions in professional organizations. In addition to the

presidency of NABE, she was president of the Puerto Rican Educators Association and the New York State Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. Pérez-Hogan has received numerous awards in recognition of her contributions to education and to linguistic minority communities. The most recent, in 2006, was the Ramón L. Santiago President's Award from the National Association of Bilingual Education. One of her most cherished honors has been her adoption into the Hawk Clan of the Seneca Nation of Indians in western New York. She is married to Tom Hogan and lives near Albany, New York.

Marietta Saravia-Shore

See also National Association for Bilingual Education; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

National Association for Bilingual Education. (2006). *Awards program*. Available from http://www.nabe.org/documents/conference/Program2006_Final_K_Awards.pdf

PHLOTE

See HOME LANGUAGE SURVEY

PHONICS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The New Lexicon Webster's Dictionary of the English Language defines *phonics* as the use of sound-symbol (phoneme-grapheme) relationships in the teaching of reading. The issue of the role of phonics in bilingual education programs may be framed as a question: What is the role, if any, of phonics in the reading development of bilingual (or becoming bilingual) children, both in their native languages and in English? To answer this question, we may begin by clarifying yet another question: How should we define reading? Alternatively, we might ask: What do children do when they read? These are important questions because they are at the base of answering the initial question, regarding the role of phonics in reading.

Symbols, Sounds, and Predictions

Some persons believe that when children read, they look at the squiggles or the symbols that are on the page and they pronounce the words. Children learn that particular symbols represent particular sounds or sequences of sounds, and they use this knowledge to sound out these symbols. This commonsense view of reading focuses almost exclusively on discrete, individual units of language within a text. This is possible in alphabetic languages such as English or Spanish. The answer might be different for a symbol-based written language, such as Chinese, which contains several thousand symbols, each denoting a word. This view of reading as pronouncing or sounding out begins with the letters that represent the sounds that together make up words. This view of reading asserts that children learning to read need to learn the sounds represented by letters. When this task has been accomplished, that is, when children are able to associate or connect letters and sounds, they will be able to read. This suggests that phonics knowledge, knowing the sounds that letters make, is central to reading, particularly beginning reading.

The basic assumption here is that if you can sound out the words, you can read, as Constance Weaver explains. While this view of what it means to read is a widely held one, it is not the only one. A different definition of reading begins with meaning or comprehending. According to this second view, what children do as they read is make predictions about the text and attempt to create meaning from the symbols on the page, whether or not they have a clear understanding of what symbols go with what sounds in the target language, as Kenneth Goodman and Weaver explain. For example, a child is reading a picture book about a young girl and her love of horses. The child turns to a page in the story that includes an illustration of a green and brown hill and, in the distance, a spotted horse. The child comes to the sentence: "Annie saw a horse on the hill." One child reads the sentence: "Annie saw a h-h-h-o- ho- house on the hill." A second child reads: "Ann saw a house on the hill. No, wait. Ann saw a horse on the hill." A third child reads: "Annie saw a pony on the hill." A fourth child reads: "Ann seed a horse up in the hill." None of these children has read exactly what is on the page. How are these ways of reading different, and what might they tell us about definitions of reading and about the role of phonics in reading?

The first child has read “saw a house” instead of “saw a horse.” The child focused on individual letters in the word *horse*, sounding them out several times before producing the word *house*. The graphemes (letters) in *horse* and *house* are similar enough to cause uncertainty. Even though a glance at the illustration accompanying the words would suggest that the word *house* was not the appropriate choice in the context of the story, the child does not change her rendition of the sentence. This child’s theory of reading appears to be that reading is looking at the words and sounding them out. The goal of reading instruction, from this definition of reading as sounding out, is the accurate pronunciation of the words on the page.

The second child differs from the first in that she corrects her first rendition of the text from *house* to *horse*. Certainly, she is using letters and sounds to make predictions, but she also is using the context of the story. She may have looked at the illustration and decided that the word *horse* makes more sense than the word *house*.

The third child substitutes the word *pony* for the word *horse*. From a phonics perspective of reading, this child’s rendition bears no graphophonic similarity to the text. The child is not demonstrating accuracy in terms of using sound-letter relationships. So, why would the child read the word *pony* for the word *horse*? Analysis from a predicting/creating meaning point of view would focus on the similarity in meaning between the words *horse* and *pony*. While the two terms are not synonymous, they are closely related. A young child might view the two as the same. Further, an illustration of a horse might be perceived by a child as a pony. Thus, the young reader may be seen as making use of his own vocabulary and his own background of experiences, as he predicts a word and creates a rendition that is meaningful for him irrespective of what the writer intended.

The fourth child substitutes the word *seed* for the word *saw*, substitutes *in* for *on*, and adds a word, *up*, that is not in the text, so that the end of the sentence is rendered as “up in the hill” rather than “on the hill.” How might these variations from the written text be interpreted, particularly if we consider that this young reader is an English learner whose native language is other than English—Spanish perhaps? As children learn English, they have to figure out how to express happenings in the past in English. The most common way, but certainly not the only way, that English expresses past occurrences is by adding the ending *-ed*

to verbs. Thus, this child, who is still learning English, may very well read “I saw” as “I seed” because she is utilizing (and in this case overgeneralizing) an English rule she has obviously learned. If this is how the child expresses the past tense when she talks, it would be very common for this to carry over into the child’s reading. The child has demonstrated that she understands the sentence and is simply rendering it in her own variety of English by applying a common rule.

In looking at the substitution of *in* for *on*, second-language acquisition data make it clear that *in* and *on* frequently are confused by second-language learners from a variety of language backgrounds, Spanish being one of them. Spanish uses the same preposition *en* for both *in* and *on*, which is another reason the child may substitute one word for the other. The child’s substitution of *Ann* for *Annie* reflects the reality that many readers substitute names in text. What about the addition of the word *up* (“up in the hill”)? In this instance, the child’s rendition may be influenced by the illustration in which the horse appears to be in the distance. It may also be that this rendering of the text sounds better or more natural to the child.

Research Findings

Reading researchers such as Yetta Goodman, Dorothy Watson, and Carolyn Burke term these kinds of renditions of texts reading *miscues*. A careful look at the miscues in the examples above has shown that readers at different levels of skill are not bound exclusively to sounds and letters. Rather, as they read, along with letters and sounds, children use their backgrounds and life experiences, story illustrations, the language of the stories, and their own ways of expressing themselves, especially in a second language, to figure out text. Children attend to how sentences are constructed, and, most important, they attend to meaning. A significant amount of work done with children reading in native languages other than English and in English as a second or additional language has demonstrated that in all languages studied, children make these miscues. Sarah Hudelson provides several examples in multiple languages in *Learning to Read in Different Languages*. These miscues clearly show that children use a variety of language and text clues when they read. One of these clues consists of letters and sounds.

Returning to the question regarding the role of phonics in the reading development of bilingual children, it can be argued that phonics provide what

reading experts like Kenneth Goodman would term “one set of cues” or “one cueing system,” which bilingual readers use when they navigate a text. The examples above are of children who are already reading. Other questions related to the role of phonics in bilingual education have to do with the teaching and learning of phonics: How do children learn phonics? Are there special considerations that should be given to the teaching of phonics in a second language? The commonsense view of teaching reading in alphabetic languages has traditionally focused on early and sustained teaching of sounds and letters. This view has held that learning letters and the sounds they represent is fundamental to reading and should be learned prior to concern for other reading cues or cueing systems. In this view, it is critical to first learn letters and sounds, and then attention may be paid to other cues. Thus, in Spanish, a common approach to beginning reading begins with children learning the five vowels and their sounds (*a, e, i, o, u*); combining the vowels with consonants to form syllables (*ma, me, mi, mo, mu*); combining the syllables to form words (*mamá*); and combining the words to form sentences (*Mi mamá me ama*). In English, in which the vowels represent multiple sounds, children learn to pronounce vowel sounds in combination with consonants to form patterns, in words and syllables such as *fat/fate, cap/cape, mak/make, The cat is fat, The cat sat*, and so on. In both of these examples, the goal of instruction is the accurate pronunciation or decoding of the letter-sound combinations. Decoding is viewed as a prerequisite to other kinds of reading experiences and instructions, as explained by David and Yvonne Freeman.

In contrast, a meaning-based view of phonics learning and teaching proposes that comprehending is the core of reading. It follows that the focus of children’s beginning reading instruction needs to be on experiences that have meaning and purpose for children. Phonics teaching and learning is a part of children’s literacy development, but this development always occurs within the context of purposeful reading and writing experiences. Within the context of meaningful literacy experiences, teachers help children come to understand and utilize sounds and letters in both their reading and writing. This kind of contextualized phonics learning and teaching happens in both first- and second-language literacy development. According to Freeman and Freeman, Hudelson, and Irene Serna, bilingual teachers and teachers of English

language learners utilize these experiences in children’s native and second languages. Some examples follow.

Teachers utilize read-aloud and shared reading of poems and stories (particularly predictable stories) to engage children with these literary forms and rich language. After children have experienced these texts as wholes, particular words are chosen to teach sounds and letters. If, for example, a teacher has read aloud Bill Martin’s book *Brown Bear, Brown Bear*, he or she can use some of the animal names in that story to focus on the consonant *b* (*bear, bird*, etc.). This involves first reading and sharing the book as a whole multiple times and, then, as children begin to put parts of this predictable book into memory, to focus on particular letters and sounds.

Poems and songs in written form also are used in this way. Teachers first share written versions of entire poems and songs and then examine particular letters and sounds.

In some classrooms, teacher and children often begin each class with the “news of the day.” Children share happenings in their lives orally, and the teacher writes these down. So, if Ana shares that today is her birthday and her mom is making mole and a cake for a party, the teacher writes, “Ana said, ‘Today is my birthday. My mom is making mole and a cake.’” After the class has read and reread the news, the teacher returns to the sentences to select particular sounds and letters for a lesson. In the sentence provided, it would be logical to pick out the sound represented by the letter *m* and also to ask children for examples of other words that begin with the same sound.

Children engage in independent writing daily, often creating personal narratives that reflect their own lives. Many primary-grade teachers also use dialogue journals, in which children write to their teachers daily and their teachers write back to them. The perspective on children’s writing that is central to these experiences is that children construct their meanings as they are able, using whatever understandings of written language they have at a particular time, and these understandings change over time. Thus, children learn to write conventionally by engaging in writing and by having others respond to their efforts. Early childhood educators have demonstrated that a major way in which young children learn phonics is through their own writing. An illustration of this point is the following: At the beginning of the school year, a child wants

to write in Spanish that she has a new pair of shoes (*Tengo zapatos nuevos*). The first writing is this: LICMT. Later in the year, the child writes: OOAEO. Still later, the child writes: TGOSPATONVOS. At the end of the year, the child writes: “*Tego sapatos nevos.*” Clearly the child’s understanding of sound-letter correspondences (phonics) has evolved from the beginning to the end of the year, so that by the end of the year, the writing is easily readable, even while writing conventions are still being mastered. Freeman and Freeman explain that engaging regularly in writing for real purposes helps children learn phonics.

These two approaches to phonics learning and teaching illustrate that within the community of reading educators, there are different views about how children best learn phonics as part of becoming an independent reader. This includes bilingual children and children who are English language learners. This question of whether certain methodologies and materials are most effective in teaching young children to read has been investigated for many years by reading researchers.

The National Reading Panel Report and Its Critics

The results of an important investigation, a review of selected studies related to beginning reading, was published in 2000 as the National Reading Panel (NRP) report. The NRP served as the basis for the “Reading First” portion of the federal legislation signed into law in 2002, known as No Child Left Behind (NCLB). Reading First defines reading, particularly beginning reading, as consisting of five components of what has been termed *scientifically based* reading instruction. These components are phonemic awareness, phonics, vocabulary development, fluency, and comprehension. Three of these components, phonemic awareness, which focuses on children distinguishing individual sounds in words prior to connecting sounds to letters; phonics; and fluency (defined as the number of syllables or words a child pronounces accurately in a set amount of time), connect directly to the decoding view of beginning reading instruction described previously. Any school that receives Reading First money must use these five components to teach reading to children “explicitly and systematically” for a minimum of 90 minutes a day. In this way, Reading First has privileged one particular view of beginning reading and phonics instruction.

With regard to bilingual and second-language learners, Reading First’s mandates have been scrutinized and critiqued by a variety of bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) educators and scholars. One critique has pointed out that none of the studies analyzed in the NRP included ESL children and that the original NRP noted that its results should not be generalized to second-language learners. However, Elaine Garan reasons that the Reading First summary of NRP makes no such distinctions and assumes that a “one size fits all” model of reading instruction is what should be implemented, regardless of the language backgrounds of the learners. Other critiques have pointed out that a very narrow body of research was analyzed by the National Reading Panel and that the vast majority of the literacy research carried out on bilingual and second-language populations was not included in the NRP’s work. This work includes questions of cross-linguistic relationships (how reading in the native language may influence reading in another language); social and cultural contexts and experiences that influence children’s reading; and teacher understandings and expectations of second-language readers, as reported by Diane August and Timothy Shanahan. Classroom teachers and teacher educators have noted that in second-language settings, children often are learning English at the same time that they are learning to read. The meaning-based contextualized phonics practices described previously have been identified as particularly effective for ESL children, according to Eugene García, precisely because they do attend to the oral English abilities of developing ESL children as well as their reading and writing. Yet many of these practices have been replaced by materials with a skills/decoding emphasis, as claimed by Freeman and Freeman, Elaine Garan, and James Venable. These practices often make little sense to children whose cultures and languages are not reflected in commercial programs.

Conclusion

There seems to be little question that phonics has a place in native- and second-language literacy programs that are a part of bilingual education curricula. It can also be argued that contextualized, meaning-based approaches to phonics offer bilingual learners better opportunities to learn and utilize phonics in the

work of becoming readers and writers who use literacy for multiple purposes in and out of school.

Sarah Hudelson

See also Language Experience Approach to Reading; Literacy and Bilinguality; National Literacy Panel; Second-Language Acquisition; Whole Language

Further Readings

- August, D., & Shanahan, T. (Eds.). (2006). *Developing literacy in a second language: Report of the national literacy panel on language minority children and youth*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Freeman, D., & Freeman, Y. (2004). *Essential linguistics for teachers*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Freeman, Y., & Freeman, D. (2005). *Teaching reading and writing in Spanish and English in bilingual and dual language classrooms*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Garan, E. (2002). *Resisting reading mandates: How to triumph with the truth*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- García, E. (1988). *Effective schooling for language minority students*. Silver Spring, MD: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Goodman, K. (1996). *On reading*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Goodman, Y., Watson, D., & Burke, C. (1987). *Miscue analysis: Alternative procedures*. New York: Richard C. Owen.
- Hudelson, S. (Ed.). (1981). *Learning to read in different languages*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Hudelson, S., & Serna, I. (1994). Beginning literacy in English in a whole language bilingual program. In A. Flurkey & R. Meyer (Eds.), *Under the whole language umbrella: Many cultures, many voices* (pp. 278–294). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Lexicon Publications. (1989). *The New Lexicon Webster's dictionary of the English language*. New York: Lexicon.
- Martin, B. (1967). *Brown bear, brown bear*. New York: Henry Holt.
- National Reading Panel. (2000). *Teaching children to read: An evidence-based assessment of the scientific research literature on reading and its implications for reading instruction*. Available from http://www.nichd.nih.gov/publications/nrp/upload/smallbook_pdf.
- No Child Left Behind Act, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002).
- Venable, J. (2005, March). *Yes, it really does matter!* Retrieved from http://www.sdkrashen.com/pipermail/krashen_sdkrashen.com
- Weaver, C. (1994). *Reading process and practice: From socio-psycholinguistics to whole language* (2nd ed.). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

PHONOLOGY, MORPHOLOGY, AND SYNTAX

Building Blocks of Language

Language is a communication tool that may be unique to humans. It serves to meet people's social, psychological, and survival needs as well as being a means of transmitting culture from generation to generation. Through language, we capture the breadth and depth of human thought. Language enables us to explore the distinct past, record the present, and make predictions into the future.

According to *Ethnologue*, there are close to 7,000 distinct living languages in the world today. The continent of Asia alone accounts for more than 2,000 varieties, with approximately 3.5 billion speakers. There are 350 languages with at least 1 million speakers that account for about 95% of the world's population. Of these, Mandarin is the most widely spread language internationally, followed by English, Spanish, Hindi/Urdu, and Arabic. The majority of countries in the world support more than one spoken language. With over 300 language groups represented, the United States is the fifth most linguistically diverse country in the world, while New Guinea, with its 820 indigenous languages, ranks first.

Principles of Languages

All languages consist of a complex system capable of generating infinite numbers of ideas, and all languages are equally valid in stature. The vocabulary of any language is dynamic; that is, it is readily expandable to account for new concepts. In fact, a characteristic of language is that it evolves and changes over time. Speakers of all languages are competent in being able to understand and create an endless number of meaningful utterances.

Children born anywhere in the world are capable of language learning and are not predisposed to learning one language over another. The language or languages that predominate in children's lives are those they will acquire.

Language as a System

Language primarily consists of oral and written communication, with paralinguistic meaning expressed

through body language. Each language is unto itself an intricate system with distinct sets of rules by which speakers abide to ensure mutual understanding. Languages consist of different configurations of a finite set of sounds and conventional symbols that express concepts, thoughts, and emotions. In addition, languages tend to have similar grammatical demarcations, such as in nouns or verbs, with specific conventions for formulating words, sentences, and discourse.

Persons with normal hearing abilities have the capacity to produce sounds and sound patterns that signify specific meaning when grouped together; the arrangement of meaningful elements forms a logical string that results in comprehensible communication. These building blocks of language are quite universal. In the next section, the building blocks or components of language systems are described.

Components of a Language System

A language system consists of four major components: (a) phonology, the sounds; (b) morphology, the smallest units of meaning within words; (c) syntax, the grammatical structure; and (d) semantics, the overall meaning conveyed. Imagine a set of nesting cups or blocks that fit one inside the other, as in Figure 1; this analogy applies to how a language system is built from the smallest to largest unit. When these four components are in simultaneous use for a given purpose within a certain context among members of the speech community, then the system also encompasses the field known as *pragmatics*.

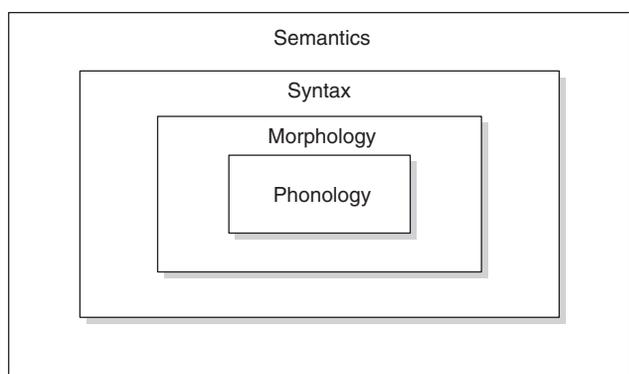


Figure 1 The Progressive Building Blocks of Language, From Phonology to Semantics

Phonology

Every native word in a language is represented by a specified sound sequence; *phonology* defines and describes the way the sounds of a language operate. The manner in which *phonemes*, or the individual units of sound, are arranged in a language is dependent on three factors: (1) the language's available inventory, (2) the effects of neighboring sounds on each other, and (3) permissible sound combinations. With thousands of different representations and possible arrangements of sounds, there are numerous possibilities within the world's language communities.

1. *The language's available inventory*: Every language is confined to a finite set of sounds. In oral production, every spoken language has discrete sound elements that can be classified as consonants and vowels. For example, according to the International Phonetic Alphabet, English is composed of 44 distinct phonemes, or individual units of sound; the spoken language is confined to 24 consonants and 20 vowel sounds. Arabic, on the other hand, has an alphabet of 28 letters, mostly consonants, with vowels expressed as marks above or below the letters.

2. *The effects of neighboring sounds on each other*: Each language has different combination of sounds, and their placement within and across words affects their pronunciation. In English as well as in Spanish, for example, the letter *c* has either a soft sound, like *s*, when followed by *i* or *e*, as in *cite* and *cede* or *cine* and *cena*, or a hard sound, like *k*, when followed by *a*, *o*, or *u*, as in *cast*, *cost*, or *cute* and *cama*, *coche*, or *cuna*.

3. *Permissible sound combinations*: Phonological rules of languages dictate which sound sequences are allowed, in what order, and how they are pronounced. Some consonant diagraphs in English do not appear in other languages: *sh* in English, for example, does not exist in Spanish. And, although the combination *sc* does appear in Spanish, it always does so following a vowel, so the word *school* in English, with the initial *sc*, is expressed as *escuela* in Spanish. The lack of congruence between the sounds in languages or their positions in words produces sound-symbol transfer issues, which may result in mispronunciation by nonnative speakers or those acquiring a new language.

Morphology

Morphology accounts for the formation of words by combining the smallest units of meaning, or morphemes. Knowledge of the morphology of language, the smallest building blocks for comprehension, is important for vocabulary development.

In English, morphemes include base words, such as *friend*, *book*, or *love*, as well as affixes that alter the meaning and category of the words, such as *un-*, or *-ly*, to make *friendly* and *unfriendly*; (regular) plural *s* or *es*; and the past tense, marked by *d* or *ed*. In some languages, such as Vietnamese or Haitian Creole, verbs do not change to express tense, nor are there plural or possessive markers.

Syntax

The stringing of individual words in a particular sequence to create sentences or meaningful utterances is rule bound; these grammatical forms of a language constitute its *syntax*. The knowledge of English syntax allows us to recognize that the following two sentences, while containing different word order and levels of complexity, essentially convey the same meaning:

The girl kicked the soccer ball.

The soccer ball was kicked by the girl.

In essence, use of certain grammatical forms is appropriate only under certain discourse conditions, which leads to the roles of semantics and pragmatics in a language.

Semantics

Semantics relates to the ways that language conveys meaning above and beyond the other components or building blocks of the system. It involves more than the literal meaning of words to include figurative language, nuances, and idiomatic expressions that often do not translate into other languages. Thus, the semantics of a language is culture dependent. In English, we constantly use distinct idiomatic expressions that carry unique interpretations, such as “take a bath,” “catch a cold,” or “buy time.”

Pragmatics

Pragmatics pertains to the ways people communicate and how they achieve their goals using language;

it involves the sociocultural aspects of language. Knowing how to analyze the social context to determine appropriate language use or understanding the acceptability of the style of speech or writing, as in the register (type of language specific to a domain) to apply, is part of pragmatics. It also entails using the proper degree of formality for a situation or audience, as in the way siblings speak to each other is different from the interaction between newly introduced acquaintances.

The building blocks of language—the knowledge and use of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics coupled with the pragmatics for a given context or situation—enables meaningful communication.

Margo Gottlieb

See also Language Defined; Linguistics, an Overview

Further Readings

Curzan, A., & Adams, M. (2005). *How English works: A linguistic introduction*. New York: Pearson/Longman.

Gordon, R. G., Jr. (Ed.). (2005). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (15th ed.). Dallas, TX: SIL International. Available from <http://www.ethnologue.com>

PLAYGROUND LANGUAGE

See BICS/CALP THEORY

PORTER, ROSALIE PEDALINO (1931–)

Rosalie Pedalino Porter is best known as an outspoken opponent of bilingual education and an advocate for English-only instruction in the education of English language learners. Porter was born in Italy in 1931, in a small village near Naples, and came to the United States when she was 6 years old. She was placed in an English immersion school, the only instructional model available to immigrant children at the time. She learned English and achieved academically.

Porter earned a bachelor of arts degree in 1974; her original concentration was in Spanish literature, but her direction changed, and she focused on bilingual education instead. In 1979, Porter received an MEd degree in

Bilingual Education and English as a Second Language (ESL), both from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Porter also received her doctoral degree in Bilingual Education and ESL from the same institution in 1982. She taught in Massachusetts and was a bilingual and ESL teacher from 1974 to 1979.

By appointment of the U.S. Secretary of Education, Porter served from 1985 to 1988 as a member of the National Advisory and Coordinating Council on Bilingual Education of the U.S. Department of Education. She was a research fellow at the Mary Ingraham Bunting Institute at Radcliffe College in 1987 and 1988. Porter is a former member of the executive board of the Massachusetts Association of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (MATSOL). She is also a former chair of the Program Advisors' Group of the International Association for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL, Inc.), serving in that role from 1986 to 1987.

Porter's professional service includes serving as the Coordinator of Bilingual and ESL Programs for Newton Public Schools in Newton from 1980 to 1990, before founding the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ) in 1989. Under her leadership, READ became one of the more successful organizations to oppose bilingual education. According to READ's Web site, the organization has three goals: (1) to support research on English learning and effective schooling for language minority children in the United States in an effort to reform bilingual education; (2) to promote public discussion and informed choices by making its findings available to scholars, educators, policymakers, and citizens concerned about the education of language minority students; and (3) to focus on two major activities, namely, the publication of current research studies on effective programs and the provision of expert assistance to school districts in developing and evaluating programs for limited-English-proficient (LEP) students.

Porter is the author of *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education* as well as a number of articles arguing against bilingual education and in favor of English immersion. In 1998, she testified in a legal brief in favor of California's Proposition 227. She also served as an expert witness in court cases, including *Teresa P. et al. v. Berkeley Unified School District* (1989) and *Quiroz et al. v. California State Board of Education* (1997).

Porter's ideas are controversial because they are very similar to the ideas behind the English-only initiatives enacted in California, Arizona, and

Massachusetts, which require "structured/sheltered English immersion" as the means of educating English language learners in schools. Whereas each of the three states has interpreted structured English immersion (sometimes "sheltered English immersion") differently, Porter was deemed an expert and testified at the Arizona English Language Learners Task Force meeting on November 30, 2006, about the definition of SEI.

Sarah Catherine Moore

See also English for the Children Campaign; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 227 (California); Proposition 227 (California), Impact of; Voter Initiatives in Education

Further Readings

- Arizona English Language Learners Task Force meeting minutes.* (2006, November 30). Available from <http://www.ade.state.az.us/ELLTaskForce/minutes/11-30-06-MinutesELLTaskForce.pdf>
- August, D., & Hakuta, J. (1997). *Improving schooling for language-minority children: A research agenda*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Baker, C. (2003). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Crawford, J. (2005). *Educating English learners: Language and diversity in the classroom* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
- Goode, S. (2001, September 10). Porter challenges bilingual education. *Insight on the News*. Retrieved from http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1571/is_34_17/ai_78334941
- Porter, R. P. (1998). *Declaration of Rosalie Pedalino Porter*. Retrieved from <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/linguistics/people/grads/macswan/porter.htm>
- Porter, R. P. (1996). *Forked tongue: The politics of bilingual education*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Quiroz v. State Board of Education, No. Civ. S-97-1600 WBS/GGM, 1997 WL 661163 (E.D. Cal. Sept. 10, 1997).
- Quiroz et al. v. California State Board of Education, No. 97CS01793 (Sacramento Superior Court, 1998).
- Teresa P. et al. v. Berkeley Unified School District, 724 F. Supp. 698, 713 (N.D. Cal. 1989).

Web Sites

READ Institute: <http://www.users.interport.net/t/e/readinst/index.html>

PRAGMATICS

Pragmatics, a branch of the science of linguistics, focuses on the study of how words are understood in context. Drawing on the title of a book by John L. Austin, pragmatics is the study of “how to do things with words,” that is, how language produces meaning effects in communication. Based on the premise that when they communicate, people share a set of underlying assumptions or unspoken rules about how meaning is created, pragmatics refers to that aspect of communication that involves the interpretation of meaning by hearers (*perlocution*) and the intention of meaning by speakers (*illocution*) and the match or mismatch between the two.

Pragmatics, as a field, is of importance to bilingual education because different cultural groups have different sets of shared assumptions about how to interpret meaning in context. Because these shared understandings, which are generally below the level of consciousness, are not universal, when two individuals from different cultural or linguistic groups interact with one another in the same language, there is a possibility for miscommunication. The consequences of miscommunication are further associated with the relative degree of power of the groups in question.

The relevance of the study of pragmatics to bilingual education rests in research that examines how to teach pragmatic competence in a second or additional language, including research that makes different patterns of communication in the classroom more transparent, with the aim of sensitizing teachers to pragmatic differences.

Development

The field of pragmatics, with its focus on understanding speaker meaning or intention, draws on work in philosophy and linguistics. The field began to develop in the 1970s as a response to the focus in theoretical linguistics on the structure of language. Pragmatics, as well as the related field of sociolinguistics, introduced the speaker, speaker meaning, and the notion of context into the field of linguistic study.

Early work in pragmatics focused on exploring universals in meaning or intention behind words and drew on the insights and work of Austin; H. Paul Grice, who introduced the concept of the cooperative principle; and John Searle, who introduced the concept

of speech acts. Searle outlined differences in meaning associated with direct speech acts, such as “Give me that book,” versus indirect speech acts, such as “Are you using that book?” with the same intended meaning, that is, a request for the book.

Classic work in the area of pragmatics, extending from work on speech acts, sought to associate referential meaning with social meaning. This research focused on speech acts such as compliments, requests, and apologies, as well as on the concept of politeness, seeking to outline the underlying sets of assumptions that speakers and hearers make as they interpret others’ words in social space. Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson’s 1978 study of politeness outlined a scale of politeness and associated it with, among other things, the degree of directness of that speech, with the basic observation that the more indirect an utterance is, the more polite it is.

Intercultural Pragmatics

Early work on pragmatics did not take into account cultural differences in speaker meaning. Beginning in the 1980s, however, researchers began to examine differences between cultures in how members “naturally” construct meanings associated with forms of language. The field of cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics is closely aligned with anthropological linguistics. Three areas of research within these fields are important to bilingual education and the teaching of English language learners (ELLs): The first focuses on differences in pragmatics and their effect on miscommunication; the second extends the first by examining how power differences between groups can cause significant consequences for members of less powerful groups; and the third area focuses on the development of second-language pragmatic competence, that is the ability to become a fully competent speaker and hearer of a second or additional language. Applications of these strands of research include the development and adaptation of curricula and teacher training programs that attempt to raise awareness about the sources of such miscommunication.

Inquiries in this area have examined how speech acts such as apologies, compliments, and requests are encoded by different cultural groups, as well as how mismatches occur across and between groups. Mismatches in intention of words on the part of the speaker and interpretation of meaning on the part of the hearer may increase in the case of second-language

learners who have not yet acquired full competence, including pragmatic competence; and similarly, mismatches may increase for bilingual students, who, as they move between and among codes, are moving between at least two sets of underlying assumptions about how to interpret words. This information has been used to inform teaching practice in second- and foreign-language classrooms. An important goal of this work is to support the development of nativelike competence, with the view that pragmatic competence is particularly complex to learn and can therefore benefit from direct instruction.

Researchers who employ qualitative research methods in examining classroom behaviors seek to uncover patterns of communication that differ between teachers and students from different cultural backgrounds. For example, Shirley Brice Heath's work in classrooms pointed out the ways in which teachers typically use indirect requests of students, such as "Do you have a pen?" when they are referring to unspoken rules of behavior in the classroom. That is, "Do you have a pen?" in the context of school is not a simple request for information, such as "Are you in possession of a pen?" Rather, this utterance means "Get out your pen and paper and get ready to do some writing." Students with a different set of pragmatic expectations may not interpret such indirect requests as requests for action. In a case like this, the consequence of inaction may be that students are labeled as unwilling, uninterested, or recalcitrant rather than as members of cultural groups who operate with a different set of pragmatic assumptions or sensibilities. Fine-grained examinations of patterns of interaction can be used to develop teacher training with the goal of raising teachers' awareness of different patterns of meaning and helping teachers to readjust stereotypes about students that are based on misreadings of their actions and inactions in class.

Applications of classroom research in the area of (intercultural) pragmatics can also focus on how teachers can employ an understanding of discourse and pragmatics in order to increase the learning potential of second-language learners in their classrooms—essentially making visible the hidden assumptions behind the interpretation of words. Recent work in the area of pragmatics, in particular intercultural pragmatics, can be found in *Intercultural Pragmatics*, an international journal that addresses a variety of topics related to bilingual education, as briefly outlined above. These include the (a) study of the nature of interaction between native speakers and nonnative speakers and

bi- and multilinguals, (b) investigation of the effect of dual-language and multilingual systems on the development and use of pragmatic skills, and (c) examination of the teachability and learnability of pragmatic skills in instructional environments.

Juliet Langman

See also Classroom Discourse; Culturally Competent Teaching; Discourse Analysis; Enculturation; Languages and Power; Linguistics, an Overview

Further Readings

- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1978). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, K. A., & Henze, R. C. (1998). Applying ethnographic perspectives to issues in cross-cultural pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 30, 399–419.
- Grice, H. P. (1989). *Studies in the way of words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Horn, L., & Ward, G. (2005). *The handbook of pragmatics*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Kaspar, G., & Blum-Kulka, S. (Eds.). (1993). *Intercultural pragmatics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Mey, J. L. (2001). *Pragmatics: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Searle, J. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1991). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction*. Berlin, Germany; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics (Oxford introductions to language study)*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

President Jimmy Carter issued an executive order on April 21, 1978, to form the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. The commission consisted of 25 members appointed by the

president. The commission conducted research and held a series of meetings, hearings, and interviews from 1978 to 1979. The four main objectives of the commission were to (1) improve communication and understanding with other nations, (2) evaluate the demand and job market for foreign-language and area specialists, (3) identify which foreign-language-area studies programs are appropriate at all academic levels, and (4) make accommodations that allow the commission's recommendations to be fulfilled.

Published in November 1979, the commission's report is a summary of the state of foreign-language and international studies. The report is divided into six chapters: foreign-language competence, K–12 education, higher education, research and academic and scholarly exchanges, citizen education, and business and labor needs abroad. Each chapter identifies major issues and concerns in the field, followed by a list of the commission's recommendations. The recommendations stress the need for additional funding at all levels, greater public awareness, and an overall increase in academic course offerings and curriculum, with international content at all levels.

Contents of the Report

Chapter 1 describes the need for a higher level of foreign-language competence at all educational levels, with communicative proficiency being a priority. The commission identified complete public support as a necessity in solving problems such as teacher training, budget, curricula, methodology, supplies and materials, and testing in foreign-language instruction. The commission's recommendations for improving foreign-language competence include professional development of teachers, incentives for education institutions, the creation of language and international high schools, pedagogical experimentation, such as dual-immersion programs, building a national criteria and assessment program, establishing an advisory council on foreign-language and international studies, assessment of federal government language needs and the creation of a national public awareness campaign.

Chapter 2 focuses on the education of students in Grades K–12 and their preparation for participation in a global world in the 21st century. The commission identified a need for children to gain knowledge of the surrounding world and a greater awareness of other people and other cultures. The commission stated its belief that it is important to begin educating children

during early childhood on languages and international affairs. For the educational system to create a more global perspective for students that would include international content in all subjects, the commission noted that teachers need additional training, knowledge, and tools. At the K–12 grade levels, the commission recommends creating model international curricula via statewide "lighthouse" programs and placing international education specialists at the state level to provide guidance and leadership. Further recommendations in the commission's final report were the inclusion of international education requirements for the licensing and certification of all teachers, the improvement of professional development for teachers, the incorporation of international content in curriculum development, the use of minorities and foreign visitors for intercultural teaching and learning experiences, the development of high school exchange programs, media programs in international education, professional associations, and research on the impact of overseas experiences on students and teachers.

The needs of higher education are addressed in Chapter 3. Higher-educational institutions that have international programs tend to experience financial difficulties; have low enrollment; are slow to change with academic and national needs; and face a need for more training and knowledge of linguistic skills, understanding "new" international issues, and information on finding sources of information on international problems. The commission recommended maintaining and building upon the international resources already available in higher education.

The commission's recommendations at the undergraduate level sought to improve offerings in the field of international studies by requiring courses, implementing "domestic" junior year programs, incorporating international and comparative perspectives in subjects, building knowledge in area and issues studies, offering new grants, and making international studies a high priority for college graduates. The commission also recommended advanced training and research through national and regional centers with the capacity to provide training and produce materials, strengthen international programs and emphasize foreign-language fluency at professional schools, and offer fellowships in international studies. Further recommendations included advocating institutional international exchanges; offering library assistance to cover the basic costs of books, mailings, space, and technology upgrades; the continuation of an already existing

network of national facilities in the international studies field; and creation of an advisory committee on international education to focus on policy relevant research, analyze the market for international skills, and provide financial support. The commission's final recommendation was to build a closer government-academic relationship by allowing international experts to assist the government, locate overlapping interests, and develop long-term proposals together.

The commission's perspective on advancing international research and teaching through academic and scholarly exchanges is developed in Chapter 4. An increase in funding is necessary to revitalize and support programs that promote high-quality research and create involved citizens. With respect to the International Communication Agency, the commission recommended expanding Fulbright and other grants to the undergraduate level, including underrepresented geographical areas in exchange programs and strengthening staff at U.S. institutions overseas. The need for increased funding was reiterated by the commission in its recommendation for the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, and the Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. The commission further recommended the involvement of new foundations and the increased involvement of continuing foundations in grant programs, the development of K-12 grant programs by the U.S. Department of Education, and the involvement of higher-education institutions in reciprocal programs of study, research, and teaching.

Chapter 5 looks at citizen education in international affairs. The commission agreed that there is a great need to ensure that U.S. citizens are well educated and well-informed on international issues. The commission stated that international education programs tend to do poorly because of a lack of continuity over time, uneven quality and quantity, failure to identify target audiences, gaps in knowledge about suitable resources, weak organization and planning skills, inadequate funding, and variation across nations and within states. The commission's recommendations for citizen education included use of media through increased programming and time spent on international issues; a stronger emphasis on citizen education in community colleges; a revitalization of foundation and corporate support for international education and citizen education; and, at the government level, the supplying of materials and other

resources and expanded education to include nonformal and continuing education of adults.

Business and labor needs abroad are described in Chapter 6. The commission identified a lack of foreign-language and area expertise as a barrier for American businesses. According to the commission report, research and training on issues affecting American workers and on America's role internationally should be accelerated. The report states that institutions of higher education should contribute more of their expertise. In general, more lines of communication between business, academic community and government are necessary. Broadly, the recommendations of the commission at the federal level with respect to business and commerce were to encourage international business and labor studies in higher education, establish regional centers of international business studies and research, establish advisory councils, create a network of small-business export development centers, and encourage minority businesses. On the state level, the commission recommended charging equal tuition fees to U.S. and foreign students. The commission suggested that business and labor unions make foreign-language and international studies a higher priority when hiring personnel. Increasing requirements in business programs in higher education and developing curricula and programs with international centers should remain important.

The final section of the commission report is dedicated to improvements in organization both inside and outside the government. Within the federal government, the commission expressed a need to provide oversight and coordination at the highest levels of authority through the appointment of an officer on foreign-language and international studies, the appointment of an assistant secretary for international affairs, and the creation of a national commission on foreign-language and international studies. The national commission would hold greater responsibility as a private agency to monitor organizational arrangements.

Conclusion

The President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies issued its final report in November 1979, just 1 year before the Democratic Party lost control of the White House to Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party. Its recommendations, therefore, were lost amidst the campaign rhetoric, none of which focused on the subject of the report.

Consequently, almost none of the commission's recommendations at the federal level were adopted. The commission may have lost a potentially enduring set of allies by refusing to include bilingual education in its agenda. In fact, the final report made no mention of the possible overlap and congruence between the goals of the commission and those of bilingual education advocates. This occurred even though the director of the Office of Bilingual Education and Language Minority Affairs, Josué M. González, met with the commission's executive director and suggested this nexus. The commission representative refused the outreach, arguing that bilingual education was too controversial and that the commission felt that its inclusion in their recommendations could bring about a loss of focus on the more academic recommendations it intended to make.

Another point missed by the President's Commission was the failure to anticipate the movement toward free trade, which was looming on the horizon, as well as the links of its work to the concept of globalization, especially in business and commerce. In retrospect, the commission's failure to link its recommendations to these developments may have resulted in the loss of one more opportunity to emphasize the importance of academic work in language and international studies in U.S. schools and colleges.

Leah M. Mason

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Paradox of Bilingualism; Simon, Paul, M.; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad; Views of Bilingual Education; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Berryman, S. E., Langer, P. F., Pincus, J. A., Solomon, R. H., Gelbard, E. H., & Schlegel, P. M. (1979). *Foreign language and international studies specialists: The marketplace and national policy*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Simon, P. (1980). *Tongue-tied American: Confronting the foreign language crisis*. New York: Continuum.
- U.S. President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. (1979). *President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies: Background papers and studies*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. (1979). *Strength through wisdom, a critique of U.S. capability: A report to the president from the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

PRIMARY-LANGUAGE SUPPORT

Primary- (or native-) language support (PLS) refers to the use of students' primary languages to support English language content instruction and/or English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction. It is different from primary-language instruction, which refers to the teaching of entire lessons in the native language of students. The purpose of PLS is to make instruction in English as comprehensible as possible for English language learners (ELLs) so they can learn the content and acquire more knowledge of English. It is, in effect, a light form of bilingual instruction.

PLS is consistent with Stephen Krashen's theory of comprehensible input. When done properly, PLS maximizes ELLs' comprehension of instruction in English, and it allows them to learn English more effectively. PLS is also consistent with schema theory. By building students' background knowledge and activating their prior knowledge through their first language, students' schemas (mental structures or categories people rely on to remember or learn information) are activated, and thus they are better prepared to learn more about the topic in their second language. PLS is also a form of scaffolding. The students' native language provides substantial support as new concepts are introduced. Once students understand, the PLS scaffold is removed and students are better prepared to learn the new concepts through English.

PLS is an especially important component of non-bilingual programs, such as sheltered English immersion (SEI) programs. It is one of the key components of the sheltered immersion observation protocol (SIOP), a popular tool for designing effective sheltered instruction. Even opponents of bilingual education recognize the need for ample primary-language support in nonbilingual programs. Keith Baker, a longtime opponent of bilingual education, suggested that from 10% to 30% of instruction time in SEI classrooms should be reserved for PLS. He described several ways in which PLS is helpful to ELLs: (a) It makes the students more comfortable, (b) it helps students get through communication problems with teachers more quickly, (c) it boosts students' self-esteem, (d) it motivates students, and (e) it can maximize the effectiveness of instruction. The importance of PLS is recognized within the so-called English for the Children laws in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, which restrict bilingual education programs by mandating the SEI approach. These

laws, while requiring that all instruction be provided in English, nonetheless state that teachers may use a minimal amount of students' native languages when necessary.

Nina Weber, a member of the UCLA Teacher Research Program in 2000, conducted an action research project in her first-grade English immersion classroom on the use of PLS. She identified several beneficial uses of PLS: (a) to affirm understanding or identify misunderstandings, (b) to extract details and provide explanations, (c) to engage students, (d) to discuss problems, and (e) to help students write.

There is empirical evidence that PLS is effective in helping ELLs acquire new vocabulary in English. Researchers Sharon Ulanoff and Sandra Pucci conducted an experimental study in third-grade classrooms in which one group of students received PLS through the preview–review method (see below) while another group received no PLS, in connection with the reading aloud of a storybook in English. They found that students in the PLS group acquired more new vocabulary words in English than did the non-PLS group.

Ways of Providing PLS

PLS is easier to provide when the teacher or a classroom paraprofessional can speak the native language of the students. However, even when they cannot and when there are multiple languages within the same classroom, there are still ways teachers can provide effective PLS. Not all methods of PLS are effective, however. Ineffective PLS techniques are described first, followed by a discussion of more effective ways of providing PLS.

Ineffective Ways of Providing PLS

The least effective use of students' native language(s) in the classroom is direct or concurrent translation. This refers to providing a direct translation of everything the teacher says in English: Either the teacher, or a paraprofessional translating for the teacher, repeats everything into the students' native language. When direct translation is provided, students have no need to attend to the English. Under these circumstances, little English is acquired. In the study by Ulanoff and Pucci described above, the researchers also included a group that received concurrent translation. This group acquired fewer vocabulary words not only than the preview–review group but also than the group that did not receive any PLS at

all. Thus, when used improperly, PLS can hinder, rather than facilitate, the learning of English.

Another ineffective use of PLS is when teachers or paraprofessionals simply translate books or other materials aloud into students' native language. For example, during reading instruction, some teachers or paraprofessionals might “read” an English book aloud to ELLs, but rather than reading the actual words on the page, they simply translate the book aloud as they read it. All the student hears is the translation, and there is no correspondence at all with the written words on the page. The same problem occurs when paraprofessionals or teachers point to words on a worksheet in English and simply translate them aloud, as if they were written in the students' native language. This procedure changes the construct from reading in English to listening comprehension in the native language. Under these circumstances, students are unlikely to acquire much English, as there is no English for them to attend to.

One other poor use of PLS is for teachers or paraprofessionals to simply code-switch throughout the day, meaning that they switch back and forth between using English and the students' native language, often within the same sentence. While code switching is a natural phenomenon in bilingual communities—and may even be considered a separate variety distinct from standard English and the standard version of the native language—effective teachers keep the languages separate during language instruction for ELLs. They make it clear when they are using English versus when they are using the native language. Otherwise, students are not required to attend to, and thus do not acquire, the full repertoire of English.

Effective Ways of Providing PLS

One particularly effective technique for providing PLS is called *preview–review*. This technique takes just a few minutes before and after a lesson or read-aloud and maximizes students' comprehension in English. If the teacher cannot speak the students' language, preview–review may be provided by a bilingual paraprofessional. Preview entails having a brief discussion with students in their native language to activate prior knowledge related to the book to be read or lesson to be taught. For example, if a teacher were doing a unit on plants, he or she would ask students in their native language everything they know about plants and would guide the discussion to cover the key

ideas, which will be taught in English. For a read-aloud session, the teacher would activate prior knowledge about the topic of the book and build background knowledge by discussing the cover, do “picture walk” to help students understand the characters and settings, and allow the students to make predictions about what they think will happen. After this brief preview, the teacher would then present the lesson or read the book in English, using appropriate strategies and techniques. At the conclusion, the teacher or paraprofessional would briefly review with the students in their native language the key ideas in the lesson or ask comprehension questions about the reading.

If the classroom teacher or bilingual assistant can speak the students’ language(s), the following techniques are other effective ways of providing PLS: (a) quickly explain a confusing key concept or term during whole-class or small-group instruction; (b) provide quick explanations in the native language to individual students if help is needed during independent seatwork; (c) pull students aside and reinforce/reteach concepts that students are struggling with in English; (d) read books aloud in the students’ native language that reinforce concepts being taught in English; (e) accept students’ contributions in the native language during class discussions, then repeat back in English what they said; and (f) label objects in the classroom in English and the students’ language.

If the classroom teacher does not speak the students’ language(s) and does not have a bilingual paraprofessional, the following techniques could still be used to provide PLS: (a) provide bilingual dictionaries, show students how to use them, and assist them with their use during instruction; (b) accept initial writing in students’ language as they transition to English writing; (c) place native-language books and recordings in the listening center that are similar to books being read in class in English or that reinforce key concepts being taught; (d) send the above native-language books home for students to read with their families; (e) send home letters in the native language explaining concepts being taught in school and ways parents can give support at home (letters in several languages are often provided in the back of teachers’ guides of various curricular programs); (f) allow bilingual students in class to use their language skills to provide assistance to lower-level ELLs in their native language; (g) allow students who speak the same language to work together in cooperative learning groups so that they may discuss and reinforce key concepts in

their native language; (h) seat students with the lowest levels of English proficiency next to students with higher levels of English proficiency who speak the same native language, so the lower-level students have friends with whom they can seek clarification and assistance from as needed; (i) utilize computer software and Internet resources with built-in bilingual or multilingual support; and (j) seek bilingual-parent or community volunteers who can provide assistance in the classroom.

These strategies are just a few of the ways teachers can provide effective PLS. Any strategy or technique for providing PLS can be effective, as long as it assists ELLs with coping in the classroom and prepares them to attend to English instruction with greater comprehension.

Conclusion

PLS, when provided properly, can maximize students’ comprehension of English language instruction and thus help them acquire English more quickly and effectively. In addition, PLS also sends students a strong message that even in an English language classroom, their native language is valued and is a viable resource for learning. This, in turn, creates a very positive environment for ELL students that is conducive to effective language teaching and learning.

Wayne E. Wright

See also Concurrent Translation Method; Culturally Competent Teaching; English Immersion; Languages, Learned or Acquired; SIOP; Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs

Further Readings

- Baker, K. (1998, November 11). *Structured English immersion breakthrough in teaching limited-English-proficient students*. Retrieved from <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kbak9811.htm>
- Echevarria, J., Vogt, M., & Short, D. (2004). *Making content comprehensible for English learners: The SIOP model* (2nd ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Ulanoff, S. H., & Pucci, S. L. (1999). Learning words from books: The effects of read-aloud on second language vocabulary acquisition. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 23, 319–332.
- Weber, N. (2000). *Sink or swim? A look into an English immersion class*. Available from <http://ldt.stanford.edu/~ninaweb/Sink%20or%20swim.pdf>

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

From the moment bilingual schools began operating in Miami, Florida; Laredo, Texas; and Rough Rock, Arizona, in the early 1960s, a major concern of program and school leaders related to the qualifications of the teachers who would be involved in the programs. That concern continues today in schools with bilingual education programs. There is common agreement that teachers who teach in two languages require different forms of professional development from those who teach only in one language. Sound pre-service and in-service programs of professional development are needed to ensure effective teaching. This need is particularly acute today because the No Child Left Behind legislation requires that all children be taught by “highly qualified” teachers.

That there is a strong connection between student achievement and teacher quality is undisputed. Coupled with other resources, such as a demanding and culturally relevant curriculum, shared leadership activities, high expectations for students, and robust community and parent partnerships, well-prepared teachers may be the most important programmatic component in successful programs of bilingual education. Effective teachers of minority students understand the classroom implications of a diverse student population. This is especially true in the early grades.

High teacher quality refers to the teacher’s ability to have a conclusive and positive effect on students’ academic achievement and social development. There is little question that a high level of teacher quality, combined with small class size, can have a dramatic impact on student achievement, especially at the elementary school level. The weight of the research evidence on the need for teacher quality is so well documented that it has led to state and national efforts to put a highly qualified teacher in every classroom.

Although criticized by a number of researchers for exacerbating historical inequities through the punitive effects of state policies that have a disparate impact on English language learners (ELLs), the use of high-stakes testing remains the major measure of student academic achievement. Regardless of the assessment measures used, the research supports a strong link between teacher quality and academic achievement. Professional development programs are a major vehicle that schools use to respond to the need for upgrading teacher capacity. *Professional development* can be

defined simply as a process through which learners systematically acquire a corpus of knowledge, attitudes, and skills that combine to improve the quality of teaching and yield positive learner outcomes. High-quality programs of professional development create seamless connections with authentic classroom practices.

This entry summarizes several principles used in a sampling of schools to guide the design of professional development programs for bilingual education teachers. These may not be the only principles schools might use, but they are proven ideas for designing effective programs.

Teacher Language Proficiency

The single most important characteristic that defines teachers in bilingual education is their ability to teach in English and in a language other than English. Early on in the expansion of bilingual education around the country, program leaders found out, sometimes to their chagrin, that *bilingual teachers* and *bilingual education teachers* are not synonymous terms. In short, the ability to speak another language with an unspecified degree of fluency does not mean that a teacher is prepared to teach in that language. Ideally, all teachers in these programs should be biliterate in English and the other language they use for teaching. Literacy, however, has gradations. Some teachers may require intensive help in either their first language (L1) or second language (L2) and in how to use those languages for instruction. This is especially true in cases in which the teacher has not previously used the terminology of the content area in his or her work.

While they may be difficult to manage, the range of abilities in L1 found in most schools can be an advantage. Teachers can and should be encouraged to help each other improve their command of either their L1s or L2s by making that process part of their personal plans for professional growth. Such arrangements can have the additional benefit of improving the status of the L1 in the school. When students overhear teachers in the playground, the cafeteria, or in other shared spaces using their home languages freely and openly, the stigma that sometimes attaches to a low-status language can be significantly reduced.

Plans for L1 and L2 enhancement should be tailored to the language proficiency required for good teaching at a particular subject and level, elementary, middle, or secondary. However, those skills should not be overprescribed. This is an area in which the

participant teachers usually have an excellent grasp of their own needs. Teachers should be encouraged to develop individual growth plans to fit those needs rather than submitting them to formal tests of fluency and categorizations by ability. Such measures can become counterproductive by creating a reluctance to be tested for fear of being branded or causing unnecessary embarrassment in front of peers.

A Lifelong Process

Students are the ultimate beneficiaries of effective professional development in schools. They are the ultimate clients. Not unlike physicians, attorneys, and accountants, teachers in today's schools must update their skills and knowledge continually. Most feel the urge to keep up-to-date on new teaching techniques and strategies. Through the new technologies available online, volumes of information are now available to professionals on a daily basis. This is important because new teachers bring adequate knowledge of bilingual education theories and methods but often have not been prepared well by their universities to deal with the exigencies of actual day-to-day teaching. Teacher preparation programs in universities are hugely uneven in their abilities to prepare pre-service teachers for the realities of bilingual classrooms. Often, student teachers are not provided enough opportunities to experience and apply learning in a variety of real classroom situations. As a result, new teachers are coming to work in classrooms with serious professional development needs related to the new expectations of teachers in an age of accountability.

Addressing this topic, Joan McRobbie describes teaching as a lifelong journey of learning, as opposed to having as a main goal mastering teaching "know-hows" as though checking them off a list. Teachers embrace opportunities to update their skills and knowledge to become more effective professionals. Professional growth activities must be continuously aligned with new knowledge and be related to the real responsibilities of a good teacher. Activities must be connected to the curriculum and knowledge about the students. The use of technology for instruction has become commonplace in professional development programs. Teachers must be afforded the necessary time to develop their professionalism. Schools should not expect the weight of professional development to be the teachers' responsibility while they are not in school. An investment in good professional development

is an investment in greater student performance and success.

Not Just for Teachers

Research has documented the important role that school leadership teams play in effective schools. School board members and administrators must be knowledgeable of basic pedagogy to support policies and practices that facilitate instruction. In short, education is a team effort that cannot be relegated solely to teachers.

Although limited in scope, competitive grants are made by the U.S. Department of Education to assist high-need local education agencies to recruit and train principals, assistant principals, and teachers seeking advanced certification and credentials in bilingual education. The department also offers competitive grants to schools and partnership organizations to improve the knowledge and skills of early childhood educators who work in communities with high concentrations of ELLs. Additional state and local funding sources should be explored and pursued. In the best of worlds, programs of professional development should not be dependent on outside funding. They should be considered part and parcel of the school's usual and customary life as a learning community.

Partnership With Parents, Families, and Communities

Why parental and community involvement in schools? Schools should involve parents, families, and community in the educational process because (a) parents have useful information about their children that teachers may use to make their teaching more effective; (b) communities offer abundant cultural resources that represent new ways of communicating with students and scaffolding instruction; (c) parents and families share school educational goals and aspirations for students' educational success; and (d) schools are accountable to communities, parents, and families for the academic success of students. Good partnerships are not limited to classroom activities with children. Professional development programs should link parents, families, and communities in ways in which both school and community work together to increase student success and exemplify the shared role of developing the whole child.

Role in Program Design and Operation

An effective professional development program must have the active involvement of teachers themselves in its design and operation. It should not be dictated from above and/or by outside “experts.” There are many forms and formats teachers can use to shape their development: creating learning communities and study groups to learn about research on best practices, using data based on actual children and families in designing lessons, observing outstanding examples by colleagues, reflecting on practice, creating processes for the management of instruction, creating accountability networks with critical friends, and designing their own ways of being accountable to each other for what happens in shared classrooms. Hilary McLellan, an expert in the field, refers to the need for a “situated cognition approach to learning,” in which knowledge is shaped by the context and culture in which it is applied. In other words, professional development requires the application and adaptation of knowledge and cognitive skills to solve issues related to the needs of specific populations. Professional development planning is an area in which one size most definitely does not fit all. Larry Mikulecky and his collaborators describe a process in which teachers witness proven practice, are able to connect new knowledge to context (knowing in action) and experience, and use their own metacognitive learning skills to better understand the teaching process.

Adapting and Practicing Skills

Teachers must have opportunities to adapt and practice newly learned skills in their own contexts. Lectures are rarely enough to make learning realistic and help it stick. Teachers must be provided opportunities to reflect on the impact of new knowledge and skills on children’s academic achievement and on the feedback provided by mentors and coaches. Research reported by Josué M. González and Linda Darling-Hammond relates the essential elements of a successful school for minority students. A standards-based approach for professional development that defines the characteristics of a good teacher in a school with a diverse student population is one of the most critical features. For example, a great teacher for ELLs can be expected to have the following professional characteristics:

1. Knowledgeable about the cultures represented in the classroom
2. Practices people skills such as empathizing with the needs of others, caring, and cooperating with other teachers
3. Willing to unlearn and debunk myths (for example, “interference” of the first language, poverty as the “reason” for underachievement, and parents who “do not care” about the education of their children) that interfere with quality teaching for minority students
4. Knowledgeable about effective assessment and teaching strategies (for example, active, inquiry-based, activating prior knowledge, cooperative learning, accelerated learning, critical pedagogy)
5. Knowledgeable of first- and second-language acquisition and learning
6. Knowledgeable about curriculum standards

Professional development programs for teachers of ELLs should strive to integrate these qualities into school plans to upgrade teacher skills and performance.

Enhancement Through Technology

Various forms of technology are now commonplace in professional development activities. Concerns are sometimes voiced that pulling teachers out for the time required for good professional development can affect the quality of instruction in the classrooms they leave behind in order to participate in professional development activities. These concerns are quite valid when professional development is seen only consisting of workshops and presentations. It can be a serious problem when the school lacks a well-prepared pool of substitute teachers who can be integrated into the professional team to avoid instructional lacunae. The problem is not trivial. Many schools are faced with some version of this dilemma at one time or another. The amount of time for teachers to be out of the classroom can be minimized through technology. Multimedia technology offers good solutions to this problem because such technologies have unique features. They can help teachers understand how ideas and actions are connected. Because video images and texts are presented together, often on the same television or computer screen, the relationships between practice, research, and theory can be made more apparent.

The use of technology has greatly enhanced the traditional live workshop, but it can never replace the one-on-one interaction that is central to effective communication. The workshop provides opportunities to produce together with guidance from an expert and to be challenged cognitively to produce responses to problems. Guidance for using relevant applications can be provided through the technology itself.

Links to a Strong Curriculum

Professional development must be linked to a strong curriculum. A research-proven curriculum customized for a particular student population is a prerequisite for success by teachers and students alike. Many states now have standards-based curricula that must be followed by all teachers. Through statewide testing programs, students must show mastery of certain levels of content. Those who fail to meet minimum expectations do not graduate or pass to the next grade. Professional development topics must have a clear connection to these standards and equip teachers to use these standards to prepare daily lesson plans.

Successful teachers take continuous measurements of all aspects of learning and development. Their assessment of students is comprehensive and varied to measure levels of knowledge and skills. They do not rely on single-test measurements, and they do not teach “to the test.” Instead, they align their teaching to instructional standards, in general terms.

Accountability and Professional Development

Professional development is critical in an accountability system. An accountability system that ignores the value of professional development is flawed and inconsistent with what research demonstrates about factors that contribute to student success. The No Child Left Behind Act has tightened requirements by specifying acceptable rates of progress to ensure that all groups of students—disaggregated by poverty, race, ethnicity, disability, and English proficiency—succeed in school. Many state departments of education have similar requirements for schools to remain in the “acceptable,” “recognized,” and “exemplary” status levels. Schools must have quality teaching to achieve these results. Quality teaching is the product of strong teacher support, the right teaching strategies and techniques, a strong curriculum, and teachers’ high expectations and positive attitudes toward diversity.

Financial Support and School Governance

Professional development requires financial support from all levels of school governance. Funding for professional development is shrinking even as its importance for long-term progress is widely recognized as imperative. At the federal level, the 15 comprehensive assistance centers (training and technical assistance centers) are undergoing a reconfiguration, and their potential for impact is not yet known. The U.S. Department of Education has eliminated the Eisenhower Professional Development grants in mathematics and science. States, however, are allowed to use federal funds for reforming tenure systems, teacher testing, and pay differentiation initiatives.

School districts receiving funds to operate a federal program are required to use between 5% and 10% of their funding for professional development. Local education agencies and schools identified as low performing must use at least 10% of their allocations for professional development aimed at correcting the deficiencies that defined them as low performing.

Conclusion

Schools can become true learning communities, but experts warn of the risks inherent in top-down professional development approaches. They promote the use of collaborative teamwork approaches that foster collaboration, coaching, and learning organization modes as the answer to solving professional development problems. Notwithstanding these cautions, many professional development models reflect a deficit-driven approach in which teachers’ existing knowledge is not valued. In traditional programs, teachers are expected to participate as passive consumers of knowledge, with little acknowledgment of the knowledge they have gained through their own observations and accumulated experience. Schools face many challenges in formulating, implementing, and integrating a comprehensive professional development program in an already full day of work. Furthermore, despite the strong research support for effective professional development, schools face two other major obstacles that hinder their efforts in this area. First, there is a trend nationwide to further reduce training and technical assistance to school districts. Second, funding to develop teacher expertise at the local level is declining, thereby diminishing the available number of learning and training opportunities available to school

personnel. Although the federal government has asked states to put a highly qualified teacher in every public school classroom, funding is not sufficient to meet the challenge.

It is a common assumption that all teachers are adequately prepared to teach when they complete their college studies. In fact, many are simply beginning to learn the craft through practice, observation, reflection, and continued learning and experience. The issue becomes even more acute when it is evident that knowledge and understanding of the implications of a diverse student body is lacking. Failure to provide adequate learning opportunities to students is a major cause for underachievement. Despite these challenges, schools must find ways of ensuring that teacher quality continues to improve.

Abelardo Villarreal and Josué M. González

See also Culturally Competent Teaching; Multicultural Education; Teacher Qualifications; Transformative Teaching Model

Further Readings

- González, J., & Darling-Hammond, L. (1997). *New concepts for new challenges: Professional development for teachers of immigrant youth*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- McLellan, H. (1996). Being digital: Implications for education. *Educational Technology*, 36(6), 5–20.
- McRobbie, J. (2001). *Career-long teacher development practices that make sense*. San Francisco, CA: WestEd.
- Mikulecky, L., Albers, P., & Peers, M. (1994). *Literacy transfer: A review of the literature* (Technical Report TR94–05). Philadelphia: National Center on Adult Literacy.

PROFICIENCY, FLUENCY, AND MASTERY

Proficiency, fluency, and mastery are some of the terms used to describe how well a person has acquired and is able to use a language. Agreeing on a definition of language mastery is important for second-language speakers because such a definition serves as a referent for measuring the progress and achievement of a language learner and also serves as a referent for defining who is a limited-English-proficient (LEP) speaker.

In the United States, the definition of an LEP person is important as a legal term for public school funding and bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) education programs, as well as in personal terms for the way it affects the school trajectory of many English language learners (ELLs). The basic question “How well does someone know X language?” may seem at first blush to be straightforward and simple, but there is little agreement from experts about how to determine or define proficiency, mastery, or fluency. This is because the question becomes much more complex when these terms are operationalized, such as when criteria for assessment are developed, since the definitions of these concepts necessarily entail a common understanding about the nature of language, what constitutes language knowledge, and how to best measure it.

Fluency

Of the three terms, *fluency* is perhaps somewhat less problematic. Most people agree that fluency refers to a person’s ability to use language in a fluid and coherent way. It includes the ability to manipulate a range of linguistic resources: vocabulary, grammatical structures, productive skills (speaking and writing), and receptive skills (listening and reading). A second-language (L2) learner with a high degree of fluency, therefore, would be able to use the language to clearly articulate his or her meaning without undue hesitation or backtracking. Researchers have argued that for L2 speakers, there is a correlation between fluency, accuracy, and complexity, such that the more attention an L2 user puts on fluency, the more grammatical errors and sentences with less complexity he or she will make. The inverse relation applies as well: The more attention put on, say, grammatical accuracy, the slower and more hesitantly L2 learners proceed as they divert their attention from the meaning they want to express and instead focus more on how to form their utterances correctly.

Proficiency and Mastery

Language proficiency encompasses all three aspects of fluency, accuracy, and complexity, as well as several other features related to language use. *Mastery* is essentially a synonym for *proficiency*; however, the latter term is generally preferred because it better connotes a range of expertise. Language users, especially those learning a second language, have a range of

different proficiency levels, and even an individual L2 learner may be more proficient in one skill area or in certain situations than in others.

It is important to distinguish proficiency from other similar but distinct concepts, such as *achievement* and *competence*. A language proficiency test, for example, is distinct from an achievement test, since it is meant to be indicative of what sorts of things the language user can do with and in that language. Sometimes the know-how and ability to do something, especially when it is expressed as a curricular objective, is called a *competency*. Typically, these are worded as “by the end of the course (or unit, etc.), the student will be able to . . .” By stating competencies, such as writing a short narrative or giving a brief oral report, the expectations associated with different levels of language proficiency are made more concrete. Hence, *competency*, a term borrowed into education from business, should not be confused with the term *competence* in the strictly linguistic sense, which is a central concept of Chomskyan linguistics referring to a native speaker’s intuitions about what constitutes well-formed sentences.

Finally, there are other extralinguistic features that are also part of how well someone can use and understand a second language. Although these features are much harder to evaluate in formal assessments, some language experts argue that they are as much or more important than the language features. The *pragmatic* aspect of language is a case in point, since it involves the intentions and personal meanings of speakers, as well as what can be considered appropriate for a given social situation. In turn, what counts as appropriate in a particular situation varies from culture to culture, so a complete definition of proficiency must include some consideration of how well a language user can interpret cultural references and ways of using language. In one culture, for example, a rising intonation pattern may signal a friendly, polite request, whereas in another culture, it may be the opposite. This could cause an L2 speaker who is trying to be polite to give native speakers the impression that he or she is being rude. Likewise, many idiomatic expressions, such as “He’s out in left field,” draw on specific cultural practices, in this case a baseball metaphor, may be unfamiliar to an English user from another culture. So, knowledge of what is language appropriate in a given social situation and for a particular cultural group is an important, though less tangible, aspect of proficiency.

Common Ways of Defining Proficiency Levels

Since proficiency, especially L2 proficiency, is best thought of as a continuum that extends from “novice” to “expert,” there are any number of ways to specify a person’s level of proficiency. All of these levels, however, are arbitrary gradations along the proficiency continuum. The most influential language groups, for example, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Language (ACTFL) Council of Europe, divide the proficiency scale into five levels. Often the middle or intermediate level is defined as an independent user. For example, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) calls this the *threshold level* and defines it as the level needed to communicate basically but effectively on an interpersonal level.

Situational Factors That Influence Proficiency

For individual language users, proficiency varies according to different skills and for different situations. This is especially true for L2 users. An engineer who is an L2 English speaker may be quite proficient in reading highly technical engineering plans but may have very low proficiency when it comes to interacting orally in social situations. Likewise, L2 students may be able to perform well on a grammar-based language test but have little knowledge of English pronunciation. Since proficiency is meant to indicate how well a language user can perform, there are many factors beyond just the user’s linguistic skills and resources that influence his or her performance. Among these are the following:

- How familiar is the topic?
- How simple or complex is the language involved (ordering a meal or debating politics)?
- What is the register (formal or informal)?
- Who is the person addressing (a friend, the boss, or a large audience), and how much pressure is associated with the scene?
- Is it a monologue or dialogue?
- What is the channel (face-to-face or over the phone)?
- How much time does the person have to prepare what he or she will say (spontaneous or rehearsed)?

Because of the many different aspects associated with language proficiency, a global score or simple

proficiency level usually gives only a very limited idea of what someone can do with the language. While many tests can accurately assess a person's linguistic knowledge (grammar and vocabulary), it is more difficult to evaluate the social and cultural aspects of proficiency.

For purposes of planning bilingual education programs and other interventions related to the provision of civil rights in education, the term *proficiency* is the most commonly used. It is often used in tandem with the designation of *limited English proficient* (LEP), as a label for students who are L2 English users, and is commonly used in legal matters. Most educators, however, now prefer the term *English language learner* (ELL) over LEP because it emphasizes the project in which the student is engaged, learning English, as opposed to his or her limitations with respect to the majority language. Still, there is no uniform definition of what constitutes full proficiency, presumably the minimum command of English needed to function in an all-English classroom. More than 30 years after the nation began to practice bilingual education, there is no legal definition of standards for comparison, that is, what the level of proficiency might be for native speakers of English, much less for immigrants or speakers of other languages, such as Native American, Alaska Native, or Hawaiian language speakers.

Peter Sayer

See also Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; English, How Long to Learn; Measuring Language Proficiency; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing Requirements; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Adair-Hauck, B., Glisan, E. W., Koda, K., Swender, E. B., & Sandroock, P. (2006). *The integrated performance assessment (IPA): Connecting assessment to instruction and learning*. Alexandria, VA: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
- Chambers, F. (1997). What do we mean by fluency? *System*, 25, 535–544.
- MacSwan, J., & Rolstad, K. (2003). Linguistic diversity, schooling, and social class: Rethinking our conception of language proficiency in language minority education. In C. B. Paulston & G. R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 329–340). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Web Sites

- American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages:
<http://www.actfl.org>
- Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/CADRE_EN.asp

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS RESEARCH

Since the *Lau v. Nichols* decision in 1974, legal responsibility was placed on schools to provide effective programs for English language learners (ELLs). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that considerable attention has been given to the question of how schools, by evaluating their offerings, can best serve these students. Since 1998, three states, California (Proposition 227), Arizona (Proposition 203), and Massachusetts (Question 2), have passed ballot initiatives that restrict the types of educational methods and programs that may be used to instruct ELLs, favoring English-only instruction.

Hundreds of program evaluations at the local school and district levels have attempted to ascertain whether bilingual or English-only instruction best serves ELLs. These reports fall into two broad categories: narrative reviews and meta-analyses. The *narrative review approach* uses “vote counting” of the results of individual studies to report an overall synthesis of the research literature. Only studies judged to be methodologically rigorous are included in the synthesis under this approach. The vote-counting approach allows researchers to evaluate a program as more or less effective, whereas meta-analysis calculates not only which program is most effective but also exactly how much more effective one program is than another. The *meta-analytic approach* integrates studies' findings by computing an overall effect size for each study. Meta-analysis is considered a more accurate and sophisticated method of evaluating groups of studies because it considers effect size, whereas the narrative review approach generally does not.

A limitation of most effectiveness studies is their focus on standardized test scores as indicators of success, ignoring other important outcomes such as dropout rates and other long-term effects, which may vary by program type. These studies also do not usually pay attention to important outcomes such as bilingualism, biliteracy, and positive self-image, which can significantly influence later success in school.

Narrative Reviews

Baker and de Kanter, 1981

Keith Baker and Adriana A. de Kanter's 1981 study focused on 28 studies, published between 1968 and 1980, which the researchers judged to be methodologically sound. They rejected studies in which (a) the effectiveness question was not addressed; (b) students were not randomly assigned to the treatment and comparison groups or nothing was done to control for possible initial differences between the groups; (c) appropriate statistical tests were not used to demonstrate program effects; (d) the norm-referenced design was used, comparing student growth against test norms; (e) gains over the school year were examined without a control group; or (f) grade-equivalent scores were used.

Baker and de Kanter were interested in comparing transitional bilingual education (TBE) to three alternatives: submersion, English as a second language (ESL), and structured immersion (SI). They defined TBE as a program in which subject matter is taught in the children's home language until their English is strong enough for them to participate in an all-English classroom, with the use of the native language gradually phasing out and the use of English gradually phasing in. Submersion refers to the approach in which ELLs are placed in a regular, all-English classroom and receive no special support in learning English or in understanding the regular curriculum. The ESL approach was defined as a program in which children are placed in regular (not sheltered) English-only classes for most of the day but are provided with concentrated instruction aimed at teaching ESL during part of the day. SI, on the other hand, provides a specially structured version of the regular curriculum so that students may acquire the language of instruction while simultaneously learning content. SI also requires that teachers receive training in immersion methods and are proficient in the children's home language. This means that in SI, children can ask questions and make comments in their home language or in English; the teacher understands both languages but always replies in English.

Reviewing studies of these various approaches, Baker and de Kanter painted a mixed picture. Studies included in the review varied in their conclusions, with some findings indicating that TBE was better than, as good as, or no different from SI; others indicated that ESL was better than or as good as SI and TBE. The authors nonetheless made more favorable

comments about the success of SI than they did about other programs. Their preference for SI was based partly on the success of SI programs in Québec, where English-speaking children were immersed in French. It is important to note, however, that in those programs, instruction in the children's home language (English) increases gradually until the proportion of French and English instruction is 50/50. In the United States, immersion in English rarely, if ever, leads to the reintroduction of Spanish or other home language at any point. Further, it is not clear that the students in the Canadian programs were of socioeconomic status similar to those in the U.S. programs, a factor that could have influenced the findings.

With regard to the comparison between TBE and SI, two studies were included in the review. One of these, conducted in the Philippines to teach ESL, found no difference between SI and TBE. In the other, conducted in a McAllen, Texas, kindergarten, Baker and de Kanter reported that students in SI outperformed students in TBE. In fact, however, the kindergarten students in the program labeled SI spent half of their instructional day in native-language instruction, which places the program solidly within the TBE category, according to Baker and de Kanter's own definitions. In light of this error, many researchers have argued that Baker and de Kanter's analysis actually supported the claim that TBE is superior to SI. In the end, Baker and de Kanter reported that the evidence was insufficient to warrant exclusive reliance on any one program model.

Rossell and Baker, 1996

In 1996, Christine H. Rossell and Keith Baker conducted a narrative review with the intention of updating the earlier review by Baker coauthored with de Kanter. The authors judged 72 studies to be methodologically acceptable, based on selection criteria similar to those used in the Baker and de Kanter report.

Rossell and Baker, in 1996, included as SI programs those that "typically include at least 30–60 minutes a day of native-language arts beginning sometime in the early elementary years" (p. 10). This conception of SI is a departure from that proposed by Baker and de Kanter, whereby SI is distinguished from bilingual instruction in that the home language is never spoken by the teacher and subject area instruction is given in the second language from the beginning. If we consider bilingual education to be simply

the use of the native language to instruct limited-English-speaking children, then it appears that the authors' SI program description overlaps in significant respects with their bilingual education program description. Such imprecise definitions make it difficult to know whether a program described as "immersion" in a study was not actually a bilingual education program for the purposes of Rossell and Baker's review. Like Baker and de Kanter in 1981, Rossell and Baker concluded that there remains no consistent research support for TBE as a superior instructional practice for improving the English language achievement of limited-English-proficient children.

Slavin and Cheung, 2002

In 2002, Robert E. Slavin and Alan Cheung conducted a "best evidence" review of studies focused on methods of teaching reading to ELL students, comparing the practice of teaching ELLs first to read in their native language (a bilingual education strategy) with that of teaching them first to read in English (an immersion strategy). The best-evidence approach is a version of the narrative review approach but also involves the systematic inclusion criteria and effect size computations typical of meta-analysis, whenever such calculations are possible.

Following a broad search for all studies involving ELL students, assisted in part by outside organizations, Slavin and Cheung selected studies according to the following criteria: (a) the studies compared children taught reading in bilingual classes with those taught in English immersion classes; (b) either random assignment to conditions was used, or pretesting, or other matching criteria established the degree of comparability of bilingual and immersion groups before the treatments began; (c) the subjects were ELLs in elementary or secondary schools in English-speaking countries; (d) the dependent variables included quantitative measures of English reading performance, such as standardized tests and informal reading inventories; and (e) the treatment duration lasted at least 1 school year. Slavin and Cheung identified 16 studies, published between 1971 and 2000, that met these criteria.

Slavin and Cheung's review concluded that on balance, the evidence favors bilingual approaches, especially paired bilingual strategies that teach reading in the native language and English at the same time. Most of the studies they found to be methodologically acceptable favored bilingual approaches over immersion

approaches; although some found no difference, none favored immersion programs. Slavin and Cheung's conclusions, then, strongly differed from those reached in the earlier Baker reviews.

Meta-Analyses

Willig, 1985

Meta-analyses have provided the best published sources of integrated evidence regarding bilingual program effectiveness thus far. Ann Willig published the first meta-analysis of bilingual education program effectiveness in 1985. She conducted a meta-analysis to determine whether conclusions drawn by Baker and de Kanter's narrative review could be sustained using meta-analytic procedures. Willig imposed stricter selection criteria than Baker and de Kanter, requiring that studies focus on K–12 students in U.S. schools. As a result, Baker and de Kanter's 28 studies dropped to 23 in Willig's review. Willig's meta-analysis found positive effects for bilingual programs for all major academic areas.

Greene, 1998

The next meta-analysis comparing language-of-instruction programs published was Jay Greene's, in 1998. Whereas Willig's meta-analysis was drawn from the studies Baker and de Kanter had reviewed, Greene's meta-analysis was based primarily on the studies included in Rossell and Baker's narrative review, imposing additional selection criteria, narrowing the corpus to only 11 studies. Like Willig, Greene found positive effects for bilingual education. Greene concluded that the strength and consistency of results, especially from the highest-quality studies included in the analysis, strongly supports the view that bilingual programs are more effective at increasing standardized test scores measured in English when compared with English-only alternatives.

Rolstad, Mahoney, and Glass, 2005

The most recent meta-analysis of program effectiveness studies reported here was conducted by Kellie Rolstad, Kate Mahoney, and Gene V. Glass. Their study drew from a corpus of 17 studies that were conducted in the years following Willig's 1985 publication. Unlike previous studies, this analysis

provided comparisons not only for TBE and English-only approaches but also for developmental or dual-language bilingual education. The goal of TBE approach is to transition children out of instruction in their home language and into English-only instruction as quickly as possible. By contrast, students in maintenance and dual-language bilingual programs receive instruction aimed at sustaining bilingualism and biliteracy, and lasting more than 3 years. Also unlike previous studies, the Rolstad et al. synthesis included as many studies as possible in the meta-analysis, without applying selection criteria bearing on study quality, as intended by the original developers of the method.

This meta-analysis, like those before it, showed that bilingual education is consistently superior to all-English approaches. In addition, it showed that long-term maintenance and dual-language programs are superior not only to English-only approaches but also to TBE programs.

While the two earlier Baker reviews raised questions about the conclusiveness of the available research, more recent work has concluded much more confidently that studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education strongly favor bilingual approaches over English-only approaches. However, the highly politicized nature of educational programs for Spanish-speaking and other immigrants appears to conflict with proper application of these findings in the context of federal and local policy.

Kate Mahoney and Kellie Rolstad

See also Dual-Language Programs; English Immersion; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad; Views of Bilingual Education

Further Readings

- Baker, K., & de Kanter, A. A. (1981). *Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature* (Final draft report). Washington, DC: Department of Education Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation.
- Greene, J. P. (1998). *A meta-analysis of the effectiveness of bilingual education*. Claremont, CA: Thomas Rivera Policy Institute.
- Krashen, S., & McField, G. (2005). What works? Reviewing the latest evidence on bilingual education. *Language Learner, 1*(2), 7–10, 34.
- Rolstad, K., Mahoney, K., & Glass, G. V. (2005). The big picture: A meta-analysis of program effectiveness research on English language learners. *Educational Policy, 19*, 572–594.
- Rossell, C. H., & Baker, K. (1996). The educational effectiveness of bilingual education. *Research in the Teaching of English, 30*, 7–74.
- Slavin, R. E., & Cheung, A. (2003). *Effective reading programs for English language learners: A best-evidence synthesis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk.
- Willig, A. C. (1985). A meta-analysis of selected studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education. *Review of Educational Research, 55*, 269–318.

PROGRAM GOALS, PURPOSE OF

Some years ago at a conference on bilingual education, a paper was delivered with the title “If Bilingual Education Is the Answer, What Is the Question?” The presentation suggested that all the stakeholders involved in bilingual education were not in agreement about its central purpose. Since then, many pages have been written about the effectiveness of bilingual education and its value in and out of the classroom. Some studies have found it to be effective, while others have found inconclusive results. Programs such as Title I and Head Start have met with similar inconsistencies, but few program evaluations have been disputed as vigorously as those employed to assess programs of bilingual education. Researchers have not been alone in their disagreements. Essays and editorial opinions have also differed widely, sometimes acrimoniously, regarding the merits of this educational approach.

Why has it been so difficult to determine the degree to which bilingual education is useful, meritorious, or effective? Part of the answer is that poor methods were used to evaluate some programs, a situation that has now been largely corrected through the use of more sophisticated methods of evaluation. However, part of the answer also lies in a persistent lack of clarity concerning the problem(s) it was intended to solve. In addition, sociocultural and political frictions are created by programs of this type because they do not meld smoothly with the country’s education traditions.

Historical Background

The Miami Experience and Its Legacy

Bilingual education as it emerged in Dade County, Florida, in the early 1960s had a clear and unambiguous goal: helping Cuban refugee families preserve the Spanish language for their eventual return to Cuba, a return that most Cuban refugees believed was imminent. In that context, neither the English nor the Spanish language was regarded as a problem or barrier. The unquestioned expectation was that Cuban children and youth would learn English in American schools. The principal objective of the bilingual program in Dade County, at that point, however, was to ensure that Cuban children and youth would retain and improve their use of Spanish during their expatriate stay. Parents and school leaders alike understood this need, and there was little dissent among policymakers concerning the goal. The financial resources needed to create the program were readily available. The Ford Foundation and the federal government provided funds to the Dade County schools to transform the concept of dual-language instruction into a working reality.

Nationally, the concept of educating children in two languages owes a great deal to the Miami experience in educating Cuban refugee children. But the language goals adopted by that early program in Dade County did not become the model for the rest of the country. The differences between the first programs of bilingual education and what became standard practice through federal funding are revealed in part by studying the creation of Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the program that became the largest and most important funding source for bilingual education nationwide. This analysis also reveals why ambiguities with respect to program goals arose and have plagued the program from the outset.

Education and social legislation tend to be time-stamped. The legislative history of every congressional enactment bears distinct social and cultural markings of the historical period in which it was first launched. Indeed, the very fact that an idea is enacted into law suggests that a positive climate existed around that topic or at a minimum, an absence of controversy. Title VII was no different, although it had no precedents. It was aimed at a specific subset of children and youth who had never before been addressed in federal legislation. Planning and advocacy for Title VII began shortly after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of

1964. The environment for improved services and access by all sectors was still positive. The war in Vietnam was about to end President Johnson's political career, but a liberal climate prevailed in Congress regarding domestic programs, especially small interventions such as Title VII, which were meant to serve only certain regions. The idea for federal funding of bilingual education came before Congress at a favorable time.

It is worth noting that the proposal to fund bilingual education from Washington came at a time when Hispanic voters were beginning to be noticed by both political parties. Cautious politicians of both parties stood to gain favor among Latinos by hinting at a language preservation goal. This was safer than embracing that goal in a bear hug, a position that may have met with mixed reactions in the states and regions they represented. The principal Senate sponsors of Title VII were Senators Javits, Montoya, Murphy, and Yarborough, representing New York, New Mexico, California, and Texas, respectively. In 1967, these were the states with the largest proportions of Latino voters. It is interesting to note that the version of Title VII introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Henry B. González, of San Antonio, Texas, mentioned only Spanish speakers in its original title. Senator Ralph Yarborough, who chaired the committee sponsoring the hearings on the legislation, fought hard to keep other language groups from being added to the bill. He yielded on this point only after other senators and congressmen urged him to do so. Before going to the floor, the bill was amended, reluctantly on the part of the sponsors, to include other language communities. Given the ethnic composition of his district, González had little need to include other language groups. In the Senate, however, Yarborough found it politically helpful to include the French speakers of northern Maine in the legislation at the request of Senator Edmund Muskie, a liberal Democrat who supported the idea of bilingualism. An early bilingual education program in northern Maine had attracted some attention, but the state did not embrace transitional bilingual education with the same fervor as other regions of the country. Even during the heyday of Title VII funding, few school districts in Maine participated in the program. The same was true of other European language groups throughout the country. However, Senator Muskie's request that francophone children be included in the legislation opened the door to other language groups.

Arguably, it would not have been possible for politicians to exclude any language group, whether or not that group was interested in the concept of bilingual instruction or language preservation. The point here is that with this change, programs to be funded under Title VII were not limited to Spanish and English. In fact, no language group, however small, was excluded. Thus, while one purpose of the act may have been to stroke Hispanic voters by recognizing the importance of their language, opening the program to all other languages may have diminished that focus enough to raise questions as to what its broader primary purpose may have been.

Changing the program from a focus on “Spanish-speaking children” to “children of limited-English-speaking ability” (LESA), moved the concept of bilingual education away from language preservation—however unclear that goal may have been—toward remediation and the ultimate goal of moving children toward English-only instruction as soon as possible. That goal became more explicit in the reauthorization of 1974 and every subsequent reauthorization that followed. The term *limited English proficient* (LEP) underscored the shift in goal by placing emphasis on the language skills that children did not have, rather than positioning their home languages as assets to be further developed in school.

Title VII: A Closer Look

There are important differences of opinion about the goals and objectives of Title VII, ESEA, during its early years. Some observers of its history believe that Title VII had as one of its goals that of helping language communities preserve and maintain their respective languages. To some degree, the language maintenance goal of the Dade County experiment became part of the history of Title VII. This congruence was reflected in the funding guidelines during the program’s formative years. Those guidelines clearly announced that one of the purposes of bilingual education was the continued development and maintenance of the children’s home language. References to language maintenance occur in the testimony, but the concept was not the major theme at the Senate hearings leading up to the enactment of the measure. Native Americans had begun to argue in favor of preserving their native languages, but that issue did not arise in the context of Title VII. Native groups were not mentioned in the original legislation, although they were included in the 1974 reauthorization. The funding

discretion of the Commissioner of Education (prior to the creation of the Department of Education) and directors of the Office of Bilingual Education (OBE) and the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) were originally quite broad. Their orientations with respect to language maintenance had some impact in directing funds to one purpose or another. After the first reauthorization, their discretion narrowed as Congress and pressure groups insisted that the central goal of the act must be the expeditious teaching of English.

Examining the goals and objectives of Title VII at its inception helps to explain some of the lingering ambiguities concerning the goals and objectives of bilingual education 40 years later. The issue is important because Title VII quickly became the most important funding source for bilingual education, and funding often influences program design. What was the true goal or purpose of the act? That analysis is not transparent. By the time hearings were held by Congress in 1967 on the proposal to add Title VII to the ESEA and provide federal funding, uncertainty had begun to set in. If they were clear before, by the time hearings were held on the Title VII bill, the goal and purposes of the program with respect to language preservation and maintenance had become muddled. The preface of the legislation, the “Bilingual Education Act,” stated the purpose of the program simply:

Sec. 702. In recognition of the special educational needs of the large numbers of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet these special educational needs. For the purposes of this title, “children of limited English-speaking ability” means children who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English.

A review of the testimony offered by witnesses at the Senate hearings on the bill sheds some light on the matter, although the hearings are not dispositive of the issue. In reviewing the list of witnesses called by Chairman Yarborough, one is struck by the unusual mix of speakers. There were some school administrators but almost no researchers or academics invited to testify. The predominant numbers came from nonprofit or advocacy organizations for Latinos; politicians from

local communities in California, New York, and Texas; and a sprinkling of parent advocates. In general, the majority of witnesses were connected with advocacy organizations and politics. They spoke in general terms of the need to improve the education of immigrant and language minority children. While advocates for a better education supported the bill, there is little in the hearing record to indicate that the witnesses had a clear vision of what bilingual education could accomplish or how new funds might be used.

To the degree that the problem to be addressed by Title VII funding was recognized, it was generally couched in terms of a presumed language barrier that language minority children must somehow overcome in order to participate effectively in American schools. It was not made clear how these language barriers are best overcome, although the assumption was clearly made that it involved the use of the home language in school. The few linguists and/or language teaching specialists who spoke did not discuss research on alternatives to the tradition of teaching exclusively in English. The main theme of the testimony in favor of Title VII was simple: Students and teachers could communicate more fruitfully if they were all speaking the same language. In short, the knowledge base of what was known with respect to the problem of language incompatibility and how it could be overcome was not stated explicitly in the original Title VII hearings. In the bill itself, there were no provisions to pay for program infrastructure needs: research, new ways of training teachers, or ideas on how to evaluate the new programs to be created under the bill. The concept of using the home language to help students learn English was discussed only briefly. A few legislators voiced concern about the thin rationale presented at the hearings, but if the testimony was naive, the legislators also failed to probe the issues deeply. The assumption seemed to be that once funds were appropriated and made to flow to the schools, school leaders would know how to use these funds wisely.

At this point, and given the limited primary sources available to researchers, we can only conjecture that the concept of transitioning students from one instructional model to another was not yet fully developed in the minds of educators or legislators. In fact, the term *transitional* as a complement to *bilingual education* did not arise until Massachusetts adopted its own state bilingual education law in 1972. With respect to language preservation and maintenance, the best we can assume is that legislators failed to make clear that Title VII would not be the funding vehicle for the

continued development or maintenance of languages other than English. We may also infer that the interests of politicians were not furthered by stating this goal in plain English. The Massachusetts state law was the first to use the term *transitional bilingual education*, thus becoming the first state to specify this intent clearly.

Funding began under Title VII at the modest level of \$7.5 million for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1969. At the time, guidelines and regulations for making grants directly to school districts were simple or nonexistent, since the concept of discretionary funding in education was new. Title I, the largest funding source, was formula driven. It sufficed for school districts to report the number of poor children in the district for a check to be issued. Title VII was not meant to be managed in the same way. Álbarr Peña, the founding director of the Office of Bilingual Education (OBE), did not preclude maintenance-oriented programs. We can only speculate as to how the vague congressional purpose for Title VII became the highly specific language of the funding regulations. It is clear, however, that the goal of home language maintenance embraced in Dade County found its way into the policies of the federal government, even though that specific goal was not written into the legislation in an explicit manner. The language produced by the OBE staff could not have been clearer. At best, we can determine there were no objections filed with OBE or with the Commissioner of Education concerning the matter.

As the program grew from an initial appropriation of \$7.5 million in 1969 to more than \$160 million in 1980, bilingual education acquired more supporters as well as detractors. It became a favorite target of many opponents of bilingualism, language diversity, and immigration. But the level of funding was only one of several issues faced by the program. The Great Society was aging, and the political climate of 1968 had evolved by the mid-1970s into a less hospitable environment for programs aimed at minorities and the poor. Title I of ESEA, which served economically disadvantaged schools, also came under criticism, but a powerful constituency base was unrelenting in its support for reauthorization.

Critical Voices

The public knew little about the policy debates under way in Washington concerning the goals of Title VII, ESEA, or of bilingual education generally. In 1978, after publishing a series of articles in the

Washington Post, Noel Epstein, education editor for the newspaper, published the series as a short book, titled *Language, Ethnicity, and the Schools*. Epstein dramatized the debate in an unusually readable form. He compared the development of bilingual education with the strategy followed by Christopher Columbus, sailing out without a map in hopes of running into something. Epstein also accused advocates of bilingual education of having an agenda of “affirmative ethnicity,” under which the public schools were asked to keep children’s cultures alive at taxpayers’ expense and delaying their assimilation into American life. He claimed that the goal of teaching English was a minor objective at this point and needed political attention. Epstein’s book, the first overtly critical work on bilingual education, was followed by others throughout the 1980s and 1990s, leading the way to the English as official language movement. By the end of the century, efforts to suppress bilingual education had escalated, giving rise to movements such as English for the Children and other campaigns to eliminate bilingual education altogether.

Josué M. González

See also Early Bilingual Education Programs, 1960s; English for the Children Campaign; English-Only Organizations; Maintenance Policy Denied; Program Effectiveness Research; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967 Senate Hearings; Yarborough, Ralph

Further Readings

- Beebe, V. N., & Mackey, W. F. (1990). *Bilingual schooling and the Miami experience*. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, Institute of Interamerican Studies, Graduate School of International Studies.
- Crawford, J. (1992). *Hold your tongue: Bilingualism and the politics of “English only.”* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Lyons, J. (1990). The past and future directions of federal bilingual-education policy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 508, 66–80.
- Massachusetts General Laws Chapter 71A, Transitional Bilingual Education (1971).
- U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. (1967). *Bilingual education: Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education*, U.S. Senate, 90th Cong., 1st sess., on S428, Parts 1 and 2. Available from <http://books.google.com>

PROGRAM QUALITY INDICATORS

Bilingual education researchers have identified several program quality indicators. Seven of the most commonly cited indicators that are foundational to all good programs are summarized below. Having high expectations for student achievement and promoting additive models of bilingual education are two of the primary indicators. These are followed by caring teachers, culturally competent pedagogy, supportive school leaders, a continuing program of professional development, and meaningful parent engagement.

High Expectations

A school climate of high expectations for achievement is the norm for English language learners (ELLs) participating in high-quality bilingual education programs. In such programs, high expectations for student achievement are held by all members of the learning community, and they are frequently reiterated to parents and students. Administrators, teachers, support staff, and parents maintain high standards for students as well as themselves. Providing students a challenging and rigorous curriculum is a major way to demonstrate high expectations. Academic rigor provides opportunities for students to be successful. This indicator is closely linked to expectations. Students cannot be expected to perform at high levels unless they engage in a challenging curriculum that demands high levels of academic work. Having ELLs engage in higher-order thinking skills and problem solving are two activities that support a challenging curriculum.

Additive Model of Bilingual Education

High-quality bilingual education programs subscribe to additive models of bilingual education. In this model of bilingual education, the goal is to maintain students’ native languages rather than to ignore or eliminate them. In some cases, the native language of the student (L1) is maintained as a supportive foundation for transition into English (L2). In other cases, the language is further developed to achieve biliteracy at a modest level. Some programs develop the home language to the same degree as English, which means full biliteracy for all students. To achieve such high goals,

school staff must value students' native languages and not view them as a deficit or a problem to be overcome. Students develop and maintain skills in their native language because the language is used in instruction.

Students who are learning a second language must first develop basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) in that language. These lead to a cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), the ability to use the language for active engagement in learning. Additive models of bilingual education help students to build these skills more than do programs of transitional bilingual education (TBE). In addition, students learn from their peers in classroom environments that encourage collaboration. Through the socialization process, bilingual students will enrich their native-language skills and scaffold their transition into English.

Caring Teachers

High-quality bilingual education programs have teachers with a strong background in all of the foundational principles of bilingual education. These teachers demonstrate a strong commitment to student success. They are skilled in bilingual program design and sustainability. Good teachers are trained in second-language acquisition strategies. They use these strategies daily to support students' language development in both languages under study. They work to meet the oral and written language needs of their students. Often they create their own materials to supplement existing teaching tools by focusing on specific problems that are unique to their students. Most important is that the teachers genuinely care about the adaptation and eventual success of their students in all respects—social, cultural, and academic. This often involves substantial investments of time and effort inside and outside the school. The extra time and effort afforded by these educators is emblematic of their caring work ethic.

Culturally Competent Teaching

Teachers in high-quality bilingual education programs use culturally relevant pedagogy to inform instruction. A component of this pedagogy is to focus lessons on students' prior knowledge, backgrounds, and experiences. Integrating students' experiences helps to make the lesson more relevant to the students. Teachers promote materials that reflect the students

they serve. Using culturally relevant books that represent student demographics is one way teachers help ELLs engage in the learning process. Students are able to make stronger connections to the material. In this way, students take on an active rather than a passive role in their learning. Culturally relevant teaching portrays the commitment of bilingual education teachers in supporting students' academic and affective development.

Supportive School Leaders

High-quality bilingual education programs have supportive school leaders. Principals and assistant principals familiar with additive models of bilingual education demonstrate program support in various ways. These include being visible and active in bilingual classrooms as instructional leaders. Supportive school leaders have knowledge about bilingual education goals, program design, and program sustainability. School leaders work to get to know the teachers and students in their programs. By doing this, they demonstrate the value they place on bilingual education and on the non-English language(s) used in the school. These school leaders also allocate resources to assist teachers in meeting student achievement objectives. Principals and assistant principals with knowledge about bilingual education understand the importance of resource allocation for program success. School leaders also demonstrate their support for the instructional program by advocating for bilingual teachers and students. They serve as advocates in their interactions with school district officials, school board members, and the community. They bring attention to the success of ELLs resulting from the high-quality implementation of their schools' bilingual education programs.

Parent Engagement

Parents obviously play an important role in the academic and social development of their children. In excellent programs of bilingual education, parents are continuously encouraged to participate in their children's learning process. Schools offer opportunities for parents to engage in classroom experiences, campus decision making, and school support. Staff members involved in these high-quality bilingual education programs understand the contributions that parents can make to support culturally relevant teaching and learning. The parents are fully aware of program

goals and actively engage in efforts to strengthen these goals by their own efforts at home and at school. This is evident through open and constant communication between school and home. Correspondence is distributed in the parents' home language to facilitate this communication. Parents are viewed as partners with the school, working toward the shared goal of high academic achievement for ELLs. Students are the beneficiaries of this school-parent partnership.

Professional Development

No school program can maintain high levels of performance without a parallel program of professional development for all persons involved in the program. Major changes have taken place in the conceptualization and design of excellent programs of professional development. The most successful models are those in which the school personnel design and assess their own training and seek outside help only when they believe they need it. Otherwise, teachers and others actively participate in the improvement of their own performance and that of their colleagues. Generally, outstanding programs of professional development are constructivist in their design philosophy and are self-managed by the personnel who participate in them. Program leaders and administrators provide the necessary resources and participate in the development programs as well.

Mariela A. Rodríguez

See also Culturally Competent Teaching; Home/School Relations; Professional Development; Program Effectiveness Research; Teacher Qualifications; Vygotsky and Language Learning

Further Readings

- Genesee, F., Lindholm-Leary, K., Saunders, W., & Christian, D. (2005). English language learners in U.S. schools: An overview of research findings. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk*, 10, 363–385.
- González, J., & Darling-Hammond, L. (1997). *New concepts for new challenges: Professional development for teachers of immigrant youth*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Montecel, M. R., & Cortéz, J. D. (2002). Successful bilingual education programs: Development and the dissemination of criteria to identify promising and exemplary practices in bilingual education at the national level. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 26, 1–21.

Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. (1997). *School effectiveness for language minority students*. Washington, DC: George Washington University, National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education Resource Collection Series.

PROPOSITION 203 (ARIZONA)

Arizona's Proposition 203, the "English for the Children" initiative, was approved by 63% of the state's voters on November 7, 2000. The initiative, sponsored by Ron Unz and his English for the Children campaign, was nearly identical to Proposition 227 in California, which effectively eliminated bilingual education in California after its passage in 1998, although there were attempts to close some loopholes and some of the Arizona provisions were more punitive. Prior to the passage of Proposition 203, Arizona schools had flexibility in the use of instructional models for English language learners (ELLs). At the time, only about 30% of ELLs were in bilingual programs. Others received services through pull-out or in-class English as Second Language (ESL) instruction and/or classroom support from ESL-endorsed teachers.

Proposition 203 was designed to end bilingual education programs. Opening declarations in the initiative allude to bilingual programs as being responsible for high student drop-out rates and low English literacy levels. Based on these declarations, the law requires that all children in Arizona public schools be taught English by being taught in the English language and that all children be placed in English language classrooms. Two types of English language classrooms are identified in the law, although they are poorly defined: mainstream and sheltered or structured English immersion (SEI). *Mainstream classrooms* are defined in the law as those in which the students either are native-English-language speakers or have already acquired reasonable fluency in English. *Structured English immersion* is defined by Proposition 203 as an English language acquisition process for young children in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but the curriculum and presentation are designed for children who are learning the language. It further stipulates that in SEI classrooms, books and instructional materials are in English and that all reading, writing, and subject matter are taught in English. According to this law, teachers in SEI classrooms may use a minimal amount of the children's native language when necessary;

however, no subject matter may be taught in any language other than English, and children in SEI classrooms must learn to read and write solely in English.

The law requires that ELLs be educated through SEI during a temporary transitional period not normally exceeding 1 year. Despite the suggested time limit, students must remain in SEI classrooms until they are redesignated as fluently English proficient. In addition, Proposition 203 requires that a standardized, nationally normed written test of academic subject matter given in English be administered at least once each year to all Arizona public school children in Grade 2 and higher.

Parental Waiver Provisions

Proposition 203 outlines waiver provisions for parents who want their children to participate in bilingual education programs. To obtain a waiver, the child must meet the criteria of one of the following three waiver types:

1. *Children who already know English.* The law stipulates that sufficient proficiency in English to obtain a Type 1 waiver provision is determined by an oral evaluation or standardized test of English vocabulary comprehension, reading, and writing, in which the student scores approximately at or above the state average for his or her grade level or at or above the fifth-grade average, whichever is lower.

2. *Children who are 10 years old or older.* In addition to age, to obtain a Type 2 waiver, the law stipulates that it must be the informed belief of the school principal and educational staff that an alternate course of educational study would be better suited to the child's overall educational progress and rapid acquisition of basic English language skills.

3. *Children with special individual needs.* To obtain a Type 3 waiver, a child must first spend 30 days in an English language classroom, and parents must write a description of no less than 250 words to document their child's special individual needs. In addition, the law stipulates that it must be the informed belief of the school principal and educational staff that the child has such special and individual physical or psychological needs, which are above and beyond the child's lack of English proficiency, and that an alternate course of educational study is better suited to the child's overall educational development and rapid acquisition of English. In addition, the law states that a Type 3

waiver must be signed by both the principal and the district superintendent, that teachers or schools may deny the waivers without explanation or legal consequence, and that the existence of such special individual needs does not compel the issuance of a waiver.

Parents must personally visit the school (each year) to apply for a waiver. If waivers are granted, then the student must be transferred to classes in which English and other subjects are taught using bilingual education techniques. If 20 or more students in a school at the same grade level receive a waiver for bilingual education, then the school is required to offer a bilingual class. Otherwise, students who receive waivers must be permitted to transfer to a public school in which such a class is offered.

Enforcement

Proposition 203 gives parents legal standing to sue for enforcement of the law's provisions. The law warns that any school board member, administrator, or other elected official who willfully and repeatedly refuses to implement the terms of the statute may be held personally liable. In addition, the law stipulates that such officials be immediately removed from office and barred from holding any position of authority anywhere within the Arizona public school system for an additional period of 5 years. Provisions with this level of punitive intent do not exist anywhere else in Arizona school law.

Implementation of Proposition 203

Upon passage of Proposition 203, the initiative was written into law as Arizona Revised Statutes, sections 15-751 to 15-755. Implementation, however, has varied greatly, due in large part to ambiguous language and the lack of clear definitions and guidelines within the text of the initiative. Implementation has largely been dependent on the personal interpretations of the law by different state superintendents of public instruction. As of this writing, three superintendents have held this position since the passage of Proposition 203: Lisa Graham Keegan, Jaime Molera, and Tom Horne.

Proposition 203 Under Superintendent Keegan

Superintendent Keegan's first response to the passage of Proposition 203 in November 2000 was to postpone its implementation to the beginning of the 2001-2002

school year. The legality of this postponement was upheld by the state attorney general, Janet Napolitano, on January 16, 2001. A major question surrounding Proposition 203 was whether or not the law applied to schools on Indian reservations, which used bilingual programs to develop and preserve federally protected Native American languages, all of which face the threat of extinction. The attorney general was asked to review the law and answer this question. Napolitano issued her official opinion on February 15, 2001, which stated that if a school is run by the tribe or the federal government, then the school is not subject to Proposition 203. She further declared that while state public schools are generally subject to Proposition 203, state law must be applied in a manner consistent with federal law, including principles of tribal sovereignty and the federally recognized right of Native Americans to express themselves through the use of native languages. The attorney general concluded that Proposition 203 cannot prohibit a state public school located on the reservation or elsewhere from teaching students Native American languages and culture.

Aside from the attorney general's opinions, schools received little to no direction from the state in terms of how to implement the new law. In response to requests for state guidance from district administrators, Keegan and other Arizona Department of Education (ADE) officials responded that it was up to each local school board to decide how to abide by the new law. This lack of direction and guidance resulted in widespread confusion. Implementation varied greatly in districts and schools across the state. Although many schools ended their bilingual programs, others kept them.

Following the passage of Proposition 203, the state ended efforts to develop a Spanish language version of its high-stakes test, the Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS). In addition, the state ceased offering the SABE-2 (the Spanish language equivalent of the SAT-9). Thus, Spanish-speaking ELLs could no longer take state tests in their native language.

Proposition 203 Under Superintendent Molera

Superintendent Keegan resigned in the summer of 2001. Governor Napolitano (elected shortly before Keegan's resignation) appointed Jaime Molera, one of her staff members with educational policy experience, as Keegan's replacement. Superintendent Molera was aware of the ambiguities of Proposition 203, and he responded to school districts' requests for direction by

issuing an extensive guidance document. This document answered many questions but still gave districts flexibility in offering ELL programs. The guidelines stated that bilingual education programs are allowed for English learners through the waiver process. Under Molera's direction, the state department of education (ADE) monitored districts to ensure they were complying with the guidelines and following proper procedures in granting waivers.

Proposition 203 Under Superintendent Horne

By the end of 2001, the overwhelming majority of ELLs were in English-only programs, and Proposition 203 received little attention in the press or public policy arena. Bilingual programs remained in only a handful of districts that were strongly supportive of bilingual education and where parents were willing to go through the difficult process of obtaining waivers.

Notwithstanding the small number of schools involved in bilingual education, Proposition 203 became a major issue once again during the 2002 campaign for superintendent of public instruction. Tom Horne, a former state legislator and long-time school board member in a suburban Phoenix school district, ran on an antibilingual education platform in which he accused his opponent, Superintendent Molera, of failing to enforce Proposition 203. Horne received the endorsement and full support of Ron Unz and the local chairpersons from the Proposition 203 campaign. He defeated Molera in the Republican primary in September 2002 and went on to win the general election a few months later.

Upon taking office, Superintendent Horne appointed Margaret García Dugan, one of the local chairpersons of the English for the Children campaign, as an associate superintendent with direct responsibility for the implementation and enforcement of Proposition 203. Soon after her appointment, Horne and Dugan issued a letter to school districts and charter schools to set forth guidelines for the implementation of Proposition 203. The letter mainly addressed the issue of the law's waiver provisions. Regarding Type 1 waivers, Horne and Dugan declared that some districts had included test scores defined by language proficiency test publishers as "limited English language skills" as evidence of "good English language skills," as required by the law to qualify for a waiver. Horne and Dugan described this as a violation of the plain language of the statute and argued that limited English language

skills cannot be considered good English language skills. Horne and Dugan's guidelines stipulated that students must score as fluent using the standards established by the publishers of the language proficiency tests. This interpretation of the law meant that it would be impossible for an ELL to qualify for a Type 1 waiver since, by definition, an ELL student is one who has not yet reached the fluent level on an English language proficiency test.

New interpretations were also given for Type 2 waivers (children 10 years or older). Horne and Dugan declared that schools must conduct an individual analysis of the needs for each student before granting a waiver and stipulated that schools may not use a form that was repeated for more than one student. One additional issue was the applicability of these new guidelines to charter schools. Up to this point, charter schools were viewed as exempt from Proposition 203; thus, the attempt to apply these guidelines to charter schools came as a surprise.

The legality of Horne's guidelines was called into question by district leaders and opponents of Proposition 203. The attorney general, Terry Goddard, was asked to intervene. Goddard issued two opinions. Regarding charter schools, his opinion was simple and straightforward: Charter schools are not subject to the requirements of Proposition 203 unless a school's charter provides otherwise. The opinion regarding the waiver provisions was highly technical but essentially found problems with Horne's interpretations and requirements for a Type 1 waiver.

Despite these attorney general opinions, Horne nonetheless declared that his waiver guidelines had been upheld. Soon afterward, ADE announced that public schools would lose their ELL funding unless they complied with the new guidelines. Horne announced that monitors from ADE would act as police officers who would visit schools and classrooms to enforce strict compliance with Proposition 203. Charter schools, even though exempt from Proposition 203, were also informed by Horne that he would cut their ELL funding if they did not comply with his new guidelines.

Impact of Proposition 203

Superintendent Horne's strict enforcement of Proposition 203 has ended most bilingual education programs for ELLs, particularly in the primary grades and especially programs of transitional bilingual education. Nevertheless, widespread confusion remains over the mandated SEI approach. Teachers have

received little or no guidance from their administrators or the state regarding what SEI is, how to implement it, and how it differs from regular English-only mainstream instruction. There is confusion over whether teachers can provide primary-language support, or even pull-out or in-class ESL instruction. Implementation of SEI varies greatly across districts, schools, and classrooms.

Effectiveness of Proposition 203 in Improving Education for ELLs

Proponents claimed that Proposition 203 would ensure that ELLs learn English quickly. Superintendent Horne repeatedly declared that ELLs would soar academically as a result of English-only instruction. The evidence to date, however, reveals that this is not happening. Analyses of English language proficiency test data show that ELL students are not learning English at a faster rate. Analyses of third-grade test scores from the SAT-9 between 2002 and 2004 reveal that ELL students never scored higher than the 35th percentile, while the majority of their English-proficient peers scored at or above the 50th percentile. In addition, average percentile rankings for ELLs declined between 2003 and 2004 on all three subtests—reading, language, and math—and ELLs fell further behind their English-proficient peers. On the Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS) in 2004, the majority of third-grade English-proficient students passed all sections of the AIMS test; in contrast, 68% of ELLs failed the math subtest, and 67% failed the reading subtest. The passing rates for ELLs on these AIMS tests declined between 2003 and 2004, and the gap between ELLs and English-proficient students has not decreased. By any of these measures, critics point out, the ban on bilingual education in Arizona appears unwarranted.

Post-Proposition 203 Bilingual Education Programs

Despite efforts to end all bilingual education programs in the state, a small number have survived, and some new programs are emerging. At the time of this writing, of the few remaining bilingual programs in Grades K–3, most serve only English-proficient students; however, a small number of ELLs under age 10 have qualified for Type 3 waivers, which have enabled them to participate in bilingual classrooms. Some schools offer bilingual programs for ELLs in

Grades 4–12 utilizing Type 2 waivers. Some charter schools have forgone state ELL funds in order to continue their bilingual programs; new bilingual charter schools are in development. A few schools are attempting to provide primary-language instruction through the state's requirements for foreign-language instruction in the elementary grades. A few other schools are offering native-language instruction as an after-school supplemental program. Bilingual programs for Native American languages on the reservations have continued, despite pressure from ADE officials to end them.

Wayne E. Wright

See also English for the Children Campaign; English Immersion; Proposition 203 (Arizona), Impact of; Proposition 227 (California)

Further Readings

- Combs, M. C., Evans, C., Fletcher, T., Parra, E., & Jiménez, A. (2005). Bilingualism for the children: Implementing a dual-language program in an English-only state. *Educational Policy, 19*, 701–728.
- Mahoney, K., Thompson, M., & MacSwan, J. (2005). *The condition of English language learners in Arizona: 2005*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Education Policy Studies Laboratory. Available from <http://www.asu.edu/educ/eps/ AEPI/Report/EP SL-0509-110-AEPI.pdf>
- Wright, W. E. (2005). The political spectacle of Arizona's Proposition 203. *Educational Policy, 19*, 662–700.
- Wright, W. E., & Choi, D. (2006). The impact of language and high-stakes testing policies on elementary school English language learners in Arizona. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 14*(13). Retrieved from <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v14n13>
- Wright, W. E., & Pu, C. (2005). *Academic achievement of English language learners in post-Proposition 203 Arizona*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Language Policy Research Unit, Educational Policy Studies Laboratory. Available from <http://www.asu.edu/educ/eps/ LPRU/documents/EP SL-0509-103-LPRU.pdf>

PROPOSITION 203 (ARIZONA), IMPACT OF

Language policies not only reflect the educational preferences and curriculum decisions of a community but also represent a recognition, or lack of recognition,

of the rights and preferences of language minority groups. In addition, they reveal the preferences and intentions of the majority with respect to the assimilation of language minority groups into the political and social structures. Educational policies such as Proposition 203 in Arizona have severely limited the programs and curricula available to language minority students in the state. This entry summarizes the most important changes brought about by Proposition 203 since its passage by the voters in 2000.

Changes to Programs

As intended, the educational program options available to English language learners (ELLs) were significantly changed with the passage of Proposition 203, also known as the “English for the Children” initiative. The passage of this voter initiative ended local flexibility regarding program options for educating students learning English as their second language. This was accomplished by repealing Article 3.1 of the Arizona Revised Statutes, which allowed a variety of program models. Article 3.1 was replaced with a requirement that all ELLs in the state of Arizona be taught using structured English immersion (SEI) unless they obtain a waiver. According to a report from the Arizona Department of Education, only about one-third of ELLs were enrolled in any of the bilingual education programs offered in the state prior to the passage of Proposition 203, while twice as many were already attending English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, a model similar to the newly mandated SEI approach.

Structured English Immersion (SEI)

SEI is considered one of the weakest forms of education for language minority students. The societal goal for an educational approach such as SEI is assimilation, and the language outcome for SEI is monolingualism. The distinction between SEI and mainstream education as written in Proposition 203 is vague. According to Proposition 203, mainstream education is defined simply as “students [in mainstream education] are native English speakers or already have acquired reasonable fluency in English.” Similarly, according to Proposition 203, SEI classrooms are defined by having books and instructional materials in English; reading, writing, and subject matter taught in English; curriculum and presentation designed for ELLs; and nearly all classroom instruction in English.

In an SEI classroom, as long as all content area is taught in English, primary-language support is allowed by Proposition 203. However, teachers and students are warned by their building administrators not to talk in Spanish. Because of the similarity in concept between SEI and no differentiated program, teachers and schools struggle to understand the differences and advocates for ELLs question whether basic educational rights for ELLs are met through the use of this program.

According to a study done by Wayne E. Wright, following the implementation of Proposition 203, teachers were not distinguishing between SEI and mainstream instruction. According to the law, the two distinguishing factors between mainstream and SEI are specially designed curriculum and presentation, and primary- or home language support. Proposition 203 has resulted in confusion about what is allowed and what is not allowed in the classroom and what it means to be an SEI instructor. According to the Wright study, there has been little guidance by the Arizona Department of Education for SEI teachers, and many do not understand the difference between SEI and no program at all. Many teachers feel that as a result of Proposition 203, students are receiving submersion education instead of a structured immersion model of education designed for language minority students. Also at issue is whether the state of Arizona, as a result of Proposition 203, fails to meet the requirements outlined elsewhere in this encyclopedia relative to the ruling in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Changes in Assessment Procedures

Program options were not the only major change to education resulting from Proposition 203. The Arizona State Code revised after Proposition 203 also mandated that a standardized, nationally normed written test of academic subject matter be given in English each year for children in Grade 2 and above. Prior to the implementation of Proposition 203, state law did not require students who were not yet proficient in English to take an academic achievement test in English. A district's governing board could exempt students classified as ELLs from such tests for up to 3 years, beginning with second grade, provided that a suitable alternative academic assessment was used.

Prior to the implementation of Proposition 203, many districts used the Aprenda, a Spanish language test of academic subjects, for students who had been exempted from the statewide English-medium test of

academic achievement. Just 1 year after Proposition 203 brought the mandate for all ELLs to be tested in English, federal policy in the United States, under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), also mandated full inclusion of ELLs in high-stakes tests and for those students, teachers, and their schools to be held accountable for the test results. Although test scores of ELLs are being used in a variety of ways to evaluate students, teachers, and schools, the validity of these test scores remains in question because there is yet no standardized testing method, given in English, that will validly measure what ELLs know and are able to do.

The Waiver Hoax

In principle, Proposition 203 permits alternatives to English-only instruction in Arizona public schools. Waivers allowing students to participate in alternative programs such as bilingual education are available for older children who are at least 10 years of age, children with special needs, or children who already know English. To apply for a waiver, parents must submit a written request at the start of each school year, when they personally visit the school and receive from a school official a full description of the educational materials to be used in the alternative program. Once these requirements are met, waivers are intended to be granted at the discretion of the district superintendent.

According to the law, a child who already knows English is one who possesses good English language skills, as measured by oral evaluation or standardized tests of English vocabulary, comprehension, reading, and writing, in which the child scores approximately at or above the state average for his or her grade level or at or above the fifth-grade average, whichever is lower. Because the grade-level average for students in Arizona on English oral language assessments has not been determined, many districts had been using their own district testing data to estimate the state average in order to determine the required minimum score for a waiver. In response to request for waivers, the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Arizona, who campaigned by promising to eliminate bilingual education, issued guidelines insisting that children qualifying for waivers under this provision must meet the test publisher's passing score rather than the district's estimated statewide average for the appropriate grade. Despite challenges to the superintendent's guidelines by state politicians and an attorney general's opinion, the superintendent's guidelines remained in place, with

slight modifications. Many of the state's few remaining bilingual education programs have now been disbanded, and waivers are rarely allowed by district officials, who are unwilling to challenge the state superintendent's expressed position against them.

Background Information and Underlying Assumptions

Proposition 203 was modeled after California's Proposition 227, passed in 1998, and is otherwise known as the English for the Children initiative. Both of these propositions were approved by more than 60% of voters in highly debated and politicized campaigns in which English-only activists played an important role—one similar to previous eras of linguistic intolerance toward minority languages. Both measures were written with the assumption that students with English-only instruction will transition from their native language to English within 180 days of being introduced to English—an assumption that contradicts what is known about second-language acquisition for language minority students.

An especially controversial aspect of Proposition 203 was the suggestion in the text of the initiative that children would become proficient in English within a year's time: "Children who are English learners shall be educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year." The assumption that ELLs can learn English very quickly in an all-English instructional setting plays a key role in the underlying rationale for SEI. This rationale introduces a fine line between whether or not language minority students understand classroom instruction. The underlying assumption of Proposition 203 raises concerns similar to that of *Lau v. Nichols*, the 1974 U.S. Supreme Court case that found that "students who do not know English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" because they cannot understand classroom instruction.

SEI advocates believe that young children learn English so quickly under conditions of immersion that they can readily catch up to other students once classroom instruction becomes understandable. Although it endures, there is no research evidence to support that position. Proponents of bilingual education, on the other hand, maintain that classroom instruction in the native language is necessary to help children keep up academically during the time it takes to learn English

well enough to get by in an all-English instructional setting. The time frame required to learn English is understood to be a matter of years, rather than months. Opponents of Proposition 203 warned that the negative effects of incomprehensible classroom instruction would take a toll among immigrant children.

Because children who have limited knowledge of English cannot fully participate in an all-English school curriculum until they have learned English well enough to follow English-medium instruction, whether students will learn English at the hypothesized rate is of critical importance. If, indeed, children learn English within a year's time, they might reasonably be expected to catch up on missed content the following year. If children require much more time to learn English, then the approach may have the effect of deferring academic instruction for a prolonged period, possibly leading to long-term negative effects on the academic achievement of ELL children.

Language Policy Frameworks

There are various ways of portraying and interpreting the meaning of policy changes such as those inherent in Proposition 203. It should be remembered, however, that Propositions 203 and 227 might rightfully be seen as changes in instructional policy rather than changes in language policy. As is pointed out in several entries in this encyclopedia, the nexus between uses of L1 and transitional bilingual education is a weak one. There is little doubt, however, that with the introduction of Proposition 203, a major shift in Arizona educational policy from *accommodation* to greater *restrictionism* has occurred. Former policies allowed ELLs to use their native language and participate freely in bilingual education. Proposition 203, which mandates the use of English-only in schools and restricts the use and development of students' native language, is now the status quo. From the point of view of parental choice, Proposition 203 is patently undemocratic because it denies parents of limited-English-proficient or ELL children the choice to involve their children in programs of bilingual instruction. That same choice, according to the waiver provisions, is not denied to English-speaking children and their parents. Seen in this way, the impact of Proposition 203 is in the political rather than in the linguistic realm because there is no clear connection between participation in transitional bilingual programs and the maintenance and further development

of L1. Further, Proposition 203 does not infringe on the use of non-English languages outside the classroom or in schools that are not public. Other analysis can be done that would highlight other aspects of the results of implementing the policy, but space and time limits precludes analysis of other types.

The stated intention of Proposition 203 was to transition language minority students into English as rapidly as possible. It therefore represents a vehicle for quick assimilation. Before Proposition 203, for three decades, Arizona language policies were good examples of language minority accommodation policies that allowed for the use of the native language in schools.

It is important to consider the social, emotional, and psychological impact that restrictive language policies such as Arizona Proposition 203 might have on ELLs and their families. Issues about the civil rights of ELLs and their parents have been raised by researchers Mary Carol Combs, Carol Evans, Todd Fletcher, Elena Parra, and Alicia Jiménez, focusing on an urban school in Arizona well-known for its dual-language program in 2005. These researchers have argued that interpretation of the law's waiver system by state education officials has seriously reduced the number of students eligible for the urban school's dual-language program and that forcing ELLs into SEI is traumatizing some of them and distressing their parents. Taken together with the anti-immigrant actions also taken by the Arizona legislature in recent years, these fears are probably justified.

There are many ways to classify language policies and the ways policies recognize a student's language needs. Proposition 203 is based on the lowest level of recognition of student needs in regard to language and other social and emotional needs. This categorization in language policy is known as *restricted-oriented policy*, defined as a policy whereby restrictions are made on the use of minority languages. The attainment of social, political, and economic benefits, rights, and opportunities are tied to the ability to use the dominant language, in this case, English.

Kate Mahoney

See also Affirmative Steps to English; *Castañeda* Three-Part Test; English for the Children Campaign; *Flores v. State of Arizona*; Language Rights in Education; Maintenance Policy Denied; Paradox of Bilingualism; Proposition 203 (Arizona)

Further Readings

- Arizona Department of Education. (2000). *English acquisition services: A summary of bilingual and English as a second language programs for school year 98–99*. Phoenix, AZ: Author.
- Combs, M. C., Evans, C., Fletcher, T., Parra, E., & Jiménez, A. (2005). Bilingualism for the children: Implementing a dual language program in an English-only state. *Educational Policy, 19*, 701–728.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Mahoney, K., MacSwan, J., & Thompson, M. (2005). *The condition of English language learners in Arizona: 2004*. Tempe: Arizona State University Policy Studies Laboratory.
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002).
- Wiley, T., Castro, M., & deKlerk, G. (2005). The condition of language-minority education in the state of Arizona. *Bilingual Research Journal, 29*, v–xvii.
- Wright, W. E., & Choi, D. (2006). The impact of language and high-stakes testing policies on elementary school English language learners in Arizona. *Educational Policy Analysis Archives, 14*(3), 1–75.
- Wright, W. E. (2005). English language learners left behind in Arizona: The nullification of accommodations in the intersection of federal and state policies. *Bilingual Research Journal, 19*, 572–594.

PROPOSITION 227 (CALIFORNIA)

Proposition 227 was a voter initiative passed in California in 1998, by a vote of 61% of those who voted. Of the Hispanic voting population, 63% voted against this initiative. Statewide, only the Bay Area's Alameda County (55%) opposed this measure. The proposition, billed as the "English for the Children" initiative, was the first of several attempts—and the first one to succeed—by Ron Unz (its sponsor and chief architect) to alter education policy at the polls using political campaign strategies designed for elections. California is one of only five states where such voter initiatives are permitted by law. This entry summarizes the requirements and intent of that law, viewed by some of its critics as an unorthodox way of determining a curriculum matter normally left to local boards of education.

English for the Children was an antibilingual education campaign mounted in several states. The language of the proposition declared that children were to be taught English through mostly English instruction, given that English was the language of opportunity,

advancement, productivity, and literacy. Proponents asserted that California had failed in its venture with bilingual education programs and suffered from high drop-out rates and low literacy levels among its immigrant student populations and that young children deserved to be taught English by being immersed in that language as much as possible. Campaign rhetoric obscured the fact that while much of the underachievement of immigrant children persists, only a portion of those children were actually being instructed bilingually. Hence, as opponents of the proposition pointed out, the campaign managed to blame bilingual schooling for problems that were not directly related to it or of its making.

Instructional Program Prescribed by the Proposition

Proposition 227 required that English language learners (ELLs) be placed in English language classrooms that use *sheltered English immersion* or *structured English immersion* for 1 year. The two terms are used interchangeably in the proposition and are not uniformly distinguished one from another in the professional literature. According to the proposition, the same English language classroom could have ELLs of different ages and language backgrounds. Further, ELLs could be placed in mainstream classrooms upon acquiring a good working knowledge of the language.

Concerning some of the critical components of effective programs for English learners, the proposition made the following points:

1. *Teachers' knowledge and use of the English and primary language (L1)*: The teacher or other instructional staff are to be proficient in English and use English overwhelmingly. There is no mention of the teaching staff's requisite knowledge of the students' L1.
2. *Students' knowledge and use of the L1 in learning contexts*: There is no mention of the students' knowledge or use of the L1.
3. *Instructional time in English and in the L1*: Nearly all daily instruction is to be done in English.
4. *Level of teaching in English*: This is to be done in a way that is understandable to English learners. There is no specific reference to the different levels of English learners.
5. *Duration*: Under normal circumstances, children are to be taught using sheltered English immersion or structured English immersion for 1 year. Students are considered to be ELLs so long as they cannot perform regular mainstream work in English.

Parental Exceptions

According to the proposition, parents can apply for a waiver to the required English programs under three different circumstances: (1) if a child at or below the fifth grade demonstrates grade-level knowledge of English; (2) if the child is at least 10 years old and site personnel (principal and instructional staff) believe the child would benefit from a program other than structured or sheltered English immersion to foster quick development of English language skills (Note: The proposition makes no distinction between English language skills and subject matter knowledge and skills in English, although this distinction is a critical one in practice. This is discussed in work by Grace McField); and (3) if a child has been enrolled in a structured or sheltered English immersion classroom for at least 30 days and the principal and instructional staff determine that due to emotional, psychological, educational, or physical needs, the student would perform better in an alternate instructional setting.

Community-Based Tutoring

The proposition also contained provisions to support English language assistance for ELLs by providing \$50,000,000 per year to fund English language instruction programs, on a free or subsidized basis, for adults such as parents or community members who pledge to tutor young ELLs. According to the proposition, the office of the state superintendent of public instruction would administer the funding process, the local school board would distribute the funds locally, and the state board of education would establish and review the guidelines for the use and distribution of those funds.

Legal Standing and Parental Involvement

The proposition makes provision for a parent or legal guardian of an ELL to sue public school employees and officials, such as the school board, other elected public education officials, schoolteachers, or administrators,

and hold such parties personally liable if the English learner is not given an English language program option as described in the proposition. Such suit is limited to attorney's fees and actual damages and does not include punitive or consequential damages.

Operative Date and Legal Sequel

The proposition was to become governing policy beginning 60 days after the proposition was passed by the voters. School terms that began 60 days after the proposition became effective had to fully conform to the policy.

Since Proposition 227 became law (California Education Codes §300–340), various aspects have been considered in the courts at the state and federal levels. In *McLaughlin v. State Board of Education* (decided in September 1999), local school boards sought a mandate from the state board of education to review and approve requests to waive Proposition 227 under Ed. Code §33050, which allows school boards to take such general action and apply for exemption from programs. The trial court ordered the state board of education to review the waivers (Superior Court of Alameda County, No. 8008105, Henry E. Needham, Jr., Judge) on the grounds that Ed. Codes §300–340 were not relevant, along with the subsequent interpretation that the two education codes were coextensive.

The decision was reversed by the court of appeals (opinion by J. Ruvolo, with P. J. Kline and J. Haerie concurring) on the basis that the two education codes could not be coexistent, since §33050 allows school boards to apply for program waivers for its students collectively and Proposition 227 requires parents to apply for program waivers only for their own child or children. It was found that the drafters of Proposition 227, owing to an oversight, had not included specific clauses to amend §33050 in the proposition but that this failure could not be the basis for school districts applying for waivers when parents had not requested them. The specific role of parents in requesting program waivers was to be instituted in all California schools.

It can be argued that Proposition 227 transferred authority to choose programs for ELLs from schools to parents, assuming that the waiver process remains viable. Some have interpreted this as a positive change, in that parents can have more control over the education of their children. Others have interpreted this as a negative change, in that the parents given this burden are those of ELLs, who are largely less educated than

parents at large and must grapple with obtaining information about complex programs and accessing schools in the face of linguistic and cultural differences. A similar provision in the Arizona version of English for the Children resulted in a waiver provision with even less flexibility and therefore less choice for parents who may want something other than English-only instruction. Hence, in Arizona, the choice of bilingual education has been effectively taken away from parents who might prefer it.

In *California Teachers Association v. Davis* (decided in 1999), plaintiffs brought suit under 42 U.S.C.S. §1983, on the grounds that in California Education Codes §300–340, the requirement for educators to provide an “English language educational option” was not measurable and was thus subject to vague enforcement. Specifically, plaintiffs asserted that the phrases “nearly all” and “overwhelmingly” were vague as to when teachers are required to speak in English and therefore subject them to liability. The Central District Court of California ruled that the parental provisions in Proposition 227, California Education Codes §300–340, were not unconstitutionally vague, in that the codes sufficiently specify that “English language instructional curriculum” should be provided and that violation occurs when teachers “willfully and repeatedly” refuse to provide English instruction.

The plaintiffs appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, and the judgment was affirmed. In the ruling, Circuit Judge Robert Boochever wrote that it was determined that “instruction” and “curriculum” are commonly understood terms and unequivocally include the teaching of subjects such as math, science, history, and other content areas. It was further determined that “instruction” and “curriculum” do not include activities such as supervision outside of the classroom, disciplining students, or conversing with parents, all of which can legally be done in any language. In the dissenting opinion, Circuit Judge A. Wallace Tashima noted that several other cases, including those at the U.S. Supreme Court level, have interpreted “instruction” and “curriculum” to include students' personal expression on school grounds and in school-sponsored publications and activities, including plays and presentations that occur outside the traditional classroom setting. Judge Tashima wrote that plaintiff teachers were legitimately concerned about vagueness in the restriction of non-English language use in the contexts of tutoring, nonacademic classroom activity, supervision, field trips, discipline, and so on,

not only in light of precedent cases but also in light of the fact that Ron Unz, the sponsor of Proposition 227, and the defendant in the case, the State Board of Education, disagreed as to the scope of language restriction, with the former advocating the application of language restriction beyond the classroom and the latter insisting that the language restriction concerned only classroom instruction.

Judge Tashima further asserted that the terms “overwhelmingly” and “nearly all” were not sufficiently clear terms for persons of “ordinary intelligence” to interpret. He noted that school districts, in implementing Proposition 227, had interpreted the terms to mean anywhere from 60% to 90% instruction in English, hardly evidence of obvious and consistent construction of common terms by school personnel of “ordinary intelligence.”

In his view, “willfully and repeatedly” refusing to use English was vague and clearly difficult for educators to fathom, given that the amount of required non-English and English use was imprecise to the point that various school districts included anywhere from 60% to 90% instruction in English. He noted that vagueness abounded for school officials under the proposition, including a teacher who taught to the school district guidelines of using English 60% of the time, who could be charged and found to be liable if a parent charged that such a percentage was insufficient. The threat of parents at individual will filing suit (versus a governmental authority) would subject educators to “discriminatory enforcement” of the parental provision. Teachers would not have fair notice of how much English and non-English language use would or would not lead to a lawsuit, and this would subject them to live with an infringement on their First Amendment protection, since the vagueness of the proposition effectively silences teachers who might fear legal action against them.

In 1998, the *Valeria v. Davis* plaintiffs (limited-English-proficient students) filed a preliminary injunction in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California to stop the implementation of Proposition 227 on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. Plaintiffs asserted that the proposition violated the requirements (a) for “appropriate action” to be taken for ELLs under the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA), (b) Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and (c) the Equal Protection Clause and Supremacy Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

The court ruled that (a) the proposition did not violate the EEOA because the programs stipulated in the

proposition did constitute “appropriate action,” in that there was no evidence that sheltered English immersion or structured English immersion programs were not viable instructional programs according to experts; (b) it did not violate the Supremacy Clause because the proposition did not complicate the EEOA; (c) it did not violate Title VI because exclusion, denial, and discrimination would not be the necessary consequence for English learners; and (d) it did not violate the Equal Protection Clause.

In his opinion, Judge Charles A. Legge wrote that plaintiffs were not yet suffering from irreparable harm from the impact of Proposition 227 and that any such alleged harm could be avoided by the parent waiver process or by other steps districts could take that were not precluded by the proposition. The case was appealed, and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit denied the rehearing (*Valeria v. Davis*, in 2002). Circuit Judge Pregerson wrote in his dissent to the decision not to rehear the case that Proposition 227 restructures the political process by shifting authority about programs for ELLs from local schools and districts to the state. He stated that because the persons affected by such restructuring of the political process are language minority persons, racial focus is a discernible aspect of the proposition. In his view, minority interests are necessarily burdened and equal protection violated under the proposition.

Further, in his view, it is a false claim that Proposition 227 addresses only an educational issue, not a racial one. The term “immigrant” appears multiple times in the proposition, and at the time of the passage, 82% of the state’s ELLs were of Latino backgrounds, clearly suggesting both an intended and actual impact of the proposition on a particular racial group. Although at face value, the proposition gives parents the right to choose a program for their children through the waiver process, in fact, the proposition shifted the power from the parents of ELLs to the voter electorate and effectively entrenched the process of program selection into the state education codes. Any subsequent restructuring of the political process would now require a state-level legal or legislative course of action, a clear shifting of political access away from the parents of ELLs.

Initial Effects of Proposition 227

Upon passage of the proposition, school districts were primarily concerned with the legal requirement of programs that were to teach ELLs (i.e., structured

English immersion and sheltered English immersion programs). Many school districts reported some uncertainty concerning what qualified programs to meet the statute's requirements, but most ultimately implemented programs that were combinations of instructional practices already in use, such as English language development, sheltered instruction, or a combination thereof. Some districts also maintained bilingual education programs, although the percentage of such programs fell from 25% to 8% after Proposition 227.

District guidelines and handbooks for English language programs were scrutinized, redrafted, and regularly reviewed for adherence to the proposition. Some districts' descriptions of structured English immersion between 1999 and 2003, for example, show change and development over time (e.g., Oceanside Unified School District). Of particular concern was the role of the L1 in various instructional contexts for ELLs. In the 2-year impact study of the proposition, conducted by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) and WestEd in 2002 (Thomas Parrish, Robert Linqanti, Amy Merickel, Heather Quick, Jennifer Laird, and Phil Esra), it was found that 44% of the 75 surveyed districts in California needed additional guidance on the use of L1 in both instructional materials and in teaching. It was also found that 68% of surveyed districts permitted L1 use for academic instruction and 88% allowed L1 use for preview or review of academic instruction as well, with 48% using L1 with instructional aides. The report noted that the frequency of use of the students' first language that is accepted in sheltered English immersion made it hard to distinguish between this model of instruction and bilingual education. Their findings also evidenced that there was a notable lack of consistency in the program models in the state of California.

Midterm Impact of Proposition 227

The impact on parental choice was significant. Some districts actively disseminated information on parental rights to choose, while other districts took matters into their own hands and did not inform parents of the right to choose.

The AIR and WestEd, in their report on the impact of 5 years of Proposition 227, in 2006, examined districts that had maintained or changed programs before and after Proposition 227 along the categories of "continuing-bilingual," "transitioning-from-bilingual," and "never-bilingual" (conducted by Parrish, Merickel,

Linqanti, and María Pérez) and noted the following major findings. First, all types of site and district-level factors, including staff capacity, overall program coherence, shared priorities, expectations and support by all stakeholders, and regular assessment-informed instruction, were found to play critical roles in the outcomes of English learners. That is, it was found that language of instruction was not necessarily the sole determining factor in influencing student outcomes. Second, another significant finding was the estimation that on average, ELLs who were in California schools for 10 years had less than a 40% chance of being redesignated to fully English-proficient status and being mainstreamed into an English language classroom.

Program consistency remains a critical issue at state and local levels. AIR/WestEd's 5-year report again noted among the school districts in California a lack of clear operational definitions for the various instructional approaches to the education of English language learners. Also noted was the wide variation in program descriptions for sheltered or structured English immersion programs across the state and the regularity with which the students' first language is included in some minority percentage in most sampled districts, suggesting that the native language continues to play a critical role in the instruction of English learners.

Grace P. McField

See also Affirmative Steps to English; English for the Children Campaign; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 203 (Arizona), Impact of; Proposition 227 (California), Impact of; Unz, Ron

Further Readings

- Broder, D. (2000). *Derailing democracy: Initiative campaigns and the power of money*. New York: Harcourt.
- California Teachers Association v. Davis, 64 F. Supp.2d 945 (C.D. Cal. 1999).
- California Teachers Association v. State Board of Education, 263 F.3d 888 (9th Cir. 2001), amended as 271 F.3d 1141 (9th Cir. 2001).
- Crawford, J. (1998). *Proposition 227: Anti-bilingual education initiative in California*. Retrieved from <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/linguistics/people/grads/macswan/unz.htm>
- English Language in Public Schools. (1998). *Initiative statute (Proposition 227)*. Retrieved from <http://Primary98.ss.ca.gov/VoterGuide/Propositions/227.htm>

- Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, 20 U.S.C.S. §1703(f).
- McField, G. P. (2006). The many faces of structured English immersion. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 2(2), 16–24.
- McField, G. P. (2007). What is structured English immersion? Variations on a theme. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 3(2), 2–22.
- McLaughlin v. State Board of Education, 75 Cal. App. 4th 196; 89 Cal. Rptr.2d 295 (Sept. 1999).
- Oceanside Unified School District. (2003). *English learner master plan*. Oceanside, CA: Author.
- Oceanside Unified School District Board of Education. (2000). *Programs for English learners*. Oceanside, CA: Author.
- Parrish, T., Linqunti, R., Merickel, A., Quick, H., Laird, J., & Esra, P. (2002). *Effects of the implementation of Proposition 227 on the education of English learners, K–12: Year 2 report*. San Francisco: WestEd.
- Parrish, T., Pérez, M., Merickel, A., & Linqunti, R. (2006). *Effects of the implementation of Proposition 227 on the education of English learners, K–12: Findings from a five-year evaluation: Final report*. San Francisco: WestEd.
- Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 42 U.S.C.S. §2000d.
- Valeria v. Davis, 307 F.3d 1036 (9th Cir. 2002).
- Valeria G. v. Wilson, 12 F. Supp.2d 1007, 1021 (N.D. Cal. 1998).

Web Sites

English for the Children: <http://www.onenation.org>

PROPOSITION 227 (CALIFORNIA), IMPACT OF

On June 2, 1998, California voted in favor of Proposition 227 (now codified as California Education Code §§300–340) by a 61% to 39% margin. This law requires that all public school instruction in the state be conducted in English, thereby dismantling California's previous system that allowed English language learners (ELLs) to be instructed in their native language while they gradually learned English. Proposition 227 requires that ELLs be taught "overwhelmingly in English" through sheltered/structured English immersion (SEI) programs, during "a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year," then be transferred into mainstream English classrooms.

A 2006 report entitled *Effects of the Implementation of Proposition 227 on the Education of English Learners*,

K–12: Findings From a Five-Year Evaluation, authored by Tom Parrish, María Pérez, Amy Merickel, and Robert Linqunti, examines the effects of the implementation of Proposition 227 and provides a portrait of California's ELL population. According to this report, California has significantly more ELLs than any other state. Nearly one-third of the nation's 5 million ELLs are in California, and Proposition 227 was introduced following a 10-year period in which ELLs had grown from less than 15% to approximately 25% of the state's K–12 population. Spanish is by far the most common primary language, accounting for 85% of the California ELL population. Therefore, the challenge of serving ELLs effectively is an ever-present challenge in the state.

A number of studies have examined the impact of Proposition 227 in California. The largest of these studies, the one mentioned above, for example, was carried out collaboratively by WestEd and American Institutes for Research. It was submitted to the California Department of Education, which published the report in January 2006. This report's findings serve as the basis for this discussion on the impact of Proposition 227. An important consideration to note when discussing the impact of one particular policy is that Proposition 227 was being implemented at the same time as several other important policy initiatives that directly affect ELLs and the programs in which they participate. During the initial implementation of Proposition 227, educators identified California's class size reduction, the state's new English language development (ELD) standards, and California's emerging accountability standards as the policies that most affected the education of ELLs. More recently, educators refer to federal and state accountability systems as most directly affecting the educational practices impacting ELLs in California.

According to the report, subsequent to the passage of Proposition 227, the proportion of ELLs receiving primary-language instruction with ELD (also known as bilingual instruction) dropped significantly (from 30% to 8%), and the proportion who are instructed using specially designed academic instruction in English increased. Although significant gaps in academic achievement among students in California remain, there is some evidence of improved academic success with ELLs. Numerous issues make it difficult to ascertain what attributes to the gains in test scores and how those gains can be interpreted. The overall research that has thus far been conducted in California cannot definitively point to one model of instruction as being

relatively superior for instructing ELLs. However, the research does seem to conclude that rather than focusing on specific models in an attempt to find one that meets the criteria of “one size fits all,” California would do better to focus on the specific factors that appear to make a difference for ELLs in diverse contexts. Eugene García and Julia Curry-Rodríguez report that the basic premises underlying Proposition 227 were flawed; however, at least some effects can be seen as positive. The passage and implementation of Proposition 227 has led to a focus on the ELL population as an important subgroup within our schools. The methods of instruction for this population are being reevaluated, and mandates for English ELD standards, an annual ELD assessment, and supplementary ELL services have come about in part due to Proposition 227. One of the negative effects, as reported by Kris Gutiérrez, Patricia Baquedano-López, and Jolynn Asato, has been a move toward a more scripted curriculum, allowing less flexibility, for example, in how reading is being taught to English learners.

Implementation and Impact of Proposition 227

There has been a shift in how educators have perceived the effects of Proposition 227. In the first years after the passage of Proposition 227, educators stated that it overemphasized an English-only philosophy, greatly restricted the use of primary language instruction, and diminished the focus on student cultural heritage. Educators also expressed concern with the ambiguous legislative language used in the proposition, for example, respondents’ interpretations of instruction “overwhelmingly in English” varied widely.

Initial reports on the impact of Proposition 227, such as the one by Patricia Gándara and colleagues, found that what teachers were choosing to do in their classrooms was based largely on what they had done prior to the proposition’s passage, as well as on their own skills, experiences, and beliefs about effective teaching and student learning. When educators were surveyed in 2002 for the *Effects of the Implementation of Proposition 227* report, they indicated that Proposition 227 had not helped substantially in regard to ELL redesignation, integration, or student academic performance. Several studies, including the one by Gándara, have reported that teachers exercised considerable autonomy in interpreting the directives provided by schools and districts. In 2005, respondents selected on the basis of exceptional ELL performance

in the post–Proposition 227 era tended to more favorably assess the impact of the proposition overall, as Tom Parrish and coresearchers discovered. However, it is important to note that they emphasized the significantly increased attention the law has placed on ELLs and their academic performance more than the structured English immersion (SEI) model of instruction mandated by the law.

While stating that some positive effects could be attributed to the implementation of Proposition 227, these educators, mentioned above, also identified a number of barriers to implementing the proposition’s mandates. These barriers included (a) the short timeline and insufficient guidance for implementing regulations in the law initially, (b) confusion over what the law requires and allows, and (c) the lack of clear operational definitions for the various instructional approaches to the education of English learners. Specifically, there exists significant evidence for concern regarding uneven school and district understanding and implementation of alternative instructional waivers. Under Proposition 227, parents can request instruction in an “alternative” (i.e., bilingual) instructional program for their children. Nonetheless, it appears that parents’ understanding of their waiver rights and schools’ acceptance of waiver requests are frequently governed by prior practice and the inclination of providers toward particular instructional programs.

Although students across all language identifications and all grades have shown gains on the SAT-9 and California Standards Test (CST), standardized tests given in California, it is difficult to directly attribute those gains to the implementation of Proposition 227 or to any one of the other policy changes put in force at the same time. The 2006 Proposition 227 report looked at individual models of instruction; there seemed to be little evidence of differences in ELLs’ academic performance based on any particular model (i.e., bilingual education, structured English immersion). When examining ELLs’ achievement as measured by their redesignation from English learners to a status of “fluent English proficient,” there are variations across school districts, socioeconomic status, ethnic categories, and the grades in which students arrived in their school districts. Overall, the major report by WestEd and the American Institutes for Research examining the impact of Proposition 227 reported that districts varied between 14% and 72%, with an average of less than 40%, in the probability of an ELL being redesignated to fluent-English-proficient status after 10 years in California.

Understanding how specific districts determine the process of reclassifying students is critical to discerning the variation in redesignation rates.

Promising Practices for English Language Learners

Another important issue that has been examined within the context of Proposition 227's impact is identifying practices that are critical to academic excellence among ELLs. Many of the practices that are vital to the success of ELLs are also important to the success of all students, regardless of language backgrounds. However, it is important to note that a focus on the needs of ELLs is what has in part led to the success of this population of students. The 2006 report indicates that school principals who have been interviewed regarding factors that contribute significantly to the academic success of ELLs in post-Proposition 227 California have identified four critical features: (1) staff capacity to address ELL needs; (2) systematic, ongoing assessment and data-driven decision making; (3) shared priorities and expectations in regard to educating ELLs; and (4) schoolwide focus on ELD and standards-based instruction.

More specifically, these same principals of schools, with high numbers of ELLs, emphasized that teachers need to have the knowledge and skills needed to adequately support the needs of ELL students and they should also be purposefully developing academic language and literacy development across the curriculum. In addition, schools should have carefully designed plans for the provision of ELD services. Other strategies that have been identified by district administrators in various studies include sustained, on-site technical support and professional development; timely delivery of data as well as careful use of the data; and strategic resource allocation.

Understanding Redesignation of ELLs to RFEP Status

One of the measures often used to determine the success of a model of instruction for English learners is the time it takes to consign an ELL student to redesignated fluent-English-proficient (RFEP) status. Post-Proposition 227, redesignation continues to be a controversial and unclear process. A statistical examination of ELL enrollment and redesignation data submitted to the state yielded an estimate that the

probability of an ELL being redesignated to RFEP after 10 years in California was less than 40%. Notably, redesignation rates varied dramatically across districts that enroll large numbers of English learners. Noteworthy differences have been identified with regard to districts' redesignation criteria, including chosen cut points. Educators have reported in various studies, such as the one by Gándara that examined achievement scores, that 1 year is not sufficient for students to acquire enough English language proficiency to achieve academically without further language support. Differences in procedures in place to carry out redesignation, as well as the importance placed on redesignation in local accountability systems, have also been noted. Other key issues that affect local redesignation policies and practices include the following: (a) unrealistic reporting timelines inconsistent with assessment and school year calendars, (b) vague and perhaps contradictory guidance on criteria and cut points, and (c) debatably problematic redesignation rate calculation methods that may underrepresent success and do not take into account ELLs' progress over time or consider the full range of their linguistic and academic performance. Furthermore, it is important to monitor ELLs' linguistic and academic progress before and after redesignation.

Community-Based English Tutoring Program

One of Proposition 227's provisions was the establishment of a Community-Based English Tutoring (CBET) program. This program was to provide funds to local educational agencies to be used to provide free or subsidized English instruction to parents as well as to other community members. These individuals were then to pledge to provide English language tutoring to English learners. For a local educational agency to qualify for CBET funds, it must have enrolled at least one ELL in the previous school year. Other than this requirement, the agencies are given great flexibility in how the funds may be used. Contingent on budget approval by the legislature and governor, a budget of \$50 million per year was allocated for this program. The effect of this provision has been varying implementation at the local level, based in part on the ambiguous legislative language regarding the goal of CBET. In 1999, Assembly Bill 1116 established the English Language Acquisition Program, which allocates \$100 per ELL in Grades 4 through 8 in local

education agencies. A statewide achievement analysis by Parrish and colleagues evaluating the impact of these funds found a modest, statistically positive relationship between the English Language Acquisition Program and selected student outcome measures. These findings point to the need for looking closer at how CBET, as well as other tutoring programs, impact the education of California's ELL population.

Further Steps Needed

As educators carry on their search for the most effective strategies and models to educate our continually growing ELL population, it is critical that school sites and districts that are successfully educating ELLs at all grade levels are identified and provide opportunities for other schools to learn from them. It is also recommended that the state also standardizes and clarifies alternative instructional program waiver provisions of Proposition 227 in order to allow more flexibility in the types of programs offered. Furthermore, a clarification of performance standards for key statewide measures of ELLs' progress and achievement is also needed.

Margarita Jiménez-Silva

See also English for the Children Campaign; English, How Long to Learn; English Immersion; Measuring Language Proficiency; Primary-Language Support; Program Effectiveness Research; Proposition 227 (California)

Further Readings

- Gándara, P. (2000). In the aftermath of the storm: English learners in the post-227 era. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24, 1–13.
- Gándara, P., Maxwell-Jolly, J., García, E., Asato, J., Gutiérrez, K., Stritikus, T., & Curry, J. (2000). *The initial impact of Proposition 227 on the instruction of English learners*. Report produced by the University of California at Davis, Linguistic Minority Research Institute, Education Policy Center.
- García, E., & Curry-Rodríguez, J. (2000). The education of limited English proficient students in California schools: An assessment of the influence of Proposition 227 in selected districts and schools. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24, 15–35.
- Gutiérrez, K., Baquedano-López, P., & Asato, J. (2000). "English for the Children": The new literacy of the old world order, language policy and educational reform. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24, 87–112.

Parrish, T., Pérez, M., Merickel, A., & Linqunti, R. (2006, January). *Effects of the implementation of Proposition 227 on the education of English learner, K–12: Findings from a five-year evaluation*. San Francisco: WestEd.

P.S. 25, NEW YORK CITY'S FIRST BILINGUAL SCHOOL

Public School 25 (P.S. 25), the Bilingual School, was founded in 1968, with Hernán LaFontaine as the school's principal and Muriel Pagán as assistant principal. Located at 811 East 149th Street, in the borough of the Bronx, in New York City, P.S. 25 was New York City's first bilingual school serving mostly Latino children. The school aimed at providing students with 7 years of bilingual instruction, from kindergarten through sixth grade. The school's objective was to enable students to achieve proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing two languages. Through a gradual process, students ultimately received 50% of instruction in English and 50% in Spanish.

The school came to the aid of the large number of Hispanic students who were struggling with English in the public schools of New York City. The language problem came to the public's attention in the 1960s, when community groups of Hispanic citizens, predominantly Puerto Rican, presented themselves at several public meetings of the city's board of education and disrupted sessions, demanding to be heard. Demands made by community activists included making school improvements and the incorporation of bilingual educators into schools that served primarily Puerto Rican youngsters. These requests were a direct result of the great number of Hispanic students who had difficulty with English and were unable to speak the language.

P.S. 25 was an accommodation to the Puerto Rican community by the city's board of education. Although widely regarded as an experiment, it managed to recruit students from an impoverished neighborhood in the immediate community and from other parts of the city. Like many other early bilingual schools, P.S. 25 attracted students from a low-socioeconomic background. In its first year, the school had a student body of 900 students. The ethnic composition of the school was predominantly Hispanic, chiefly Puerto Rican, Cuban, Ecuadorian, Peruvian, Dominican, and Colombian.

The teachers at the school were all Spanish/English bilingual, the majority being Puerto Rican; other teachers at the school were of Cuban and African American heritage. The teachers held qualifications that included a bachelor's degree, an English as a Second Language (ESL) certification, a New York City teaching license, and additional training through courses in ESL, cross-cultural studies, cultural heritage, and literature in the target language. Teachers also received continuous guidance by a master's-level supervisor and attended workshops and coursework provided by faculty from New York University. As a result of these initiatives and collaborations, many teachers went on to earn a master's degree in bilingual education. Most teachers also had previous teaching history in a Spanish-speaking country and had taught in the New York City area. In addition, P.S. 25 employed several bilingual paraprofessionals. The paraprofessionals' responsibilities included tasks such as teaching; in some instances, this included whole-class, small-group, or individual tutoring. Other responsibilities incorporated clerical duties and serving as liaisons to parents.

School Organization

Most classes in the P.S. 25 program had an average of 26 students, which was considered small by New York City standards. Teachers were encouraged to provide individualized instruction to children and use a subject-centered curriculum. Because the school opened with a diverse student population who had different proficiency levels, students were screened and grouped primarily by language dominance into their subject classes, either Spanish dominant or English dominant.

The use of the second language at the school had two functions. First, it was a separate subject of study, and, second, it served as a medium of instruction for other subjects. Teachers, paraprofessionals, and students did not mix languages; only one language at a time was used in the classroom for instructional purposes. Teachers at the school respected the students' native language, and the speech they produced in the class was accepted. However, teachers corrected students' language by identifying errors and then modeling proper standard language forms.

The primary teaching method at the school was the audio-lingual method, with an emphasis on communication. To complement this approach, teachers sought to compare and contrast the sounds of the two

languages through the use of audiotapes, structural drills, and dialogues. The sequence of instruction prioritized the development of listening-speaking proficiency; only when this proficiency had been informally assessed as adequate by teachers were students allowed to proceed to the development of reading skills. Reading instruction in the target language was pursued only after students had learned to read in their dominant language, which was reported to take place in the third grade.

Materials used were designed by curriculum specialists. Social studies materials were developed in Spanish and implemented not just at P.S. 25, but eventually at other New York City schools. In addition, materials imported from Puerto Rico and written in Spanish were adapted for use in the school. An early example of multicultural curriculum was demonstrated by the staff, who developed school activities and materials that focused on and represented African American and Puerto Rican values.

The medium of instruction in the early grades at the Bilingual School was predominantly Spanish; the use of English gradually increased, over several years, until 50% of instruction was practiced in each language throughout the day. The amount of time devoted to each language varied by grade level. For each year spent in the program, children were expected to use greater amounts of English in the classroom. The ratio of language of instruction, from dominant to second language, for students in kindergarten was 95% to 5%. The ratio for first grade was 85% to 15%; second grade was 85% to 15%; third grade was 80% to 20%; fourth grade was 70% to 30%; fifth grade was 60% to 40%, and, finally, in sixth grade, it was 50/50. Because the school accepted students at different grade levels from the outset, adjustments were made to the medium of instruction ratio to account for the years of bilingual instruction the students did not receive if they had not enrolled at P.S. 25 in kindergarten. The gradual increase in the use of English instruction allowed students to function comfortably in the second language without subjecting them to undue stress.

Extended School Services

The school started a summer school program beginning in 1969. The program focused on remediation and aid for students with learning disabilities in reading and mathematics. The classes formed included

Grades 1 through 5, regrouped by language dominance and disability. Evaluation was based on daily and weekly tests that were designed and administered by teachers, since these were not available in Spanish. At the conclusion of the session, it was obvious to the school staff that, in the past, many students had been misdiagnosed as disabled when, in fact, they had merely had difficulty with English.

The school also created an adult education component that informed parents of the content in the curriculum and methods used in the classroom. Parents were trained in the basic skills needed in order to help their children with schoolwork at home. Groups were also formed among parents with the goal of learning English or Spanish. As they developed language skills in the second language, parents demonstrated leadership by covering topics at group meetings that addressed social, political, and economic issues within the school and the community.

P.S. 25 remained open for many years and served as an early example to the New York City Board of Education of the viability of bilingual instruction in serving Hispanic youngsters. A few years later, in 1974, the *Aspira* Consent Decree provided a strong impetus that mandated bilingual education programs in other parts of the city.

Victor R. Quiñones Guerra

See also *Aspira* Consent Decree; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s; LaFontaine, Hernán; Multicultural Education; Oyster Bilingual School

Further Readings

- LaFontaine, H. (1970). *The Bilingual School (P.S. 25, Bronx)*. Brooklyn: New York City Board of Education, Division of Plans and Supplementary Centers. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 066983)
- LaFontaine, H., & Pagán, M. (1969). *A model for the implementation of the elementary school curriculum through bilingual education*. Brooklyn: New York City Board of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 066934)
- López-Santiago, A., & Saravia-Shore, M. (1971). *Content analysis schedule for bilingual education programs: The Bilingual School, P.S. 25*. New York: City University of New York, Hunter College Bilingual Education Applied Research Unit. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 074862)

PUERTO RICO, SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICIES

Puerto Rico, a Caribbean possession of the United States since 1898, has experienced numerous language policies throughout its history. The term *language policy* refers to the official designation of particular languages for educational or governmental functions. Although Puerto Ricans are a primarily Spanish-speaking population, they were obligated for 50 years to receive their education exclusively or partially in English, as part of an Americanization effort aimed at displacing their native language and integrating them, culturally and linguistically, into the United States. Since 1948, when the first Puerto Rican governor of the island was elected, the language of public education has been Spanish, with English as a mandatory school subject from early elementary school up to college graduation. An extensive private school system offers varying amounts of English-medium education, including English monolingual classes, completely bilingual instruction, and English solely as a required subject. There are also some model bilingual public school programs.

The Spanish language has a powerful symbolic significance for Puerto Ricans because it represents their ethnicity, or sense of belonging to the Hispanic world, as opposed to their official nationality as U.S. citizens. Despite all efforts to replace Spanish with English, the Puerto Rican people have remained fiercely loyal to their mother tongue. In the 2000 census, only 50% reported being able to speak English, which is popularly referred to as *el difícil* ("the difficult one"). The maintenance of Spanish in Puerto Rico is the result of various factors, among them the world status and extensive literature possessed by the Spanish language, the small geographic size and large population of Puerto Rico, the high level of Spanish literacy of its people, and the active efforts of political elites and intellectuals on the island to defend their native vernacular and resist the encroachment of English.

It is the opinion of numerous scholars that the failure of many Puerto Ricans to learn English is a form of resistance to U.S. cultural dominance. While there is a small but vocal minority of about 5% who advocate for total independence for Puerto Rico, most Puerto Ricans are divided evenly between those who favor Puerto Rico becoming a state and those who favor continuation of the current commonwealth

status, known as *Estado Libre Asociado* (“free associated state”), with some increase in local autonomy. Regardless of party affiliation, however, there is unanimous support across party lines for the maintenance of Spanish and Puerto Rican culture.

This is not to say that there are no competent English speakers in Puerto Rico. There is a strong correlation between higher social class and knowledge of English, which is somewhat complicated by the existence of working-class return migrants from the mainland United States who are fluent speakers of nonstandard varieties of English. Competent English speakers can be found in banking, international business, the tourist industry, the professions, academia, and the military. Nor can it be said that Puerto Ricans do not wish to learn English. There is nearly unanimous support for individual bilingualism, in this case the learning of two languages by individuals to further their personal and employment goals, and English language institutes have a flourishing business on the island. However, societal bilingualism (the officially sanctioned use of two languages throughout a society) is a notion many Puerto Ricans are uneasy with.

Historical Background

The often-contradictory changes in language policy in Puerto Rico prior to 1948 were primarily the result of the conflict between the U.S.-appointed governors’ desire to incorporate the island into the union and the desire of the Puerto Rican populace to maintain its distinctive identity. During the first 2 years following the end of the Spanish American War (in which Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines were ceded by Spain to the United States), the U.S. government took a callous attitude toward the Spanish of Puerto Rico, deeming it not worthy of maintenance. The openly expressed policy was eradication of Spanish in order to create allegiance to all things American.

After the 1900 Foraker Act established a civil government and created the Department of Public Instruction, 10 different commissioners of education experimented with seven different language policies (see Table 1 below). Until 1948, the federal government in Washington had ultimate control over educational policies in Puerto Rico, since the president of the United States directly appointed the commissioner of education and had the power to dismiss the holders of this office whenever they proved ineffective. In addition to implementing language policies, commissioners

also created incentives for learning English, including bringing in English teachers from the United States, obligating regular classroom teachers to pass tests in English, providing extra stipends for those who taught in English, and examining candidates for high school graduation in English. Most notable among these policies was the “Philippines plan” promoted by Roland Falkner, which consisted of special English training programs, summer institutes, and obligatory weekly English classes for Puerto Rican teachers; \$10 monthly raises to teachers qualified to teach in English; and annual teacher testing in English, with the threat of suspension or even loss of license for any who did not pass.

At each juncture, the pro-English measures met with rigorous protests on the part of teachers’ associations, parents, the intelligentsia, and outside evaluators. Many of the commissioners resigned in the face of public outcry at their policies. Mariano Villaronga, on the other hand, was forced to resign in 1947 because his pro-Spanish views did not find favor in Washington; however, in 1948, when Luis Muñoz Marín became the first elected governor, Villaronga was reinstated and rapidly made Spanish the instructional language at all levels of schooling, with English as a special subject. His policy has remained in force to this day.

The variable school language policies did not exist in a social vacuum, but rather responded to or were influenced by laws and events at an insular and an international level. For example, in 1902, the Official

Table 1 Language of Instruction in Puerto Rican Public Schools, 1900–2006

<i>Years</i>	<i>Elementary School</i>	<i>Intermediate & High School</i>
1900–1903	Spanish	English
1903–1916	English	English
1916–1934	Gr. 1–4 Spanish Gr. 5 both Gr. 6–8 English	English
1934–1937	Spanish	English
1937–1942	Gr. 1–4 Spanish Gr. 5 both Gr. 6–8 English	English
1942–1948	Gr. 1–6 Spanish	Gr. 7–12 English
1948–2006	Spanish	Spanish

Source: Adapted from Torres González (2002).

Languages Act declared that in all insular governmental departments, courts, and public offices, English was to be treated as co-official with Spanish and translations and interpretations from one language to the other would be made when necessary to ensure that all parties could follow the proceedings. Spanish would continue as the language of municipal offices, courts, and the police force. While not aimed at the educational arena, the law provided a legal rationale for the inclusion of English in the local curriculum.

The periods of most active reaction against English-only language policies tended to coincide with the flourishing of groups that openly criticized the U.S. government and sought independence for Puerto Rico (e.g., the founding of the Free Federation of Workers, 1906; the Partido de Independencia, 1911; the first Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, 1920; and the Nationalist Party, led by Pedro Albizu Campos, 1922). Periods of severe unemployment, like the Great Depression of 1930, which crippled the economy of Puerto Rico, made insistence on English-only education for an impoverished Spanish-speaking population an impossibility. Commissioner José Padín's policy of utilizing Spanish as a medium of instruction through the eighth grade reflected this reality.

Teachers played a critical role in the protests against what was termed the "cultural colonization" of the island. For example, in 1911, the Puerto Rican Teachers Association petitioned Commissioner Edward M. Bainter to implement Spanish as the teaching medium in the first grade, with content courses divided between Spanish and English up to the eighth grade. English would continue as the language of instruction in all high schools. Rural schools would be exempt from the policy due to their lack of resources and would teach in Spanish only. As a result of the teachers' protests, the annual English exams for teachers were abolished, and the Puerto Rican Legislature created the special post of Supervisor General of Spanish to oversee the teaching of Spanish in the public schools and ensure that Puerto Rican children continued to learn their vernacular in school.

Similarly, in the early 1920s, teachers' protests against Commissioner Juan B. Huyke's policies forced the Puerto Rico legislature to request a study of the school system. The famous Columbia Study of 1925 to 1926 recommended the use of Spanish as the medium of instruction until the seventh grade. Huyke called this "the suppression of English," since he felt that bilingualism could most easily be achieved during early childhood. However, many well-known

Puerto Ricans denounced the imposition of English, and Huyke resigned amidst public outrage.

In 1943, on the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II, the U.S. Senate's "Chávez Committee" denounced the fact that despite 45 years of U.S. rule, Puerto Ricans were still limited in English skills, and accordingly, Commissioner Gallardo was formally reprimanded. However, as more and more Puerto Ricans surpassed an elementary school education and were enrolled in intermediate and high school programs (where instruction was in English), public resistance to teaching exclusively in English again mounted. In 1946, a bill was presented in the Puerto Rican Assembly to make Spanish the medium of instruction at all levels, with special attention to the teaching of English. This was vetoed by interim Governor Manuel A. Pérez. The bill was then sent to President Harry S. Truman to see whether he would override the governor's veto, but it was retained by the Department of the Interior until the deadline for approval had passed. A federal lawsuit to obligate the passing of the bill was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court. Nevertheless, the protests continued, and Gallardo finally resigned in 1946.

Recent Developments

Despite the stability of the educational language policy since 1948, language continues to be a bone of contention in Puerto Rico, particularly among politicians. In 1991, for example, the Official Language Act of 1902, which gave co-official status to both English and Spanish, was revoked by the Partido Popular Democrático (Pro-Commonwealth Party) in what many observers saw as a political ploy to gain votes. The new law (Law No. 4) declared Spanish to be the sole official language, although it recognized the importance of English on the island and did not alter the school language policy. This move prompted the government of Spain to award Puerto Rico with a medal for its defense of the Spanish language, and supporters of the new law exulted in this symbolic triumph. However, in January of 1993, when the Partido Nuevo Progresista (statehood party) came back into power, Governor Pedro Rosselló, fulfilling a campaign promise to return English to its original status so as to facilitate the eventual acceptance of Puerto Rico as a state, promptly revoked the "Spanish-only" law and signed into effect Law No. 1, which essentially conformed to the stipulations of the original 1902 law. In 2003, the Commission of Education,

Science, and Culture of the Puerto Rican Senate produced a report on language in Puerto Rico, which concludes that it is precisely this sort of politicization of the conflict over bilingualism that has led to language learning problems among Puerto Rican children.

Given the demands of the “information age,” parents and educators are deeply concerned about the difficulties that many Puerto Rican children have with both English and Spanish. To this end, the Department of Public Instruction (now Education) has experimented with various programs to improve the language mastery of children in public schools, including bilingual programs for return migrant students and a Project to Create the Bilingual Citizen, which featured intensive summer English camps and the teaching of math and science in English in certain schools. There has been considerable debate since the early 1980s regarding the right time to start English instruction. The Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española (Puerto Rican Spanish Language Academy) analyzed the situation in 1998 and recommended the teaching of literacy in the mother tongue before the teaching of English. In 2003, a “curricular framework” for English was developed by the Department of Education; however, by 2007, implementation was not yet complete. Shortly after, funds from the No Child Left Behind legislation were utilized to train and certify all English teachers in Puerto Rico and improve other critical aspects of the teaching process, such as instructional materials and school facilities.

Alicia Pousada

See also Americanization and Its Critics; Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Bilingualism Stages; Language and Identity; Language Policy and Social Control; Languages and Power; Official Language Designation; Social Bilingualism; Social Class and Language Status; Spanish, The Second National Language

Further Readings

- Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española. (1998). *La enseñanza del español y del inglés en Puerto Rico: Una polémica de 100 años* [The teaching of Spanish and English in Puerto Rico: A 100-year controversy]. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Academia Puertorriqueña.
- Barreto, A. A. (2001). *The politics of language in Puerto Rico*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Comisión de Educación, Ciencias y Cultura del Senado de Puerto Rico. (2003). *El informe sobre el idioma en Puerto*

Rico [Report on language in Puerto Rico]. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Senado de Puerto Rico.

- Negrón de Montilla, A. (1970). *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the public school system, 1900–1930*. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Edil.
- Resnick, M. (1993). ESL and language planning in Puerto Rican education. *TESOL Quarterly*, 27, 259–275.
- Torres González, R. (2002). *Idioma, bilingüismo y nacionalidad: La presencia del inglés en Puerto Rico* [Language, bilingualism, and nationality: The presence of English in Puerto Rico]. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.

PULL-OUT ESL INSTRUCTION

The term *pull-out ESL instruction* refers to the common practice, used mainly in elementary schools, in which English language learners (ELLs) are placed in mainstream classrooms but are also “pulled out” of those classrooms for part of the day to receive English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction from a specially trained ESL teacher. Under federal law (e.g., *Lau v. Nichols*, 1974, and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001), schools must ensure that ELL students learn both English and core academic content (e.g., math, science, social studies) simultaneously. Pull-out ESL instruction meets the first of these two requirements, as its purpose is to help ELL students learn English as quickly and effectively as possible. In practice, pull-out ESL models vary widely in terms of the types of ELL students, the amount of time allotted for instruction, the curriculum used, the skills targeted, the qualifications of the teachers assigned to this function, and the role of this program component as part of the total range of instructional services provided for ELLs.

The pull-out ESL model is most frequently used (and most needed) in schools in which most classroom teachers do not have the training or certification to provide effective daily ESL instruction for ELL students in their own classrooms. Thus, pull-out ESL models are common in schools that do not have bilingual education programs or well-designed sheltered English immersion classrooms. In these schools, ELL students typically make up a smaller percentage of the population, and thus ELL students are placed in mainstream classrooms. However, some schools with bilingual and/or sheltered English immersion classrooms may also have pull-out ESL classes to service

ELL students who are not participating in these programs, or the school may simply elect to use pull-out ESL to provide the ESL component of the bilingual or sheltered English immersion program.

The amount of instruction time varies greatly. In some schools, ELLs may be pulled out of their regular classrooms every day for anywhere from 30 minutes to 2 hours or more. In other schools, ELL students may be pulled out only 2 to 3 times a week. This frequently depends on the number of ELL students within a school and the demands placed on the time of the pull-out ESL teacher. In some districts, the number of ELL students in each school is small enough that a single ESL teacher may be sufficient to service two or more schools. In other cases, the ELL student population may be large enough to justify several pull-out ESL teachers at a single school. ELL students are entitled to ESL instruction until they are officially redesignated as fluent English proficient and no longer require special language services. However, some schools provide pull-out ESL instruction only to newly arrived non-English-speaking ELL students or to ELL students at the lowest levels of English proficiency. These schools operate under the assumption that once ELLs reach a level of basic oral English proficiency (i.e., they know basic vocabulary and can carry on a simple conversation), they will be able to continue learning English on their own in regular classrooms. This can be a questionable practice. Evidence from language proficiency tests given in California and other states show that many ELL students get stuck at the intermediate and advanced levels of English ability for several years. This suggests that ELL students at these higher oral fluency levels may need more intensive ESL than can be provided through the pull-out instruction alone. Until and unless that service is continued, the students cannot be redesignated as fully English proficient. This is especially true in reading and writing, as compared with oral English.

The curriculum utilized in pull-out ESL programs can also vary greatly from district to district. Most often, the focus is on developing speaking and listening skills in English or on increasing students' English vocabularies. However, many pull-out ESL teachers are also expected to help their ELL students learn to read and write in English. In some pull-out ESL programs, the ESL teacher replaces the classroom teacher as the language arts teacher. For example, a school may arrange for ESL students to be pulled out of their regularly assigned classrooms during language

arts instruction and instead receive this instruction from the ESL teacher. In this model, the ESL teacher can integrate listening, speaking, reading, and writing instruction in a manner that is appropriate to the level of their ESL students. Some pull-out ESL teachers also integrate content-based ESL instruction, meaning they may teach lessons in the content areas such as science, social studies, math, or art but with a focus on helping students develop language and vocabulary through these content area lessons.

Some schools adopt comprehensive ESL curricular programs produced by textbook companies for use in pull-out ESL classrooms. Examples of these are *Into English* or *Avenues* (Hampton Brown), *On Our Way to English* (Rigby), *Scott Foresman ESL* (Pearson Longman), or *Zip Zoom English* (Scholastic), and/or other supplementary ESL materials. In other schools, ESL teachers utilize district-created ESL curricula. In some schools, pull-out ESL teachers find they must create their own teaching materials. Often, they have limited resources or expertise with which to do so. Effective pull-out ESL teachers attempt to correlate their instruction with what the students are learning in their regular classrooms. This can prove to be difficult, especially for ESL teachers who pull students from several different classrooms. It is an important part of a total program, however, since the children who are pulled out must return to their mainstream classes and be able to participate in those alongside English-speaking classmates.

In most schools, the ESL teacher is a fully certified teacher with specialized training and certification in working with ELL students. This training and certification typically includes linguistics, second-language acquisition, effective approaches and methods, multicultural education, and effective assessment practices. Having proficiency in the students' native language(s) is desired but not required. Many ESL teachers provide instruction to ELL students from a wide range of language backgrounds, and it is not reasonable to expect them to speak all of these languages. However, most ESL teacher certification programs require teachers to take 1 or 2 years of a "foreign" (or world) language so they have personal experience in the challenge of learning a second language. In some schools, pull-out ESL instruction is provided by paraprofessionals with little to no training. Administrators may rationalize that bilingual paraprofessionals can teach ESL because they know both languages. However, simply knowing how to speak a second language does not qualify

someone to be an effective ESL teacher. In cases where paraprofessionals must be used owing to shortages of qualified teachers, they should receive training in the functions expected of them and be under the supervision of certified master teachers who prepare effective lessons and activities for them to use.

Effectiveness and Criticism of the Pull-Out ESL Model

The pull-out ESL model has been widely criticized in the professional literature. It is described as the most implemented, most expensive, and least effective model. The pull-out ESL model requires hiring one or more teachers in addition to regular classroom teachers. Space also becomes an issue, especially in schools that are already overcrowded. Many pull-out ESL teachers are itinerant; they have no assigned classrooms. They may hold their classes in portable classrooms, in the basement, the cafeteria, on the auditorium stage, or even outdoors on lunch tables. The space issue often contributes to a view of the ESL students (and their teachers) as neglected second-class citizens within the school. A major concern of the pull-out model is that students miss out on instruction in their regular classrooms while they are being pulled out. As a result, some ESL students never receive critical content area instruction, such as math or science, or miss out on fun and meaningful classroom projects and activities. Many ESL students report feeling embarrassed about being pulled out of their classes in front of their English-fluent peers. Another criticism is that in the pull-out ESL program, ELL students do not have native-English-speaking peers who can serve as models and authentic communication partners (this criticism, however, ignores the fact that ESL students are with native speakers for most of the day). Another concern is that the regular classroom teacher may adopt the attitude that ELL students are the full responsibility of the pull-out ESL teacher and may not make sufficient efforts to provide appropriate language and sheltered content area instruction for these students in their own classrooms.

The preferred model is that classroom teachers be trained and certified to provide both effective ESL and content area instruction in their classrooms. When classroom teachers provide daily ESL instruction, there is no stigma for students who are pulled out, teachers can ensure that ESL instruction is correlated with classroom content area instruction, and they take

on full responsibility for the language and content learning of their ELL students.

Better Than Nothing

Although pull-out ESL instruction is widely criticized as insufficient, it is important to recognize that it is better than nothing. Indeed, without pull-out ESL programs, many ELLs would simply be left to “sink or swim” in mainstream classrooms. In other words, submersion is far worse as a model, which is why it was declared illegal in the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) case. If schools cannot provide comprehensive bilingual or sheltered English immersion programs, pull-out ESL may be the only way to meet the language and educational needs of ELL students. Pull-out ESL teachers are typically dedicated professionals who care deeply about their students. The small size of the group of students they work with means they can provide individualized attention to each ELL student, which the typical classroom teacher is often unable to give. Whereas sheltered English immersion teachers are supposed to provide daily in-class ESL instruction, research has shown that in many cases, this does not happen. Many classroom teachers do not understand the difference between ESL and sheltered content instruction and thus only provide the latter. Even for those who do understand the difference, pressure to prepare students for high-stakes tests places huge demands on teachers’ instructional time, and thus they may conclude there is no time for ESL instruction. Teachers who have both ELL and English-fluent children may not know how to manage their classrooms in a manner that allows them to work daily with just their ELLs to provide in-class ESL instruction. Thus, in reality, in many sheltered English immersion classrooms, instruction differs little from that provided in mainstream classrooms. At the very least, pull-out ESL models provide ELL students some time each week with a certified ESL teacher who is sensitive to their needs and trained to help them acquire the English language proficiency needed to succeed in their regular classrooms.

Wayne E. Wright

See also Bilingual Paraprofessionals; Designation and Redesignation of English Language Learners; English as a Second Language (ESL) Approaches; English Immersion; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; SIOP

Further Readings

- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (4th ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Freeman, R. (2004). *Building on community bilingualism: Promoting multiculturalism through schooling*. Philadelphia: Caslon.
- Hill, E. G. (2004). *A look at the progress of English learner students*. Sacramento, CA: Legislative Analyst's Office.
- Hill, E. G. (2006). *Update 2002–2004: The progress of English learner students*. Sacramento, CA: Legislative Analyst's Office.
- Ovando, C., Combs, M. C., & Collier, V. P. (2006). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts* (4th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2002). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement*. Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.
- Wright, W. E. (2006). What is the difference between English as a second language (ESL) and sheltered instruction/SDAIE? In R. D. Freeman & E. Hamayan (Eds.), *English language learners at school: A guide for administrators* (pp. 87–88). Philadelphia: Caslon.
- Wright, W. E., & Choi, D. (2005). *Voices from the classroom: A statewide survey of experienced third-grade English language learner teachers on the impact of language and high-stakes testing policies in Arizona*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Educational Policy Studies Laboratory. Available from <http://www.asu.edu/educ/epsl/EPRU/documents/EPSSL-0512-104-LPRU.pdf>

Q

QUÉBEC AND LANGUAGE CONFLICT

See CANADIAN AND U.S. LANGUAGE POLICIES

QUESTION 2 (MASSACHUSETTS)

On November 5, 2002, Massachusetts voters passed English-only educational legislation, known as “Question 2,” with 70% voter approval. Question 2 modified the original 30-year-old Transitional Bilingual Education Act, which required school districts to implement transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs if there were 20 or more students enrolled from the same language group who were of limited-English-speaking ability. The passage of Question 2 practically eliminated TBE in the state. The new legislation established that all children in Massachusetts public schools are to be taught in English only. The law, however, did not affect students registered in two-way bilingual education programs, in which native English speakers and native speakers of another language learn in both languages; students who already knew English and were educated in foreign-language classes; or students in special education programs for the physically or mentally impaired.

According to Question 2, unless a waiver was granted, English language learners (ELLs) from kindergarten through 12th grade were to be educated through *sheltered English immersion* (SEI). In SEI classrooms, the curricula and presentation were

designed for children learning the English language, and all books and instructional materials were required to be in English. Question 2 established that teachers in SEI classrooms could use a minimal amount of the children’s native language(s) when necessary, although children had to learn to read and write solely in English. ELLs placed in SEI were to receive the service during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed 1 school year. However, the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 required students to stay in the program until they acquired a good working knowledge of English that allowed them to participate meaningfully in a district’s mainstream education program.

Parents or legal guardians of ELLs had the right to request a waiver from their children’s participation in SEI programs; however, waivers were very restrictive for children younger than 10 years old. There were three circumstances in which parents could request a waiver: (1) for children who already knew English, as measured by the state English proficiency tests; (2) for children 10 years or older whose principal and educational staff believed that an alternate course of educational study would be better suited to the child’s overall educational progress and rapid acquisition of basic English language skills; or (3) for children younger than 10 years old with special individual needs.

Question 2 gave parents and legal guardians the right to sue any school district employee, school committee member, or other elected official for the legal enforcement of the provisions of the law. To do so, parents were required to prove that the school district employee or official willfully and repeatedly refused

to implement the terms of the law. If a person were found personally liable, he or she would then be responsible for attorney's fees, costs, and compensatory damages and would be forbidden to be indemnified for such monetary judgment by any public or private third party, such as the teachers union. In addition, these individuals would also be barred from election or reelection to any school committee and from employment in any public school district for a period of 5 years. Parents who were granted exception waivers retained full and permanent legal right to sue the individuals who granted such waivers if they subsequently discovered before the child reached the age of 18 that the application for waivers was induced by fraud or intentional misrepresentation and injured the education of their child. Nonetheless, before parents could sue teachers and other school officials, they must have exhausted the administrative process at the local and state level.

Finally, Question 2 stated that ELLs had to be taught to the same standards as all students, delineated in the Massachusetts Curricular Frameworks, and be provided the same opportunities to master such standards. To ensure the progress of students learning English, children were required to be assessed each year using standardized, nationally normed written tests of academic subject matter in English and of English proficiency. Aggregated percentile scores and distributional data for individual schools, program types, and school districts of students classified as ELLs had to be made available to the public.

When Massachusetts voters approved Question 2 mandating English-only classrooms for ELLs, these mandates were implemented in a specific context. During the 1990s, Massachusetts, along with the majority of states, developed content and performance standards, including the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS), to test all public school students on the state's learning standards. With the reauthorization of the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, ELLs in Massachusetts were required to participate in all the state assessments scheduled for their grade levels regardless of the number of years they had been in the United States. The only exception involved ELLs who were in their first year of enrollment in an American school. In addition, ELLs had to annually take newly created English proficiency assessment tests in reading, writing, speaking, and listening.

Implementation

Question 2 went into effect during the 2002–2003 school year. Within a few months, more than 50 school districts in the state restructured their programs for ELLs in order to accommodate Question 2 mandates. At the beginning of the 2003–2004 school year, almost all TBE programs were disarticulated, and most ELLs were placed in either SEI programs or in mainstream classrooms.

The interpretation and implementation of Question 2 mandates, however, was complex: Districts had to implement Question 2 mandates without much time for planning curricula, materials, and/or professional development. Almost all TBE programs were dismantled regardless of the quality of those programs; programs that successfully taught English as well as another language were eliminated.

Implementation in SEI Classrooms

The majority of the former TBE teachers who remained in the system after the passage of Question 2 were placed in SEI classrooms. Two forms of SEI programs were implemented in the state. The first type was SEI classes for students from the same language group in which the teacher provided instruction in English but used the students' native language(s) for clarification. The second type was classes designed as SEI for mixed-language students in which all instruction was provided in English.

SEI teachers went through many changes and challenges during the first years of implementation because the structure of the SEI programs was weak: Implementation guidelines were too general, ambiguous, or continually changing, so that SEI teachers were left with unanswered questions about curricula, instruction, and assessment.

Because Question 2 specifically prohibited teaching through languages other than English in SEI classrooms, some former TBE teachers who switched to SEI classrooms felt the difference without the support of students' native language when teaching instruction only in a language that students either did not understand or were not adequately proficient. The inability to teach through students' native language was very challenging for these teachers, particularly when teaching newcomers with interrupted schooling and U.S.-born children whose native language was not English and who had low native-language literacy

skills. Although many teachers did not feel they were being monitored in their use of language in the classroom, they did feel constrained as to how and when to use the students' native language, and they feared possible sanctions. There were inconsistencies in the ways in which teachers were informed about the acceptable use of students' native language for instruction. Therefore, SEI teachers interpreted the amount and purpose of students' native-language use in different ways. Whereas some SEI teachers used students' native language only on very few occasions and for oral language communication, other teachers allowed students to read and write in their native language.

Impact in Mainstream Classrooms

Many schools prior to Question 2 did not have particular programs for ELLs; therefore, these students had attended mainstream classrooms. Although Question 2 identified mainstream programs as an option for ELLs, the legislation did not give these programs any specification, as it did with SEI programs. After the passage of Question 2, several dismantled TBE programs were replaced by mainstream classrooms. In general, mainstream classrooms experienced a limited impact of Question 2 mandates. Those classrooms most impacted by Question 2 were those that experienced an increase in the number of ELLs after the law's passage but lacked the resources to meet the specific needs of these students. The increase of ELLs in mainstream classrooms was related to the pressure for rapid transition of students from SEI to mainstream classrooms even though these students still had limited English proficiency.

After the passage of Question 2, more efforts and resources were allocated to provide professional development for mainstream teachers working with ELLs. Before Question 2, the education of ELLs was perceived as solely the responsibility of TBE and English as a Second Language (ESL) programs.

However, with the increased number of ELLs present in mainstream classrooms, the state required mainstream teachers to be prepared to work with them. Although school districts had been developing and providing more professional development opportunities for their teachers, there was a need for allocating more resources in this area.

Impact of Question 2 in Two-Way Bilingual Education Classrooms

The original text of Question 2 excluded two-way bilingual education as an acceptable educational program for ELLs. However, several months after Question 2 passed, the legislation was amended, and two-way bilingual programs were exempted from the legislation. After this amendment, two-way bilingual teachers did not feel the impact of Question 2 to the extent their colleagues did in other types of programs.

María Teresa Sánchez

See also Dual-Language Programs; English for the Children Campaign; English Immersion; English-Only Organizations; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 227 (California)

Further Readings

- Brisk, M. E., & Sánchez, M. T. (2006). What are the state mandates for educating English language learners? In E. Hamayan & R. Freeman (Eds.), *English language learners at school. A guide for administrators* (pp. 12–14). Philadelphia: Caslon.
- DeJong, E. J., Gort, M., & Cobb, C. D. (2005). Bilingual education within the context of English-only policies: Three districts' responses to Question 2 in Massachusetts. *Educational Policy, 19*, 595–620.
- Sánchez, M. T. (2006). *Teachers' experiences implementing English-only educational legislation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA.

R

RAISING BILINGUAL CHILDREN

Raising bilingual children in the United States may be more challenging than it is in other societies, where language diversity is favored and less burdened by negative attitudes. Bilingual families face the same myriad of child-rearing uncertainties as their monolingual peers do, with the added complexity of maintaining linguistic diversity in a society where diversity, although valued in some circles, is far from being embraced across all levels and sectors. Support for raising bilingual children varies extensively; however, the situations many confront are similar.

Parents raising bilingual children in the United States are participating in a culture that embraces monolingualism as its dominant linguistic ideology; English remains the primary or exclusive language of dominant discourse and economic power. Languages are cognitive, linguistic, and societal resources. The decision to nurture and value bilingualism affirms the importance of all languages in communicating parental wisdom and experience. This choice, however, carries with it differing consequences for differing populations. Asymmetrical relationships among languages, and the speakers of those languages, ensure differential levels of acceptance of bilingualism. Donaldo Macedo summarizes this by remarking that when a dominant-language-speaking person learns a second language, it involves the addition of the second language to this person's linguistic repertoire, whereas a minority-language speaker learning the dominant language feels subordinated because such a person's own language is not valued, and having to learn the dominant language is not a free choice.

This entry describes the research-based knowledge on raising bilingual children in both families of the majority culture language and minority families in the United States.

Hegemony of English

Parents raising bilingual children face significant linguistic pressure to acquire English at the expense of a heritage language. English is the language of the outside environment within the United States and of popular culture throughout much of the world. As such, its usefulness cannot be denied. Often, however, the cost of learning English is the eradication of the family language. Evidence of the pressure to assimilate linguistically is found in data that testify to the rapid language loss among immigrant and indigenous groups within the United States. Researchers Lily Wong Fillmore and Stephen Caldas discuss how English is in no danger of losing its preeminence. Rather, languages other than English are most threatened, and parents desiring to raise bilingual children must maximize exposure to the minority language.

A first step in resisting the pressure to become a monolingual English speaker is to understand the consequences of language loss on family relationships. Caldas and Wong Fillmore show that often language loss has occurred before parents have attended consciously to how they will combat it. Children's education and socialization concerning language and related subjects begins in the home where families impart knowledge about their beliefs, values, attitudes, and knowledge base. Wong Fillmore has referred to these lessons as the *curriculum of the home*. She identifies

particular elements of this curriculum as including a sense of belonging; knowledge of who one is, where one comes from, and how one is connected to the important people and events in life; the ability to handle adversity; and knowledge of one's responsibility to self, family, and community.

Many researchers, including Caldas and Wong Fillmore, document the difficulties parents face when trying to socialize or discipline a child in a language they do not know intimately. Parental hardships are particularly vexing during the adolescent years when children often reject the ancestral language or appear embarrassed by parents who have replaced a well-spoken first language with a superficially understood second language. On the other hand, Colin Baker, Una Cunningham-Andersson, and Staffan Andersson claim some evidence indicates that parents may retain more prestige and respect within the family by speaking the minority language. These researchers recommend, therefore, that families model and promote mature language use in the home. According to Baker and Wong Fillmore, culturally rich language use by the parents may include sharing oral histories, acting out folk tales, imparting traditional colloquialisms, or reading native language texts. These are topical areas in which parents have unmatched expertise that cannot be easily rejected by the child. Parents may find that certain elements of their heritage, such as the language of affection or familial traditions like favorite songs and children's games can only happen through the family's first language. The choice of which language to use with a child may have lasting implications for the parent-child relationship and for emotional intimacy.

Language Strategies

The goal of raising bilingual children requires a thoughtful approach to regulating when and where children will engage with each language. Children may acquire two languages simultaneously from birth, or languages can be learned in succession. Lenore Arnberg and Colin Baker describe how either strategy can result in high levels of bilingual competency. According to Arnberg, decisive research findings regarding the advantages of raising children as simultaneous bilinguals versus sequential bilinguals are unavailable. There do not appear to be advantages to either. Children raised as simultaneous bilinguals know no other system. They, therefore, according to Arnberg and Baker, exhibit no resistance to acquiring more than one

language and learn early the social and cultural advantages of expanded communicative opportunities. Those who acquire a second language sequentially have a greater understanding of the world and may be able to employ conscious learning strategies to aid the process. In addition, in situations where there is great danger of language loss, sequential language acquisition may allow families to concentrate exclusively on building a solid foundation in the minority tongue, such that the ability of the majority language to suppress the minority language is buffered.

There is no evidence to support the commonly espoused myth that the younger a person is, the more easily and completely he or she acquires a second language. Actually, the primary advantage of childhood bilingualism is not the ability to learn the language but, rather, the facility of acquiring an undistinguishable accent. Given that more of the world speaks English as a second language than as a first language, the dichotomy between "native-like" or "nonnative" pronunciation is far less important than most parents believe. Indeed, some linguists have questioned which version of English might be considered "native" given that more speakers of English now live outside of the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. Thus, accent should not be the decisive factor when considering which strategy is appropriate for fostering childhood bilingualism.

It is generally more fruitful to view languages in all their variations as pluralistic, and to acknowledge that they are all functional for the communities that use them. Family circumstances often dictate whether children are raised as simultaneous or sequential bilinguals. Many families have no choice. Those who do must examine their individual situations and resources to decide which method is most advantageous and sustainable. Arnberg, Edith Harding-Esch, and Philip Riley list some considerations as the parents' fluency in the languages, the family's opportunities to engage the child meaningfully in each of the languages outside of the home, the effect of language on extended family relationships, how inter-family communication may be affected, the amount of social tension between the languages, travel plans, and educational opportunities. The decision about which language to use in the home should be made thoughtfully because it could unintentionally result in a sense of loss for a parent rather than a gain for the child.

Establishing language boundaries is one way parents aid children in becoming bilingual. Baker, a

worldwide observer of languages in contact, suggests that the “appropriateness” of languages is defined by the people who speak them, the places they are spoken, or the occasions when they are used. Cunningham-Andersson, Andersson, Harding-Esch, and Riley describe common strategies as the following: one parent, one language (also known as one person-one language); one language, one location; a weekday language and a Sunday language; and a holiday language and a year-round language.

Families experience differential amounts of control over which strategy they employ. The one parent, one language strategy assumes that adult family members have different dominant languages and that the family goal is simultaneous language acquisition. Such families typically also want their children to learn to respect both languages equally. Each parent speaks his or her language with the child, and the child is expected to respond in kind. The child associates one language with one parent and learns to separate the two communication systems. This strategy has been employed and documented by many scholars and researchers who have used it with their own children.

There are some obstacles to this approach. One is which language to use when communicating with each other. Assuming both parents are bilingual, they can choose to mix languages by using the language of the person who initiates the conversation or by having each remain in his or her dominant language. Another option is to choose between the majority and the minority language. Some have suggested that one way to counteract the hegemony of English and to increase minority language status is to give it preference within the home. Another complication arises when one of the parents does not know the other’s language. Feelings of exclusion can be created when one parent cannot participate in, or understand, all familial conversations. Finally, it is difficult to be completely consistent. A parent who speaks a minority language to a child will undoubtedly encounter occasions when reverting to the majority language is inevitable. Parents will need to determine how to handle situations such as telephone conversations and the presence of monolingual friends, family, or playmates.

A second popular strategy is one language, one location. This strategy has many variations, depending on individual family circumstances and goals. Families employing one language in one location must determine which language to use in the home, in public, in school, or in places of worship. Children quickly

realize what place relates to what language rather than attaching significance to the person. This method is often chosen by families when both parents speak the minority language. A common native language is spoken in the home, and the second language is acquired in the community. This is frequently the situation for immigrant families when the parents are monolingual speakers of a language other than English. Other families choosing this method are mixed language parents, where one of the parents agrees to forego using his or her dominant language so that the family can develop the other language. This strategy elevates the status of the minority language by valuing its use as the family language. A final version of this strategy within the United States is its use by monolingual English-speaking households desiring to raise bilingual children. These families depend heavily on educational institutions to provide the environment for second-language learning. When the option exists, parents in these situations often choose to send their children to international or immersion schools.

Again, parents will find one language, one location decisions challenged by societal pressures to engage in speaking English. Caldas illustrates this dilemma by documenting his family’s struggles around language use and homework completion. A one language, one location policy can be challenged when a parent must switch languages to provide homework assistance. Caldas’s qualitative data regarding this phenomenon suggests that these switches often result in extended periods of the nontargeted home language use.

Other family language strategies involve devoting particular days of the week to target language use, or having language use be dependent upon patterns of geographic migration. Language acquisition may be linked to religious affiliation, as is the case for many families whose children attend Hebrew school, or may be enhancing family languages by participating in particular educational opportunities outside the home such as Saturday school. As can be seen, families can employ many strategies to meet their purposes for supporting childhood bilingualism.

Developmental Bilingualism

Pioneering the case-study research in childhood bilingualism was linguist Werner Leopold, who meticulously documented the language development of his German-English bilingual daughter who was raised with the one parent, one language strategy. Leopold’s

study was published in 1952 in a four-volume work and began a continuing tradition of scholars documenting their personal experiences with bilingualism. Leopold concluded that bilingualism influences one's worldview and affords children the early understanding of the arbitrariness of words.

The researchers mentioned so far, as well as Kenji Hakuta and Tracey Tokuhama-Espinosa have all written about how the case-study tradition has contributed a nuanced understanding of language acquisition in childhood bilinguals that is generally described as having two or three stages. The stages are characterized by the extent to which children distinguish between the two linguistic systems. In the two-stage definition, the first stage is a period characterized by a lack of differentiation between languages. During this stage, children will mix words and sounds and may even apply the syntax of one language when speaking the other. Children exposed simultaneously to two languages generally need between 2 and 3 years to differentiate and categorize the sounds, vocabularies, and grammars of each language. It is not uncommon, in this period, for children to mix the two language systems indiscriminately. This is a natural stage in the process and does not last for very long, nor does it indicate any long-term confusion by the child. The second stage is characterized by a near separation of linguistic systems with the growing ability to translate between the languages. Some evidence indicates that children raised acquiring more than one language simultaneously exhibit greater metalinguistic awareness than their monolingual peers. The former understand that one concept can be labeled with many words. In the three-stage characterization, researchers refine the phases with stage one being subdivided into *amalgamation*, or no separation of language, and *differentiation*, a period in which a child exhibits growing separation of language, but may employ only one grammar system with both languages. The final stage is labeled *separation* and does not differ from the previous definition of stage two bilingualism.

As these stages imply, language mixing is a normal phenomena in the linguistic development of childhood bilinguals. Rather than being evidence of confusion, it aids the child in formulating and testing language hypotheses concerning the languages in question. The age and speed at which a child moves through each stage varies according to a number of factors: how separated the languages are within the child's environment, the amount of exposure to each

language, the experiences the child associates with each language, and the parents' acceptance or lack of acceptance of language mixing.

As bilingual children mature, language mixing may become deliberate. This phenomenon is described in the field as *code switching*—the ability to choose words from linguistic and cultural repertoires developed in more than one language. This rule-governed behavior affords bilingual community members extended linguistic resources for meaningful expression. Holly Cashman and Iliana Reyes argue that the choice to engage in code-switching communicative practices evidences a sophisticated understanding of how to strategically employ language for a particular audience or purpose. Harding-Esch and Riley argue that complex code switching requires a high level of bilingualism and should serve as evidence of dual-language abilities rather than bilingual confusion. Code switching is a legitimate discourse pattern within multilingual communities and is often employed by young people simply as a way of having fun with their language. Reyes's research shows incidents of code switching increasing as children get older and have acquired more highly developed proficiencies in each language. Monica Heller and Cashman argue that the ability to choose from more than one code creates space for individuals to demonstrate their bilingual identity and to negotiate their power and status.

Bilingual Identity Formation

How we think about ourselves is greatly influenced by how others interact with us. In other words, how we treat others and how others treat us contributes to our identities. Thomas Ricento writes about how identity is not something constructed in the mind but, rather, formed by means of a dialectic relationship with other human beings. These relationships develop in particular political, historic, and economic milieus and are influenced by societal pressures. Identity, then, is a social construct linked inextricably to the sociopolitical and socioeconomic context in which it develops. Adrian Blackledge, Aneta Pavlenko, and Bonny Norton show how identity is a fluid state that can be consciously or unconsciously constructed across time and space. The paradox of societal acceptance of bilinguals is linked inextricably to language status. Those who speak English as a first language but acquire a second are celebrated, whereas speakers of other languages are often criticized for maintaining a first language while acquiring English.

In a land where there is much pressure to become a monolingual speaker of English, parents face a formidable task when embarking on the journey to help children value and embrace bilingual identities. But when the dominant society projects the image that being normal entails being a monolingual speaker of English, the message received by those who speak more than one language is that there is something unusual about being bilingual, and that, perhaps, it is undesirable or harmful to be bilingual.

Linguistic hegemony reproduces inequitable power relationships, and these relationships influence identity formation. Blackledge, Pavlenko, Ricento, and Norton, all show how language mediates and transforms developing identities, becoming both a tool for identity formation and a site for struggle in the quest to define identity. According to Norton, language is not just about exchanging information with one's interlocutors; it is also a vehicle for expressing and formulating societal relationships because when language learners speak, they also organize and reorganize their sense of who they are and how they are related to the world.

As children mature, they begin to contemplate who they are, and who they are becoming. All children explore identity along such lines as gender, class, religion, sexuality, and race. The child who speaks more than one language must also decide whether or not to embrace or reject his bilingualism as an important identity marker. As Arnberg, Cunningham-Andersson, and Andersson point out, children may feel torn between the language and traditions of their monolingual peers and those of their bilingual parents. They may feel their allegiances are being questioned and challenged. Children learn to negotiate their status between and within groups; however, group membership is a social condition, and individual choice is insufficient to ensure group membership. Blackledge and Pavlenko note that acknowledging linguistic difference, or engaging in linguistic change, can be painful and risky because it means leaving the safety of the culturally familiar. Many have reported that it is an uneven road and that families can expect children's attitudes to change over time.

Immigrant children often adjust to cultural and linguistic change sooner than their parents do. In a study conducted by Rubén Rumbaut, second-generation children who were born in the United States reported a greater desire to assimilate culturally and linguistically than their parents did. This study found that

increased parent-child household conflict was linked to the embracing both the English language and U.S. dominant society culture. Wong Fillmore, too, has documented the detrimental effect language shift can have on family relations, especially when language practices create rifts and separation between young people and their grandparents.

Caldas writes about a long-term ethnographic study that found that early adolescents project "parallel monolingual" identities rather than embracing their bilingual identity, but that pride in bilingualism increased throughout adolescence. The children were French-English bilinguals who embraced English speaking when in the United States, and French speaking when in Québec. Language preference was documented as being context specific and not tied to language proficiency. The authors stress the increasing importance of the peer group as children approach adolescence. Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson note that bilingualism may attract unwanted attention.

Families help children learn to embrace and celebrate bilingualism by providing a stimulating linguistic environment and modeling positive attitudes toward the child's developing bilingualism. Praise can do much to motivate a young child. Parents should emphasize communicative competence over linguistic correctness. The early development of a positive self-concept about being bilingual may influence children's later attitudes as peer influence increases. Parents can and should provide secondary language support through the visual and print media in the home. Bilingual family libraries emphasize the importance of immersing oneself in each of the blossoming languages. Parents foster biliteracy by listening to children read aloud in each language, even if the parent is not literate in both languages. Games and hobbies provide the basis for positive language experiences. Parents should find opportunities to engage in meaningful linguistic and cultural activities. Bilingualism extends an individual's social opportunities and should be viewed as an advantage that facilitates, rather than hinders, friendship possibilities.

Cognitive Development

Although many scholars and theorists continue to support and affirm the viability and advantages of knowing more than one language, bilingualism has experienced a more unstable history in the field of psychology. Early psychologists employed intelligence (IQ) tests to

compare the cognitive development of monolingual children to that of bilingual children. Typifying the early studies are those conducted by Madorah Smith, a contemporary of Leopold. Smith examined the speech patterns of monolingual and bilingual children by quantifying the number of linguistic errors the children committed. Some of the “errors” Smith included were actually instances of the child mixing languages, a normal developmental phenomena in children learning two languages. She also discounted idiomatic expressions not found in standard English, even if they were common to the community. Unsurprisingly, Smith’s criteria confirmed that bilinguals commit more linguistic errors when compared with their monolingual peers. Smith concluded that bilingualism resulted in a retardation of language development.

The tradition of using “objective” measures to compare the linguistic and cognitive development of monolingual speakers of English to bilingual individuals continued throughout much of the first half of the 20th century. IQ tests were cited as evidence that bilingualism disrupted efficient thinking and led to cognitive confusion. The implication was that clear thinking required one well-developed language. It is now widely accepted that these tests, given in the students’ second languages, were biased and unfair. Had the students been tested in their first languages, the results might have differed significantly. Further criticisms implicate the comparison of middle-class English speakers with working-class bilinguals. Social class differences can account for linguistic variation. Ellen Bialystok, James Cummins, Harding-Esch, and Riley all note that these studies reported findings that confirmed the political and educational goals and presuppositions of the monolingual majorities in the countries where the testing occurred.

The mid-1960s saw a shift in this deficit view of cognitive capability in bilinguals when a seminal study carried out at the St. Lambert School in Québec found cognitive advantages for balanced bilinguals. Baker and Françoise Grosjean note that at the heart of many arguments is whether and when it is appropriate to compare a bilingual person with a monolingual person. Cunningham-Andersson, Andersson, Harding-Esch, and Riley argue that bilingual people use their languages with different people for different purposes. Bilingual people experience particular parts of their lives in one language and may not have the vocabulary to discuss such experiences in the other language. The vocabulary used at home may have little overlap

with the vocabulary of the school. It would be unusual, therefore, for the bilingual to have the same linguistic repertoire as a monolingual who must communicate in all circumstances with only one language. Studies that compare bilinguals with monolinguals operate under the assumption that the bilingual has two separate language competencies and that these can and should be measured in isolation. A number of scholars, such as Baker and Grosjean have proposed that bilingualism is itself a language and that this language must be viewed as an integrated holistic communication system through which thought is expressed. Even those studies conducted on within-group bilinguals have been subject to academic criticism. Within-group variation is great. Language status and circumstance, as well as individual opportunity, for linguistic engagement is highly divergent.

So, can we really conclude anything regarding the cognitive advantages or disadvantages of raising our children to be bilingual? Perhaps not. Grosjean pointed out these studies do not show a direct, unambiguous, causal relationship between using more than one language in everyday life and various cognitive or developmental effects on such a language user.

Conclusion

Raising bilingual children in a monolingual culture requires dedication and conviction. Community support and encouragement are often mitigated by language status and majority culture membership. Commitment to providing children with the social and communicative advantages of the ability to converse in more than one language necessitates nurturing either simultaneous or sequential language acquisition. Family language strategies should consider language proficiencies and opportunities and foster stimulating linguistic environments emphasizing positive communicative practices. As children mature, they will employ more and more sophisticated language strategies as evidence of their bilingual competencies. Early language mixing becomes deliberate code switching as bilinguals operate within multilingual communities.

Kathy Escamilla and Susan Hopewell

See also Biculturalism; Bilingualism in Holistic Perspective; Code Switching; Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism; Container Theory of Language; Home Language and Self-Esteem; Language and Identity; Learning a Language, Best Age; One Person-One Language (OPOL)

Further Readings

- Arnberg, L. (1987). *Raising children bilingually: The preschool years*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. (1995). *A parents' and teachers' guide to bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bialystok, E., & Cummins, J. (1991). Language, cognition, and education of bilingual children. In E. Bialystok (Ed). *Language processing in bilingual children*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Blackledge, A., & Pavlenko, A. (2001). Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, 5, 243–257.
- Caldas, S. J. (2006). *Raising bilingual-biliterate children in monolingual cultures*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cashman, H. (2005). Identities at play: Language preferences and group membership in bilingual talk-in-interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37(3), 301–315.
- Cunningham-Andersson, U., & Andersson, S. (1999). *Growing up with two languages*. London: Routledge.
- Grosjean, F. (1989). Neurolinguists, beware! The bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person. *Brain and Language*, 36, 3–15.
- Hakuta, K. (1986). *Mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Harding-Esch, E., & Riley, P. (2003). *The bilingual family: A handbook for parents*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. New York: Longman.
- Leopold, W. F. (1939–1949). *Speech development of a bilingual child. A linguist's record*. (Vols. 1–4). Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University.
- Macedo, D. (2000). The colonialism of the English-only movement. *Educational Researcher*, 29(3), 15–24.
- Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 409–429.
- Reyes, I. (2004). Functions of code switching in schoolchildren's conversations. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 28(1), 77–98.
- Ricento, T. (2005). Considerations of identity in L2 learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning* (pp. 895–910). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rumbaut, R. (1996). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. In A. Portes (Ed.), *The new second generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Smith, M. (1935). A study of the speech of eight bilingual children of the same family. *Child Development*, 6(1), 19–25.
- Tokuhamma-Espinosa, T. (2001). *Raising multilingual children*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (2001). Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory Into Practice*, 39(4), 203–210.

REMEDIAL-COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

See DEFICIT-BASED EDUCATION THEORY

RODRÍGUEZ, ARMANDO (1921–)

Armando Rodríguez was born in Gómez Palacio, Durango, Mexico, to Andrés Rodríguez and Petra Cárdenas. When Armando was 6, his family immigrated to San Diego, California, where he started school, speaking only Spanish. From an early age, he sought to create links of understanding between Spanish-speaking students and the rest of the school. This trait characterized much of his career. In 1941, as the country geared up for war, Rodríguez registered for the draft. While serving in the Army Signal Corps, he became a U.S. citizen.

After the war, he worked to organize Hispanic veterans and cofounded the Rudolph Martinez Post of the American Legion. At 26, he married Beatriz Serrano. He attended college at the San Diego State College on the GI Bill and graduated in 1949. After graduation, he became a special education teacher at Memorial High School in San Diego. He received a master's degree in special education and later served as vice principal of Gompers High School in San Diego.

Early in his education career, Rodríguez became involved in national, state, and local politics as a Democrat. He met figures such as Edward and Bobby Kennedy, César Chávez, and Dolores Huerta, worked with the Urban League, and was campaign manager for George Smith, who successfully ran for a seat on the local school board. In 1962, Rodríguez unsuccessfully ran for the 77th assembly district. In 1964, he attended the Democratic Convention, and he was later appointed to the Compensatory Education Commission by California Governor Pat Brown. While in that capacity, Rodríguez was offered a job in the state capital by Wilson C. Riles, associate superintendent of public

instruction of California. In Sacramento, Rodríguez became chief of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations. During this time, he helped organize a walkout from a meeting with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission; his group had wanted to discuss the elimination of English-only regulations from the workplace.

President Lyndon Johnson invited Rodríguez to join the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as liaison to the Hispanic community. In that role, he headed the Office of Mexican American Affairs (later the Office of Spanish Speaking Affairs), where he worked on bilingual education issues. As part of this advocacy, Rodríguez visited Spanish-speaking communities and schools across the country, including Cuban exiles in Dade County, Florida, who were running successful bilingual education programs. In 1967, he met with a congressional committee studying bilingual education to help plan a response to the growing demand for bilingual education funding. Congress subsequently passed the Bilingual Education Act, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

To help support needed work in curriculum development, Rodríguez invited Randolph Hearst, heir to the Hearst newspaper fortune, on a cross-country tour of classrooms with second-language learners trying to cope in English-only classrooms. In his 2007 memoir, Rodríguez describes the issue, mentioning that children who do not speak the language used at school are at disadvantage; however, to participate effectively as citizens in their new country, they need to be fluent in standard English. He describes the aim of bilingual education as an attempt to prepare American citizens, who can be competitive in areas such as business or politics. For students to become competitive citizens, they need to communicate in the language of power. Hearst agreed with Rodríguez's viewpoints, and his foundation funded bilingual education programs for several years until federal funding was increased.

After two more years of service in the Johnson administration, Rodríguez left Washington to become president of East Los Angeles Community College. When Jimmy Carter became president, Rodríguez returned to Washington as a commissioner in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). As part of EEOC, he was involved in the commission's deliberations on the extent to which English could be required in the workplace. In 1983, Rodríguez retired from government service. He was subsequently elected to a local board of education, thus ending his career as it had begun: at the local public-school level.

Throughout his long career, Rodríguez was a persistent and effective leader in advocating for Hispanic issues, among them bilingual education.

Alberto Esquinca

See also Bilingual Education in the Press; National Education Association Tucson Symposium; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Views of Bilingual Education

Further Readings

Rodríguez, A., & Taylor, K. (2007). *From the barrio to Washington: An educator's journey*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

RODRÍGUEZ, RICHARD (1944–)

Richard Rodríguez is a Mexican American writer, born in San Francisco on July 31, 1944, of Mexican immigrant parents. In the context of bilingual education, he is noteworthy for his divergent thinking on the subject of language, and the controversy his autobiographical writings have elicited. This entry describes his life and career.

Rodríguez attended Stanford University, Columbia University, and the University of California at Berkeley, where he earned a doctorate in English Renaissance literature. He later spent a year in London as a Fulbright scholar. Rodríguez's initial intention was to pursue a career in academia, but in 1976, he opted to become a freelance writer. Throughout this period, he analyzed, questioned, and came to terms with how his education had affected his life permanently, which resulted in the 1982 publication of his autobiography *Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodríguez*.

His autobiography sheds light on a journey of acculturation and assimilation that began at the age of 6 when Rodríguez entered school speaking only his native language, Spanish, and continued throughout his school life, through the awarding of his doctorate. It is a compelling narrative of his journey from the private Spanish-speaking world of his home, to the encompassing, dominant, and powerful public world of English. He narrates how his passage toward becoming an assimilated American moving from the

Spanish-speaking world of his family was only achieved after a painful separation from his past, his family, and his culture.

In his published work, Rodríguez makes a distinction between what he calls “public” and “private” language. In his private world of childhood, Spanish was the language of intimacy and warmth. It was the language spoken at the Rodríguez home as he was growing up in the 1950s. Rodríguez’s teachers (from Catholic school) urged his parents to stop speaking their native tongue in the home. The rationale for switching from Spanish to English in the home was to help the young child adapt to the English-speaking world in which he was to develop and succeed as an American. The family accepted the recommendation of the teacher, and young Richard went through his school years in an English-only environment. Dutifully, Richard embraced English as his public language even though it meant that the family must make awkward and uncomfortable adjustments to their patterns of interaction.

Rodríguez believes that, in his case, Spanish was the private language and should not be the language of instruction at school. He is highly critical of learning about one’s private life and culture in school and feels that the trend to learn in one’s private language and culture results in disengagement from the public world. Although Rodríguez does not think that the private language of the home should be made into a public language in school, he does not contest the reverse: making the public language of English into another private language that displaces the first private language of the home. He believes the public language should be the language of instruction rather than the home language because public language is the language used with strangers.

Critics of Rodríguez’s negative position on bilingual education argue that such a rigid uncompromising position on the primacy of English privileges the public language at the expense of English learner’s mental health, harming the child’s language and his or her cultural identity. Rodríguez’s opposing views have drawn much criticism from the Latino community, especially the Mexican community, which rejects his private/public dichotomy of language. Although he endured a harsh assimilation experience, he later understood that intimacy is not restricted to a given language but, instead, is the result of the quality of particular relationships with persons with whom we wish to be close. He posits that learning English was

an indispensable requirement to his becoming an active participating member of American society.

Rodríguez’s publications include *Days of Obligation: An Argument With My Mexican Father* (published in 1992), and *Brown: The Last Discovery of America* (published in 2002) as well as several essays on issues of culture and assimilation. In 1997, Rodríguez received a George Foster Peabody Award, one of television’s highest honors, for his *NewsHour* essays on American life. Other awards include the Frankel Medal from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the International Journalism Award from the World Affairs Council of California. As of 2007, Rodríguez could be seen as a commentator on public television’s *MacNeil/Lehrer Productions*. He also appears occasionally on National Public Radio.

Nancy Sebastian Maldonado

See also Accommodation Theory, Second-Language; Acculturation; Americanization and Its Critics; Americanization by Schooling; Assimilation; Enculturation; Language and Identity; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Rodríguez, R. (1982). *The hunger of memory: The education of Richard Rodríguez*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Rodríguez, R. (1992). *Days of obligation: An argument with my Mexican father*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Rodríguez, R. (2002). *Brown: The last discovery of America*. New York: Viking Press.

ROOS, PETER D. (1941–)

Peter Roos, now retired, served as director of litigation for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) in San Francisco and as codirector of Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy Inc. (META). He was formerly a staff attorney and Research Associate at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. For more than three decades, he has been a significant force in the United States in advocating for the legal foundation for bilingual education for language minority and immigrant students. He has also been a champion for the establishment of standards for bilingual education programs to ensure quality as well as access. His life and career are described in this entry.

Roos was born in San Francisco on December 9, 1941. He earned a BA from Occidental College in Los Angeles and a law degree from Hastings College of Law at the University of California, San Francisco, in 1967. As an attorney for MALDEF and META, Roos has been involved in several major court cases including *Soria v. Oxnard* (1972), *United States v. Texas* (1977 and 1981), *Alvarado v. El Paso Independent School District* (1979), *Idaho Migrant Council v. Idaho* (1981), *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), *Keyes v. School District No. 1* (1983), and *Leticia v. Regents of the University of California* (1985). He has argued two major cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1975, he argued *Goss v. Lopez*, which established the right of students to a hearing before suspension from school. In December 1981, he argued the *Plyler V. Doe* (decided in 1982) case dealing with the rights of children of undocumented workers in the United States to free public education.

Roos's impressive record of litigation on behalf of language minority and immigrant students in U.S. schools is best illustrated by decisions handed down in three distinct court cases. The landmark case *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), was taken all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In this case, the Supreme Court ordered that public schools are *prohibited* from: (a) denying undocumented students admission to school, (b) requiring students or parents to disclose or document their immigration status; and (c) requiring social security numbers of all students. This ruling was significant in ensuring that children in the United States, regardless of their legal status, had the right to a free public education. Moreover, this case was significant because it figured prominently in other states in legal cases regarding immigrant children. The *Plyler* case was cited in California by a judge's ruling striking down many of the provisions of Proposition 187, a ballot measure passed by California voters in 1994 in an attempt to slow down illegal immigration.

In the *Keyes v. School District No. 1* case, decided in 1983, Roos successfully argued that language minority students deserve to have access to bilingual education programs that are of high quality. In *Keyes*, Roos used the *Castañeda* standard (from the court case *Castañeda v. Pickard*, decided in 1981) that established that educational programs for language minority students need to be (a) based on sound theory; (b) implemented effectively with adequate resources and personnel; and (c) evaluated for effectiveness. In this case, the U.S. District Court ruled that the second

and third criteria for the transitional bilingual program in Denver had not been met. The program was judged as being not adequately implemented. The court declared that more bilingual teachers needed to be hired; standards for measuring teachers' bilingual proficiency needed to be established; adequate professional development for bilingual and English as Second Language (ESL) teachers must be provided, and appropriate assessment instruments must be used to measure the program's effectiveness.

The third case was the *Leticia A. v. University of California Regents*. This case established the right of undocumented immigrant students, under certain circumstances, to attend institutions of higher education in California and pay in-state tuition and fees. This case established the legal precedent for in-state tuition for undocumented immigrant students that enabled Roos to work with other states to draft state legislation for in-state tuition for immigrant students. Subsequently, California, Utah, Kansas, Illinois, New York, Oklahoma, and New Mexico passed legislation to allow immigrant students to attend state colleges and universities and pay resident tuition.

In addition to his considerable skills as a litigator, Roos has also contributed to the implementation of bilingual education programs in the United States through his published work and teaching. This work has helped guide and assist school districts and policymakers in implementing quality programs for language minority and immigrant students.

His published work includes a chapter titled "Equity and Excellence" that was designed to aid in developing school and work programs for Hispanic youth. This essay appeared in the book *Make Something Happen: Hispanics and Urban High School Reform: Report on the National Commission on Education for Hispanics*. Other work includes "Cultural, Educational and Legal Perspectives on Immigration: Implications for School Reform," a chapter in the book *Law & School Reform: Six Strategies for Promoting Educational Equity*, and "Intradistrict Resource Disparities: A Problem Crying Out for a Solution," a chapter in the book *Strategies for School Equity: Creating Productive Schools in a Just Society*.

Roos has also offered his legal expertise to universities involved in the preparation of bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers and administrators. He has developed online teaching modules related to legal issues and English for Speakers of Other

Languages (ESOL). An example module developed for the University of South Florida discusses the educational rights of language minority students. Drawing on his many years of experience as a lawyer working in this area, Roos provides a historical overview of programs and provisions for the education of these students. Moving from the national to the state level, he talks about the Florida Consent Decree and about concerns with the infusion process that is being undertaken by universities which train teachers.

Roos's legacy as an attorney, author, and professor has focused on ensuring that language minority and immigrant children have access to specialized language programs and that these programs are of high quality.

Kathy Escamilla and Susan Hopewell

See also Federal Court Decisions and Legislation;
Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META)

Further Readings

- Alvarado v. El Paso Independent School District, 593 F.2d (5th Cir. 1979).
- Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners*. Los Angeles, CA: Bilingual Education Services.
- Del Valle, Sandra. (2003). *Language rights and the law in the United States*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Goss v. Lopez, 419 U.S. 565 (1975).
- Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education, 647 F.2d 69 (9th Cir. 1981).
- Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, CO, 576 F. Supp. 503 (D. Colorado, 1983).
- Leticia A. v. Board of Regents, No. 588-982-5 Cal. Superior Ct., Alameda County, May 5, 1985, digested in 62 Interpreter Releases 639–641.
- Ovando, C., & Collier, V. (1998). *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982).
- Roos, P. D. (1998). Intradistrict resource disparities: A problem crying out for a solution. In Marilyn Gittell (Ed.), *Strategies for school equity: Creating productive schools in a just society*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Soria v. Oxnard School District Board of Trustees, 488 F.2d 579, 588 (9th Cir. 1972)
- Suárez-Orozco, M., Roos, P., & Suárez-Orozco, C. (1999). Cultural, educational and legal perspectives on

immigration: Implications for school reform. In J. P. Heubert (Ed.), *Law & school reform: Six strategies for promoting educational equity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

United States v. State of Texas, 430 F. Supp. 920 (S.D. Texas 1977).

United States v. State of Texas et al., 506 F. Supp. 405 (E.D. Tyler, 1981).

ROYBAL, EDWARD R. (1916–2005)

Edward Ross Roybal rose from humble beginnings to become a prominent activist for Hispanic civil rights and a powerful member of Congress, serving in the U.S. House of Representatives for 30 years as a Democratic Representative from California. A trailblazer in developing Latino politics, Roybal, a Mexican American, brought federal funding and needed attention to key areas for Latinos, including voting rights and the judicial system, and was one of the original architects of bilingual education in the United States. His life and career are described in this entry.

Born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Edward Roybal moved with his family to the Boyle Heights barrio of Los Angeles when he was 6. He attended public schools during his formative years, graduating from Roosevelt High School in 1934 and joining the Civilian Conservation Corps. Roybal continued his education at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he studied business administration, and later attended law school at Southwestern University in Los Angeles.

From 1942 to 1944, Roybal was a public health educator for the California Tuberculosis Association (CTA). After serving in the U.S. Army during World War II, Roybal returned to Los Angeles and continued his work with the CTA, becoming director of health education for the Los Angeles County Tuberculosis and Health Association, where he remained until 1949.

After a failed attempt to win a seat on the Los Angeles City Council in 1947, Roybal helped to found the Community Service Organization (CSO) with the help of local organizer Fred Ross and a cadre of Mexican Americans who supported his campaign. As president of the organization—one of the first broad-based organizations in East Los Angeles's Mexican American community—Roybal helped spur political involvement among Latinos by holding

voter-registration and get-out-the-vote drives. Roybal soon got back into politics, however, winning a seat on the city council in 1949—the first Latino to do so in the 20th century in California—where he served until 1962, rising to the position of president pro tempore.

In November 1962, Roybal was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, becoming the first Hispanic from California to be elected to Congress since 1879. This would mark the beginning of an illustrious career in Washington defined by a passion for protecting the rights of minorities, the elderly, and the physically challenged, and promoting public health care.

When first elected, Roybal was assigned to a variety of committees, including the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, the Post Office Committee, Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Veterans' Affairs Committee. He also continued his work on behalf of Spanish-speaking people early in his career in Washington, supporting measures that included the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, the first official federal recognition of the needs of students with limited-English-speaking ability. Initially, though, he sought to expand the act to provide services for children who spoke languages other than Spanish, and introduced his own companion legislation to the bill to address this need. In later years, particularly during President Ronald Reagan's administration, Roybal strongly fought efforts to diminish the act through inadequate funding. Roybal also helped to establish the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish-Speaking in 1968 with the goal of improving housing, education, and employment opportunities for Spanish-speaking U.S. citizens, and sponsored legislation to establish National Hispanic Heritage Week (now National Hispanic Heritage Month).

During the 1970s, Roybal's passion for and commitment to Hispanics and the underrepresented became even stronger, particularly as a result of his membership on the House Appropriations Committee. In the 93rd Congress, Roybal introduced legislation to provide bilingual proceedings in courts, supported the language assistance provisions in the renewal of the Voting Rights Act in 1975, and in 1976 became one of the founding members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus and the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO). The congressman also worked on behalf of Vietnam-era veterans, helped pass legislation to outlaw age discrimination, and pushed for numerous benefits for those with disabilities.

In the 1980s, during the 97th Congress, Roybal chaired the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, where he led the unsuccessful opposition against the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill, which imposed sanctions on U.S. employers who hired illegal immigrants. In health care, he pioneered support of AIDS research, playing a key role in directing millions of dollars to disease research in 1982. As a tribute to his advocacy for public health care and research, the Centers for Disease Control renamed its main campus in Atlanta after him.

Roybal remained in Congress until 1992, when he decided not to seek reelection, opting to retire and live the remainder of his life in Southern California with his wife, Lucille, their three children, and several grandchildren. A fitting tribute to his indelible mark on the history of civil rights in the United States, Roybal was acknowledged by President Clinton in 2000 with the Presidential Citizens Medal.

Gregory Pearson

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Latino Civil Rights Movement

Further Readings

- Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, first session on s.428, part 2. House of Representatives, 90th Congress (1967).
- Library of Congress. (2005). *Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1822–1995: Edward R. Roybal*. Retrieved from <http://www.loc.gov/tr/hispanic/congress/roybal.html>
- Meier, M. S., Serri, C. F., & Garcia, R. A. (1997). *Notable Latino Americans: A biographical dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

RUIZ, RICHARD (1948–)

Richard Ruiz is a highly respected authority and leader in language planning in education. He is best known for his framework on language orientations, which examines people's views of language difference: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. Since its conception in the late 1970s, this framework has been influential among education researchers, practitioners, and policymakers around the world. Ruiz's life and career are described in this entry.

Ruiz was born on December 31, 1948, in Mesa, Arizona, to Guadalupe and Prudencio Ruiz. He grew up in Phoenix, Arizona, with his parents and seven siblings. The parents, from a humble background, worked in the agricultural fields, and young Ruiz himself harvested alongside his family during the summer months, picking cotton in Arizona and fruits and vegetables in the farms of the Santa Clara Valley of California.

His early experiences traveling between Arizona and California taught him to adapt to changing community and schooling situations. The family eventually settled in the San Jose, California, area, where he attended junior high school and high school. His native language was Spanish, but he learned English at a young age. His English literacy was gained at school, but his Spanish literacy was learned by reading the Bible in Spanish during church services and other religious events.

Motivated by the support of a school counselor, Ruiz applied to and was accepted into Harvard University in the mid-1960s. There he obtained his BA in Romance languages and literatures and became proficient in two additional languages, French and Italian. He was among the first cohort of Mexican American students to graduate from Harvard University. While living in the Boston area, he met Marie Lorusso, who later became his wife. For his graduate studies, he attended Stanford University, where he earned his PhD in philosophy of education in 1980.

His interdisciplinary studies in anthropology, education, and philosophy of science exerted a strong intellectual influence on Ruiz, leading him to develop the language framework he published as “Orientations in Language Planning” in the *National Association of Bilingual Education (NABE) Journal* in 1984. This article, published when he was a professor at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, differentiated between three ideological orientations that educational policymakers tend to have when creating language policies. The first orientation, *language-as-problem*, views students’ linguistic diversity as an obstacle to be overcome, and the educational solution is to teach either incrementally, through transitional bilingual education, or exclusively in the majority language. The second, opposing orientation, *language-as-right*, views language as a basic human right, independent of the social or economic status that language may have outside the social spheres where that language is spoken. The third orientation, related to the second, is *language-as-resource*. Through these prisms, according to Ruiz, policymakers interpret the need for particular approaches to bilingual education

and to the teaching of English. There is little crossover between these views. Practitioners tend to rely on one of these views to help them fashion programs that include the teaching of minority native languages in schools, especially for language minority students. Ruiz argues that viewing language as a resource can alleviate conflict between language minority and language majority communities and enhance the status of subordinate languages. Although the first two orientations are embedded in divisiveness and hostility, the third orientation, Ruiz’s main theoretical contribution, allows for a more comprehensive and respectful approach to language planning.

From Madison, Ruiz relocated with his wife and 1-year-old son, Zachary, to Tucson in 1986 where he took a teaching position at the University of Arizona. His second child, Daniel, was born in Tucson in 1988. At the University of Arizona, Ruiz popularized his orientations framework and became a highly influential scholar in language policy. He became a regular consultant and presenter for international agencies (e.g., UNESCO), national governments (e.g., Bolivia, Mexico, Guatemala, United States), and academic bodies (e.g., National University of Colombia, Mexican Academy of Sciences, and the American Educational Research Association in the United States).

An example of his work took place in Guatemala, where he helped draft and evaluate adult literacy programs in indigenous languages. Ruiz’s main approach was to dispel the popular belief that any of the 23 officially recognized indigenous languages were partially at fault for the low socioeconomic status of indigenous communities, and instead assisted educators to understand that the vernaculars were an integral part of the cultural wealth of those communities.

A gifted teacher, Ruiz has become a favorite among students at the University of Arizona and one of the most sought-after instructors for establishing mentoring relationships. A new generation of scholars has emerged under his tutelage, and several have gone on to develop their own international reputations in language research and scholarship. Students and colleagues alike have recognized his passion for teaching and research, awarding him the Outstanding Faculty Award in 1999, the Graduate Student Advocate of the Year Award in 2000, and the Faculty Fellow Award in 2001, some of the most coveted honors bestowed on professors.

In Ruiz’s vision of language planning, the cultural wealth found in language minority communities ought to be an integral part of language research and policy implementation practices. In his ideal, every

society would create the conditions for everyone to master dominant and subordinate languages, so that eventually the dichotomous and antagonistic relationship between majority and minority languages would give way to a relationship of cooperation and mutual appreciation and respect.

Iliana Reyes

See also Language Education Policy in Global Perspective; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad; Views of Bilingual Education; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, 8(2), 15–34.
- Ruiz, R. (1995). Creating a multicultural orientation through children's literature (with C. Klassen). In C. Sleeter & J. Larkin (Eds.), *Developing multicultural teacher education curriculum* (pp. 129–145). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Ruiz, R. (in press). Language planning and bilingual education in Latin America. *Colombian Applied Linguistics Journal*.



SAVILLE-TROIKE, MURIEL (1936–)

Since the beginning of her professional life, Muriel Saville-Troike has been a staunch defender of language minority children's rights to preserve their heritage language and receive a good education. Born on August 8, 1936, in Sacramento, California, she later worked as a teacher of children of migrant farm workers in California, where she sidestepped the English-only rule and used the children's native Spanish in her kindergarten classroom to assist their learning. Experiencing the language situation of these children motivated her to pursue a PhD in linguistics at the University of Texas. After receiving her doctorate in 1968, she worked in various ways to support bilingual education. Her achievements in the field include the development of bilingual materials and curricula, workshops and handbooks for bilingual educators, leadership in professional organizations to strengthen bilingual policies, and research on child second-language acquisition and learning and on native-language maintenance and loss. This entry discusses her career-long efforts for bilingual education.

A major contribution was her work on bilingual education for Navajo children. Her research on Navajo child language development underscored the importance of children's native-language maintenance and the risk of language loss caused by ill-conceived language education policies. She developed Navajo curriculum materials for the first Navajo K–1 bilingual programs for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and wrote a curriculum guide for teaching English in Navajo kindergartens. Continuing research in this area, she showed that the

implementation of bilingual education on Navajo reservations resulted in increased language competence in both Navajo and English. Her more recent research demonstrates that when English-dominant educational environments are promoted, children do not develop full competence in their native language.

Saville-Troike's second major contribution reached a wider audience of bilingual educators: In 1970, she wrote, with Rudolph Troike, *A Handbook of Bilingual Education* for the ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics. Revised and reissued by the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) organization in 1971, it was for many years the most widely used textbook in bilingual teacher preparation programs in the United States. It was later translated for Spanish-Quechua bilingual educators in Ecuador. This volume was influential in defining the linguistic, psychological, and sociocultural foundations for sound pedagogy in bilingual classrooms. It offered guidelines for teaching the components of language, provided suggestions for assessment, and emphasized the need for school personnel to understand students' cultural background before designing bilingual programs. Despite the passage of 30 years and advances in linguistics and psychology, this handbook still provides solid, practical guidance for bilingual educators.

Following the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the 1970s was a time of intensive policy development and research in bilingual education, and Saville-Troike played a major role in these activities. When the class action suit filed by parents of Chinese-speaking students in San Francisco schools resulted in the *Lau v. Nichols* decision in 1974, she was part of the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) task force that formulated a master

plan for bilingual/bicultural education in San Francisco. The work resulted in the *Lau Consent Decree*, which stressed maintenance of the students' native language as they mastered English. When the country saw an influx of refugees from the Vietnam War, the CAL turned to Saville-Troike to help prepare teachers for meeting the needs of Indochinese refugee children. And significantly, during this period of serious debates about the respective roles of English as a Second Language (ESL) and bilingual education, as 1974–1975 president of TESOL, Saville-Troike was instrumental in developing the organization's position statement that ESL should be recognized as an essential component of bilingual education.

Another foundational contribution to bilingual education has been Saville-Troike's consistent call for language to be understood as an integral part of culture, and the need for language to be taught within a cultural context—understanding what social and cultural knowledge and communicative practices students bring into the classroom, and building on those to introduce the students to the target language and culture. She has written and delivered numerous presentations on the cultural component of bilingual teacher education programs, on developing children's bilingual and bicultural competence, and on teaching English as a second culture. She has published several works on this topic, among them *A Guide to Culture in the Classroom* and *The Ethnography of Communication*, the latter a leading work now in its third edition.

Any review of her work must note that, in the end, Muriel Saville-Troike is above all a scholar whose research on second-language acquisition and first-language maintenance and loss offers an empirical basis for those who support bilingual instruction. Her ongoing research relates to children's native-language maintenance, along with documentation of language attrition and revitalization efforts, especially in American Indian languages.

Jo Anne Kleifgen

See also Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Language Shift and Language Loss; Native American Languages, Legal Support For; Second-Language Acquisition; TESOL, Inc.

Further Readings

Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
Saville, M. & Troike, R. (1971). *A handbook of bilingual education* (rev. ed.). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Saville-Troike, M. (1978). *A guide to culture in the classroom*. Arlington, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Saville-Troike, M. (1984). Culture and Navajo education. *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 18, 41–50.

Saville-Troike, M. (2003). *The ethnography of communication* (3rd ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

SCHOOL LEADER'S ROLE

The changing landscape of a culturally diverse society frames the complex dynamics now taking place in schools. Schools, as we know them today, require new leaders who are more amenable to change than their predecessors and able to manage the many adjustments required in staffing, curriculum, and instruction. The roles of school leaders, especially those of school principals, are being transformed as the effects of complex education policies are felt.

One critical organizational challenge facing school leaders today is bilingual education. Administrators who lead schools that serve large numbers of English language learners (ELLs) face a multitude of complex tasks. These tasks become especially complex where several languages other than English are present in the school. School administrators and their leadership teams bear much of the responsibility for managing diverse resources and encouraging others to adopt new avenues to school success. They must help select and implement new programs that work better than those of yesterday. Although schools are notoriously conservative institutions, the challenge of implementing a variety of new programs has given unprecedented importance to the idea of leading in a culture of change.

Professional organizations, practitioners, and experts on school leadership have examined the requirements these leaders must meet. This entry summarizes one such effort to pinpoint the characteristics of the new and more competent school leader. Members of the School Leadership Learning Community (a study group) held a meeting at the Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL) in Washington, D.C. Their objective was to address critical issues surrounding the preparation of school leaders and to identify concepts and practices that highlight new ideas about school leadership. At the close of their deliberations, five major themes emerged, encapsulating the most important topics discussed.

The participants agreed that, among the issues discussed, cultural competence deserved overriding

concern and that not much difference exists between an effective leader and a culturally competent leader. They also agreed that without cultural competence, one cannot become an effective leader. The consensus was that school leaders increasingly need to be grounded in the issues, both overt and covert, related to race, culture, and the social differences that affect student learning, in all contexts—rural, urban, suburban—and in all settings, regardless of whether the populations are homogeneous or diverse.

Key Themes

The capacity to deal with many levels of linguistic and cultural diversity in a variety of settings was perhaps the most important principle, according to the participants at this consultation. Other important themes are outlined here.

Educational leaders who are not culturally competent cannot be fully effective. This broad theme emerged from the process of identifying the knowledge, skills, and attributes that encompass a culturally competent leader. Culturally competent leaders possess the ability to articulate their own philosophy of education and establish an environment conducive for stakeholders to participate in their own transformation. These leaders share a global perspective and have the ability to question their own values, beliefs, and prejudices and to create opportunities for teachers, students, and community members to share in this process. These leaders value cultural diversity, are comfortable in sharing power, are open to change and to differences, and are thus able to engage people from different cultures and backgrounds. Decisions are data-driven, determined by specific needs, and guided by principles of moral leadership.

Culturally competent leaders work to understand their own biases as well as patterns of discrimination. They have the skills to mitigate the attendant negative effects on student achievement, and the personal courage and commitment to persist. Participants concurred that if school leaders are serious about closing the minority achievement gap, an emphasis must be placed on the ability of leaders to value self-awareness, which provides the foundation for cultural competence. School leaders need to demonstrate the ability and willingness to engage the school staff in honest and straightforward conversations pertaining to issues of race and class. However, this cannot effectively

transpire until leaders have participated in their own reflective processes that address the complex issues of race, class, discrimination, and diversity. This process involves self-assessment of personal values, behaviors, and attitudes.

Preparation programs play an integral role in the development of culturally competent leaders. Instructors learn to provide safe environments for school leaders to “take the blinders off,” and provide supportive settings that encourage them to share their own stories, values, beliefs, and assumptions they possess with others who have different stories to tell. Leaders in preparation programs should be prodded to explore more difficult and often unsettling questions, such as the following: What privileges do they enjoy? How do they use their power and influence? What kind of prejudice and bias influence their leadership decisions and behaviors? And do these beliefs affect the lives of their students?

Much of what culturally competent leaders must know and be able to do is learned in relationships with families and communities. During the discussions, participants emphasized the importance for leaders to know how to engage families and community partners in collaborative efforts. According to participants, culturally competent leaders are also community leaders who can create an environment in which all stakeholders can openly address cultural issues, and not use cultural differences as an excuse for student underachievement. The participants envisioned school leaders who can provide time management and resource facilitation. These are necessary to engage school communities in difficult and ongoing conversations about ways to change schools from what they are to what they could be. For this to occur, local school leaders must learn to regard human diversity as an asset rather than a liability.

Culturally competent leadership develops over time and needs to be supported from preparation through practice. Creating collaborative frameworks and structures can be useful. The participants stressed that collaborative efforts between preparation programs and school districts need to develop a variety of structural supports for aspiring, new, and current leaders. Although no single training model can fulfill all the contexts for which leaders must be prepared, effective leadership frameworks share several key features. An effective leadership structure incorporates safe settings in which participants can question their own perspectives with

mentors and coaches, who are themselves culturally and ethnically diverse, as well as culturally competent to engage persons from cultures other than their own. The structure should be extended beyond initial preparation programs because transformational leaders need to be continuously nurtured and challenged.

State and local policies need to build a sense of urgency about preparing culturally competent leaders. The participants acknowledged that most college and university training programs are anchored in standards developed by the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC); however, notice was taken that none of these standards specifically addresses cultural competence. The participants proposed the need for clear-cut standards that require leaders to demonstrate knowledge, skills, and attributes needed to work effectively in diverse settings. In the conclusions reached by the participants, such a standard could be invaluable in creating a sense of urgency about the incorporation of training components, curricula, and strategies related to cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as cultural competence in leadership preparation programs.

Conclusion

How to become effective leaders suited for our complex times is a growing concern for all those in positions to make a difference. Preparing diverse and culturally competent school leaders, as the nation's population continues to become more diverse and culturally complex, is a major challenge. The themes summarized in this entry are difficult to incorporate into the traditional university-based programs in which administrators earn their credentials. A non-negotiable tenet of a culturally competent leader is one who is guided by the principles of moral leadership. These leaders are grounded in critical theories pertaining to how people learn and are capable of helping teachers enact the most appropriate ideas to support bilingual and multicultural teaching in their classrooms. These leaders are also responsible for understanding and valuing the importance of multicultural proficiency and for ensuring that the staff and learning environment reflect this perspective. Without the guidance and vision of the leader to put these themes into practice, teachers, working alone, can find them difficult to carry out.

Implementing a collaborative learning community that fosters the perspectives, values, and diversity of the

students and community members can be instrumental in helping make sense and meaning of the themes selected for a given school. The challenge inherent to the leader depends on the ability to integrate the themes, so that they are made operational and become the fabric of the school culture. The themes must be reflected in all aspects of the school, so that they include relevant and culturally responsive school curricula, school policy, continuous and multifaceted ways of communication, and programs that reflect the specific needs of all stakeholders. The leader must ensure that attaining high-achievement levels among all students is high on the agenda because they need to effectively use limited resources to support ongoing professional development and programmatic needs that represent the voices of stakeholders who have different agendas, needs, and priorities.

Recent statistics indicate that our youngest children are the most diverse group in the United States, making the nation more diverse as they age. Almost 9 million children from the age of 5 to 17 years old come from homes where a language other than English is spoken; 2.6 million of these children have difficulty speaking English. Further, the statistics indicate that approximately one-half million students are being raised in families where no English is spoken at home, and that at least 125,000 students will require specialized instruction to learn to speak English and use it as a tool for learning school subjects.

School leaders who can engage these new groupings of students must be adept and comfortable with change and ambiguity. They must also be visionary enough to envision new types of schools that embrace critical elements of the aforementioned themes. A school that has traditionally experienced low parental participation from a specific group of parents, for example, may find that this group may have increased parental involvement—as a result of creating a culturally responsive school. As the voice of this group becomes more discernable, so may the demands. Potentially, this can affect how specific programs or activities are included, removed, or shaped. Priorities of the school may change, affecting how resources are prioritized and allocated.

Time demands on the administrative team and faculty may also need to be modified to reflect the needs of a new constituency of parents and students. A school with a new program of bilingual education must ensure that the staff is capable of interacting with parents in a language other than English. This can be

especially challenging where a low-status language in the community suddenly becomes a high-status language that will be used in the classroom. The degree of success attained in changing a school culture to meet the multifaceted needs of new or diverse populations hinges on the skill, vision, and commitment of the school leaders. They serve as advocates while juggling all the parts, which may seem separate but are actually interdependent, constituting the system at large. The culturally competent leader will never lose sight of the vision of attaining and sustaining a culturally responsive school. The leader will strive to have a school that is populated by teachers and staff who themselves are culturally competent and who incorporate the values, beliefs, and assumptions needed in these schools.

Amalia Humada Ludeke

See also Culturally Competent Teaching; Multicultural Education; Oyster Bilingual School; Professional Development; Social Class and Language Status; Teacher Preparation, Then and Now

Further Readings

- Carter, T., & Chatfield, M. (1986). Effective bilingual schools: Implications for policy and practice. *American Journal of Education*, 95(1), 200–232.
- Fullan, M. (2001). *The new meaning of educational change*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Hargreaves, A., & Fink, D. (2006). *Sustainable leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hargreaves, A., & Goodson, I. (2006). Educational change over time? The sustainability and nonsustainability of three decades of secondary school change and continuity. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 42(1), 3–41.
- Hoban, G. (2002). *Teacher learning for educational change: A systems thinking approach*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Institute for Educational Leadership (2005). *Preparing and supporting diverse, culturally competent leaders: Practice and policy considerations*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Larson, C. L., & Murtadha, K. (2002). Leadership for social justice. In J. Murphy (Ed.), *The educational leadership challenge: Redefining leadership for the 21st century* (pp. 134–161). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Riehl, C. J. (2000). The principal's role in creating inclusive schools for diverse students: A review of normative, empirical, and critical literature on the practice of educational administration. *Review of Educational Research*, 70(1), 55–81.

SECOND-LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Second-language acquisition (SLA) is the process by which people learn languages in addition to their native tongue(s). The language to be learned is often referred to as the *second* or *target language* (L2). A key question related to this field is, “How do children acquire a second language?” To answer this question, it is helpful to examine in detail the principal SLA theories. A thorough knowledge of these theories enables teachers to make informed decisions about how best to teach second-language learners.

Theories of SLA are based on research from different fields. Researchers relying on particular theoretical frameworks ask different questions and use different methods to investigate how people learn a second language. This entry reviews the perspectives represented by each of these approaches and subfields of linguistics.

Psycholinguistics

Psycholinguists look for insights into SLA from the fields of linguistics and psychology. They examine the system of language the learner is developing. This system is sometimes referred to as the learner's *interlanguage*. This term can be defined as the linguistic system that language learners develop as they approximate the use of the target language and that might reflect features of the students' native language. For English language learners, the interlanguage is the version of English the learner speaks. It is different from the English of a native speaker, and yet it is a regular language with rules and logic of its own even though it is not yet the complete target language or L2 as spoken by native speakers. Psycholinguists often use evidence from errors to determine learners' strategies as their interlanguage develops. For example, if a student produces a word such as *goed* as the past tense of “go,” the strategy used is overgeneralization of a grammatical rule. The student is applying the past tense rule to an irregular verb. Knowing this allows the teacher to take corrective action.

Herbert Seliger, a professor of linguistics, identified three major questions psycholinguists ask about SLA “psycholinguistics”:

1. How does the learner develop his or her second-language system? What are thought to be the processes involved?

2. What role does previous knowledge, such as knowledge of the first language, play in second-language acquisition?
3. What psychological characteristics contribute to successful second-language acquisition? Are there good learners and bad learners?

The answers to these three questions have important implications for teaching English language learners and point out the areas of interest from a psycholinguist's viewpoint, which puts the focus on cognitive, linguistic, and psychological processes.

Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguists consider the influences of social and cultural factors on language development. They pay attention to the relation between language use and social processes and situations. In addition, they analyze the way speakers from a particular social class, ethnicity, or gender use language. Some of the major questions that sociolinguists attempt to answer are these:

1. What are the social and cultural variables that affect language varieties?
2. Does the learner's language variety change over time, and if so, what causes the variation?
3. How do L2 learners develop communicative competence?

Sociolinguists are interested in how people learn to use a second language in various social contexts to communicate effectively. They address issues such as language, culture, and identity; focus on power relationships; and consider how society's structures are reflected, marked, or challenged through the use of language.

Neurolinguistics

Neurolinguistic research is a relatively new field, and the findings of neurolinguists are only beginning to be applied to language teaching. Although advances in technology have increased our understanding of how the brain processes language, neurolinguists concern themselves with how language is represented in the brain. These are some of the questions that neurolinguists are attempting to answer:

1. Where in the brain are first and second languages located?
2. What are the ways that languages with different characteristics are represented in the brain?
3. Is there a critical period for second-language acquisition?

All three areas of research—psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and neurolinguistics—have contributed to the development of current theories of second-language acquisition. For the purposes of this entry, models based on psycholinguist and sociolinguist approaches are explored in more depth.

Schumann's Acculturation Model: A Sociolinguistic Theory

One important theory of SLA comes from John Schumann's theoretical, sociolinguistic research. Schumann claims that acquiring a new language is part of a more general process of acculturation. For Schumann, language acquisition can best be understood by looking at what happens when people from one cultural group are transplanted into a new setting. Schumann focuses on sociocultural factors that act on the language learner. Much of his theory can be understood by examining Schumann's analysis of one learner, whom he called Alberto.

Alberto, an adult from Costa Rica, acquired English without formal instruction. Alberto's English proficiency was much lower than might be expected, and it improved little during the 10 months Schumann studied him. Even though Alberto was intelligent and interacted regularly with native speakers of English, Alberto's English remained limited. Schumann's analysis was that Alberto's social and psychological distance from speakers of the target language accounted for his lack of proficiency. Schumann posits that the greater the social distance, the lower the likelihood is of developing proficiency in the second language.

According to Schumann, eight factors influence social distance: social dominance, integration patterns, enclosure, cohesiveness, group size, cultural congruence, intended length of residence, and attitude. Social distance, then, is greater in the following scenarios: when one group dominates another, when limited integration exists between cultural groups, when learner groups form their own communities as distinct areas within the larger community, when learner groups are

tight-knit, when learner groups' size is large, when the learners' culture is very different from the culture of speakers of the new language, when learners plan to stay in the new country for a relatively short time, and when learners have a negative attitude toward the members of the target language culture.

In addition to social distance, which describes relationships among social groups, Schumann identifies psychological distance as a second factor that can be used to predict the degree of language acquisition. In situations in which social distance neither strongly promotes nor inhibits language acquisition, psychological distance may play a crucial role. Three main factors determine the psychological distance a second-language learner has from the target language and culture. These include motivation to learn the new language, attitude toward the new language and culture, and culture shock.

An important component of psychological distance is a person's attitude toward members of the cultural group whose language they are learning. Schumann's theory suggests that a positive attitude toward members of the target language group decreases the psychological distance between learners and the group whose language they are learning. Schumann's acculturation model highlights the importance of the effect of social factors on language acquisition. Teachers can promote second-language acquisition by creating a classroom environment in which students can interact with and develop positive attitudes toward speakers of the target language. Schumann's theory provides useful ideas about the effects of contextual factors on learning. Concepts such as social and psychological distance help us understand why certain people succeed or fail in learning a new language. However, Schumann's theory does not address linguistic or cognitive processing. Psycholinguistic theories of second-language acquisition place more emphasis on this aspect of SLA.

Krashen's Monitor Model: A Psycholinguistic Theory

Another theory of second-language acquisition is Stephen Krashen's monitor model, a theory based on insights from both psychology and linguistic theory. Schumann's acculturation model focuses on external, social, and cultural factors that affect language acquisition, whereas Krashen's theory is based on internal psychological factors and is thus considered a nativist

theory. Nativist theories hold that humans have an innate ability to learn language. The monitor model consists of five interrelated hypotheses.

The Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis

Krashen makes an important distinction between two ways of gaining a new language. The first of these is acquisition. According to Krashen, we acquire a new language subconsciously as we receive messages we understand. For example, if we are living in a foreign country and go to the store to buy food, we may acquire new vocabulary or syntactic structures in the process of trying to understand what the shopkeeper is saying. We are not focused on the language. Rather, we are using the language for real purposes, and acquisition occurs naturally as we attempt to conduct our business.

In contrast, learning is a conscious process in which we focus on various aspects of the language itself. This process is what generally occurs in classrooms when teachers divide language into chunks, present one chunk at a time, and provide students with feedback to indicate how well they have mastered the various aspects of language that have been taught. Learning is associated with classroom instruction and is usually tested. It is less common in the world beyond the classroom.

The Natural Order Hypothesis

Krashen's second hypothesis is that language is acquired in a natural order. Some aspects of a language are picked up earlier than others. For example, the plural *s* morpheme added to a word like *girl* to form *girls* develops earlier than does the third person *s* added to *walk* in "He walks." Krashen points out that all learners of a particular language, such as English, seem to acquire the language in the same order no matter what their first language may be.

The natural order applies to language that is acquired, rather than language that is learned. Students may be asked to learn aspects of language before they are ready to acquire them. The result may be good performance of the items on a test but inability to use the same items in a natural setting. In these cases, students' performance may exceed their competence. Krashen points out that if a teacher focuses on acquisition activities, rather than trying to get students to learn certain grammatical points, all students will acquire language in a natural order. The rate of

acquisition will differ for different students, but the order will be the same.

The Monitor Hypothesis

The monitor hypothesis helps explain the different functions that acquisition and learning play. Acquisition results in the vocabulary, phonology, and syntax we can draw on to produce utterances in a new language. Without acquisition, we could not produce anything. Learning, on the other hand, provides us with rules we can use to monitor our output as we speak or write. The monitor is like an editor, checking what we produce. The monitor can operate when we have time, when we focus on grammatical form, and when we know the rules. The monitor is most useful in checking written output.

Monitoring is helpful if the monitor is not overused or underused. Teachers can help students become optimal monitor users. It does help to know the rules, but it's essential to know when to apply them and when to concentrate more on the meaning of a message. Sometimes teachers hope that by correcting their students' errors, they will increase students' proficiency. Krashen believes that error correction affects learning, but not acquisition. Error correction causes us to think about consciously learned rules and has limited value. Learning, according to Krashen, has little or no effect on basic language competence.

The Input Hypothesis

The key to Krashen's theory of language acquisition is the input hypothesis. He claims that people acquire language in only one way—when they receive oral or written messages they understand. Krashen says these messages provide comprehensible input. For acquisition to take place, learners must receive input that is slightly beyond their current ability level. Krashen calls this $i + 1$ (input plus one). If the input contains no structures beyond current competence ($i + 0$), no acquisition takes place. There is nothing new to pick up. On the other hand, if the input is too far beyond a person's current competence ($i + 10$), it becomes incomprehensible noise, and again, no acquisition can take place.

According to Krashen, comprehensible input is the source of all acquired language. Students do not have to produce language to acquire it. Only input leads to acquisition. Consequently, output—that is, speaking or writing—does not contribute to acquisition, although it

may result in cognitive development. Because comprehensible input is the key to language acquisition in Krashen's model, the teacher's job, quite simply, is to find ways to make academic content comprehensible. This model has been implemented in several language methods used for teaching a second language that are designed to help teachers develop techniques for turning academic content matter into comprehensible input.

The Affective Filter Hypothesis

In Krashen's work, the affective filter hypothesis explains the role of affective factors in the process of language acquisition. Even if a teacher provides comprehensible input, acquisition may not take place. Affective factors such as anxiety or boredom may serve as a filter that blocks input. When the filter is up, input can't reach those parts of the brain where acquisition occurs. Those parts of the brain are sometimes referred to as the language acquisition device, or LAD. Many language learners realize that the reason they have trouble is because they are nervous or embarrassed and simply can't concentrate. In other words, the input is filtered out.

Krashen's theory of language acquisition is based on input, thus in his discussion of the affective filter, he only refers to language that is coming in, not to language the person is attempting to produce. This hypothesis does not apply to a person's output, only to the ability to acquire language.

Krashen's insistence on the importance of providing learners with comprehensible input in a risk-free environment sends an important message to teachers. Krashen claims that a classroom can be an optimal source of comprehensible input. Actually, the classroom may provide more comprehensible input than a trip to a foreign country where no attempt is made to ensure that input is comprehensible.

Even though Krashen's ideas have been debated and sometimes discounted by other researchers, they have been found useful by practitioners because they are understandable and cogent. In short, they make sense. The monitor model greatly affected classroom practice, and teachers see positive results when they apply techniques based on this model in the classroom. One drawback of the monitor model is that it fails to place a stronger emphasis on social and cultural factors; its focus is placed on the psychological and cognitive processes that individuals go through in the SLA process and on the role teachers have in facilitating such processes.

Output Theory

As noted earlier, Krashen argues that acquisition occurs when learners receive comprehensible input, messages that they understand. Other researchers have given importance to output as well as input. Rod Ellis refers to theories such as Krashen's as *reception-based*. Theories that include attention to output he classifies as *production-based*. Production-based theories give importance to learners' attempts at producing the new language.

Michael Long developed the interaction hypothesis, a theory of SLA that is production-based. Long claims that learners make conversational adjustments as they interact with others and that these adjustments help make the input comprehensible. Merrill Swain also argues that language learners need the opportunity for output. Swain's claim is that when we receive input that we understand, we focus on meaning or the semantic level. However, in talking, we need to string sentences together, and that requires attention to syntax. Our syntactic analysis is probably not conscious, but producing output requires us to access different parts of the language system than we use to comprehend input.

Production-based theories of SLA recognize the importance of input but add output as an important component. Krashen's argument is that output will not help us acquire new vocabulary or grammatical structures. A student is unable to learn a new word simply by talking. Simultaneously, we learn language for communicative purposes, and no language teacher would feel successful if students never uttered a word of the new language. In an acquisition-oriented class, teachers do expect students to show they comprehend the input. They do this without requiring students to produce language beyond their current level of proficiency.

Conclusion

Second-language acquisition theory, then, is informed by different theoretical frameworks, each one emphasizing certain types of processes. Psycholinguistic approaches make the distinction between learning and acquisition; cognitive processes focus on language comprehension and production and on variables that might make this process hard for language learners. Sociolinguistic approaches view language as a series of social acts, and consider those cultural and social factors that influence how students acquire a second language, and the effect of this process in their sense

of belonging to a particular society. These approaches to second-language learning give educators insight about models that inform their teaching and the possibility of best practices for their student population.

David E. Freeman

See also Affective Filter; Brain Research; Comprehensible Input; First-Language Acquisition; Interlanguage; Krashen, Stephen D.; Language Acquisition Device; Language and Identity; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Monitor Model

Further Readings

- Ellis, R. (1990). *Instructed second language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon.
- Krashen, S. D. (2003). *Explorations in language acquisition and use*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Long, M. (1983). Does second language instruction make a difference? A review of the research. *TESOL Quarterly*, 14, 378–390.
- Schumann, J. (1978). *The pidginization process: A model for second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Seliger, H. (1988). Psycholinguistic issues in second language acquisition. In L. Beebe (Ed.), *Issues in second language acquisition: Multiple perspectives* (pp. 17–40). New York: Newbury House.
- Swain, M. (1985). Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible output in its development. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), *Input in second language acquisition* (pp. 235–253). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

SEIDNER, MARÍA M. (1938–)

María Medina Seidner, whose career in bilingual education spans more than three decades, was herself the product of bilingual schooling. Born in San Juan, Puerto Rico, she started school on the island, receiving academic instruction in Spanish and studying English as a second language. Seidner was the child of a military officer. By the time she graduated from high school, she had attended schools in four different countries and



was fluent in Spanish, English, and Italian. At the University of Texas in Austin, she majored in French and received a BA in romance languages in 1960. This entry describes her career.

From 1960 to 1968, she taught French and Spanish at the secondary and college level. She left teaching to work at the state department of education. As consultant in French for the Texas Education Agency (TEA) from 1968 to 1971, she provided technical and academic support to foreign-language educators throughout the state. While at the state agency, she became involved in bilingual education, assisting the newly created Office of International and Bilingual Education with workshops and conferences, including the First International Bilingual Bicultural Education Conference, which was held in Austin in 1971. That same year, she completed an MA degree in foreign language education at the University of Texas.

In 1972, as the state of Illinois prepared to implement legislation mandating bilingual education, Seidner moved to Chicago to establish and direct a center to provide training and technical assistance to bilingual education programs throughout the state. The first of its kind, it was an instant success. It became the staff development arm of the state department of education, conducting local, regional, and statewide workshops and providing on-site consultant services to school districts. From 1972 to 1979, under her leadership, the Bilingual Education Service Center grew to encompass multiple projects: the Illinois Resource Center, the Title VII Midwest Resource Center, the Illinois Statewide ESL/Adult Education Center, the Midwest Indochinese Refugee Education Program, the Illinois Bilingual Vocational Education Program, the Illinois Bilingual School Psychologist Network, and others.

During this time, Seidner gained national recognition as a bilingual educator, speaking at state, regional, and national conferences, providing testimony on bilingual education before Congress and the Illinois General Assembly, serving on advisory panels for various agencies, participating in special task forces, and publishing in professional journals. A founding member of the National Association for Bilingual Education, she was actively involved in the organization and served as its third president. She also worked closely with the U.S. Department of Education, serving on the National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education from 1978 to 1982.

In 1979, Seidner joined the Illinois State Board of Education (ISBE) as manager of bilingual education and served in that capacity until 1993. She led the state in developing and implementing new state policies with uniform criteria for identification, assessment, and instruction of English language learners; administrative procedures for evaluating and funding district applications; guidelines and processes for on-site monitoring; and provisions for professional development of bilingual personnel and coordination of federal bilingual programs. She succeeded in establishing collaborative programs with special education, making Illinois one of the first states to provide state certification in bilingual special education.

In 1993, Seidner retired from ISBE and returned to Texas. But her work in bilingual education was not over. In 1994, she joined the Division of Bilingual Education at the TEA and became state bilingual director the following year. As state director, she reached out to bilingual educators to ensure that state policies and programs addressed statewide needs. She traveled throughout the state and led the development of state academic standards for English language learners in Spanish Language Arts and English as a Second Language and was instrumental in the implementation of Spanish-language versions of state academic assessments and reading proficiency tests in English.

While at TEA, Seidner participated in committees and panels on the improvement of English language learners' academic assessments, convened by groups such as the Council of Chief State School Officers, the Center for Applied Linguistics, the National Research Council, Educational Testing Service, and the Center for Research on Evaluation Standards and Student Testing. She retired from TEA in 2003, but continued providing consultative services in planning and evaluation of educational programs, curriculum, and assessment for English language learners. In 2004, she joined Pearson Educational Measurement to work on assessments for English language learners in various states.

During her career, Seidner has received many honors, awards, and special recognitions from government officials, professional associations, and community organizations. Among the achievements in which she takes greatest pride is that of having served as director of bilingual education in two states, Texas and Illinois. Seidner lives in Austin, Texas, with her husband, Stan.

María M. Seidner

See also Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Measuring Language Proficiency; National Association for Bilingual Education

Further Readings

Seidner, S., & Seidner, M. (1982). *In the wake of conservative reaction: An analysis*. Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center.

SEMILINGUALISM

The term *semilingualism*, discussed in this entry, was first introduced in 1962 by the Swedish philologist Nils Erik Hansegård (who called it *halvspråkighet*); the term was picked up by Håkan Ringbom, who conjectured that “a period of ‘double semilingualism’” occurs when an individual abandons his or her native language altogether in favor of an imperfectly acquired second language. For Hansegård, the term denoted a lack of competence in all languages an individual knows in any of six areas: (1) size of the repertoire of words and phrases that are understood or actively available in speech; (2) linguistic correctness; (3) degree of automatism; (4) ability to create or neologize; (5) mastery of the cognitive, emotive, and volitional function of language; and (6) richness or poorness in individual meanings (whether reading or listening to a particular linguistic system “evokes lively and reverberating semantic images or not”).

In the United States, however, use of the term *semilingualism* is owed instead to James Cummins, a Canadian scholar whose research has deeply influenced bilingual education theory in the United States and internationally. Cummins invoked the notion of semilingualism as one of three “types of bilingualism” in his idea of a threshold hypothesis. These included *additive bilingualism*, defined as having “high levels in both languages”; *dominant bilingualism*, having a “nativelike level in one of the languages”; and *semilingualism*, the condition of having a “low level in both languages.” The threshold hypothesis posited that the level of language ability attained by bilingual children in their first and second language may affect cognitive growth in academic subjects. Cummins believed that immigrant children were at risk of semilingualism because they might experience attrition (or decay) of the first language before learning the second, making

it difficult for them to function in either language in school. The solution, Cummins argued, was to place children in classroom settings in which they received rich instructional support in the first language, with the intention of preventing the onset of semilingualism.

Cummins’s use of the term and concept of *semilingualism* has been much criticized. Carol Edelsky and colleagues, for example, characterized the idea as “a confused grab-bag of prescriptive and descriptive components,” and Marilyn Martin-Jones and Suzanne Romaine referred to it as “a half-baked theory of communicative competence” in the title of a highly critical article. Perhaps partly because of strong remarks such as these, Cummins soon began using the phrase “limited bilingualism” instead of “semilingualism,” but the definition of the term and the role it played in Cummins’s overall account of language minority children’s difficulty in school, captured in the threshold hypothesis and related notions, remained unchanged.

It is important to note in the context of the controversy what Cummins meant by “language proficiency.” Cummins conceptualized language proficiency along two continua, called *context-embedded*—interpersonal communication in a mutually understood context where the need for explicit linguistic elaboration of a message is reduced—and *context-reduced*—communication that does not occur in a mutually understood context and that therefore requires elaborate and explicit detail.

The value of this system, for Cummins, was that it reflected a “developmental perspective,” that is, a view of language as growing and developing over time. Moving beyond the acquisition of the “species minimum” (a term borrowed from Jerome Bruner to denote the acquisition of the rules of word order, word formation, pronunciation, and meaning), Cummins believed other aspects of language proficiency continue to develop throughout the school years and beyond, principally including literacy-related language skills such as reading comprehension, writing ability, and vocabulary/concept knowledge.

Cummins’s objective was to find a unified view of language proficiency befitting both the goals of second-language instruction in school and children’s home language, one that differentiated the two in developmental levels of language growth. Although critics were comfortable with the curricular goals for the second-language classroom, the apparent implications for children’s home language proficiency were troubling: It positioned the language of school as

developmentally superior to the language of other contexts, recalling traditional claims by linguistic prescriptivists, who had long maintained that the language of the educated classes was developmentally superior to the language of other cultural and linguistic groups.

More broadly, *prescriptivism* is a view of language that holds one or another particular language or language variety to be inherently superior to others, and generally holds that a model variety should be used as the standard of “correct speech” for the larger community. Prescriptivists set up language academies charged with the task of “purifying” the regional linguistic descendants of Latin as early as 1582 in Italy, 1635 in France, and 1713 in Spain. Proposals for a language academy in England were also popular among academics in the 17th century, but the suggestion lost support as it became evident that the Continental academies could not preserve Latinate structure against the tide of language change. Prescriptivism fell into disfavor as a result of the work of early 20th-century linguists in the United States who had, following Leonard Bloomfield’s lead, undertaken to analyze all languages using the same taxonomy. This extensive body of empirical research led to the conclusion that all languages, even so-called “primitive” ones, were equally rich and complex.

Some of Cummins’s early contemporaries saw similarities between the kind of linguistic dichotomies he introduced and those of another contemporary scholar, Basil Bernstein. Bernstein formulated a distinction between “public language” and “formal language,” later termed “restricted” and “elaborated” code, after studying speakers of a stigmatized dialect in London. According to Bernstein, *public language* is characterized by “fragmentation and logical simplicity,” and *formal language* or *elaborated code* may be used to express “universal meaning.”

Efforts have been made to evaluate the notion of semilingualism empirically, and these have consistently found no linguistic basis for the idea. For instance, Christine Paulston surveyed existing research through the early 1980s and determined, “Semilingualism does not exist.” Similarly, Jeff MacSwan, in an extensive critique, reviewed various sources of reputed evidence for semilingualism and found no support for it. Studies of commercially available Spanish language tests frequently used in school and that have been used to assess Spanish language-background children as “non-” or limited speakers of their native language, have also been studied and found to lack validity.

Many of the original advocates of semilingualism have come to disapprove of the term, but some continue to endorse the concept in a limited way despite the lack of scientific evidence for it. Much of the controversy appears to be connected to how one defines language proficiency. For instance, although Cummins and others have insisted that literacy and school-related language are aspects of language proficiency that stand at the higher end of the proficiency scale, others have argued that these constitute just one of many possible domains of language use whose special status derives from social and political forces, rather than linguistic science. This difference lies at the center of the controversy because linguists tend to avoid rather than encourage judgments based on social valuing of languages and language differences. *Semilingualism* appears to be a statement of societal valuing of language forms. The degree to which the controversy has penetrated the practice of bilingual education is perhaps another example that schools do not operate solely from a base in linguistic science. They also reflect the society that builds and maintains them.

Jeff MacSwan and Kellie Rolstad

See also Cummins, James; Interlanguage; Linguistics, an Overview; Situated Learning; Social Bilingualism; Threshold Hypothesis

Further Readings

- Bernstein, B. (1971). *Class, codes and control: Volume 1, Theoretical studies toward a sociology of education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bruner, J. S. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cummins, J. (1976). The influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth: A synthesis of research findings and explanatory hypotheses. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 9, 1–43.
- Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 49, 221–251.
- Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework* (1st ed.). Developed by the Office of Bilingual Bicultural Education. Sacramento: California State Department of Education.
- Cummins, J. (1994). Semilingualism. In R. E. Asher (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (Vol. 7., pp. 3812–3814). New York: Pergamon Press.

- Edelsky, C., Hudelson, S., Flores, B., Barkin, F., Altweger, J., & Jilbert, K. (1983). Semilingualism and language deficit. *Applied Linguistics*, 4, 1–22.
- MacSwan, J. (2000). The Threshold Hypothesis, semilingualism, and other contributions to a deficit view of linguistic minorities. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 22(1), 3–45.
- MacSwan, J., & Rolstad, K. (2003). Linguistic diversity, schooling, and social class: Rethinking our conception of language proficiency in language minority education. In C. B. Paulston & R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 329–340). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- MacSwan, J., & Rolstad, K. (2006). How language proficiency tests mislead us about ability: Implications for English Language Learner placement in special education. *Teachers College Record*, 108(11), 2304–2328.
- MacSwan, J., Rolstad, K., & Glass, G. V. (2002). Do some school-age children have no language? Some problems of construct validity in the Pre-LAS Español. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 26(2), 213–238.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Romaine, S. (1986). Semilingualism: A half-baked theory of communicative competence. *Applied Linguistics*, 7(1), 26–38.
- Newmeyer, F. J. (1986). *The politics of linguistics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Paulston, C. B. (1983). *Swedish research and debate about bilingualism*. Stockholm: National Swedish Board of Education.
- Wiley, T. G. (1996). *Literacy and language diversity in the United States*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.

SFUSD LAU PLAN

See LAU v. NICHOLS, SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT'S RESPONSE

SHELTERED ENGLISH IMMERSION

See ENGLISH IMMERSION

SHELTERED INSTRUCTION OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

See SIOP

SIMON, PAUL M. (1928–2003)

Paul Martin Simon was a Democratic Representative, two-term U.S. Senator, and presidential aspirant from southern Illinois. He was known as a charismatic, honest, and compassionate lawmaker, and tireless advocate for the less fortunate. In Congress, Simon was a seasoned legislator whose tenure included working for bilingual education and language education programs, among other causes. His career and efforts promoting bilingual education and modern language study are described in this entry.

Born in Eugene, Oregon, on November 29, 1928, Simon attended local public schools, graduating from high school in Portland. He entered the University of Oregon, Eugene, in 1945, but left after a year to finish his studies at Dana College in Blair, Nebraska, where he graduated in 1948. Upon graduation, he pursued a career as a newspaper editor and publisher in Troy, Illinois, becoming the nation's youngest editor-publisher at age 19. In a short time, he built a chain of 15 weekly publications in Downstate Illinois, and used his influence to expose various forms of corruption, including illicit gambling operations, among other things, in the St. Louis area. Simon served as an expert witness before the U.S. Senate's Crime Investigating Committee as a precocious 22-year-old.

Simon went on to serve as an intelligence agent for the U.S. Army in Eastern Europe from 1951 to 1953 and began a political career upon his return. In 1954, he was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives, where he served until 1962. He was subsequently elected to the state senate, serving until 1968. In each of his 14 years in the Illinois legislature, Simon won the Best Legislator Award from the Independent Voters of Illinois, a nonprofit organization dedicated to government activism and honesty. Simon was elected lieutenant governor in 1968, becoming the first person to hold this office while belonging to a different party than the governor. He served as lieutenant governor until 1972.

After Simon lost a Democratic primary for governor, he taught at Sangamon State University in Springfield, Illinois, where he created the Public Affairs Reporting Program. He also taught at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. But his time out of public office was short-lived. In 1975, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served until 1985. His tenure there was marked by leadership positions in education and

foreign affairs and an interest in care for the disabled, especially children. In the House, he sponsored the Missing Children Act, paving the way for the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. He also supported the reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act of 1978.

Simon moved to the Senate in 1984, and was reelected in 1990, serving until 1996. He also ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1988. In the Senate, Simon continued his work in language education and minority language advocacy, supporting legislation such as the Foreign Language Competence for the Future Act of 1989, the Native American Languages Act of 1991, and the Voting Rights Act Language Assistance Amendments of 1992. He was also the main Democratic sponsor of the Balanced Budget Amendment.

Upon leaving congressional office, Simon founded and became director of the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University, serving from 1997 to 2003. He wrote a number of books, including *The Tongue-Tied American*, which bemoaned the nation's poor record in preparing students fluent in other languages. He spoke prolifically, particularly about the need for American schoolchildren to learn a new language and what he described as a shortfall in American foreign-language education. Simon won numerous honorary degrees and lived in Carbondale, Illinois, until his death following heart surgery on December 9, 2003.

Gregory Pearson

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; U.S. Bilingual Education Viewed From Abroad; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- CNN (2003, December 9). Former Sen. Paul Simon dies after surgery. CNN.com. Retrieved from <http://www.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/12/09/simon.obit.ap>
- Institute of Government & Public Affairs, University of Illinois (n.d.). Biography of Paul Simon. Retrieved from <http://www.igpa.uiuc.edu/ethics/simon-bio.asp>
- Simon, P. (1980). *The tongue-tied American: Confronting the foreign language crisis*. New York: Continuum.
- U.S. Congress. Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present: Paul Martin Simon (1928–2003). Retrieved from <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=s000423>

SIOP

Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) is an instructional model of teaching academic content to English language learners (ELLs) developed by Jana Echevarria, Mary Ellen Vogt, and Deborah Short. SIOP provides a detailed (operational) description of sheltered instruction (in which content is made accessible, or sheltered for language learners), and provides teachers practical step-by-step guides: from lesson preparation and instruction to implementation of the lesson that will enable ELLs to understand their grade-level content lessons. These lessons are intended for sheltered instruction classrooms and for other programs where content instruction can be improved for ELLs. SIOP, as indicated in the term *observation protocol*, comes in the form of a rubric that enables evaluation of instruction provided to ELLs. Thus, it can be used either as a rubric to assess teachers' instructional practices, or as a checklist or guideline.

The SIOP model is composed of eight sections: (1) lesson preparation, (2) building background, (3) comprehensible input, (4) strategies, (5) interaction, (6) practice/application, (7) lesson delivery, and (8) assessment. Each section is described in this entry.

Lesson Preparation

Lesson preparation begins with clear objectives concerning both content and language. These objectives are usually written on the chalkboard and are clearly introduced to the students at the beginning of the lesson. When planning a lesson, teachers consider the appropriateness of the concepts of instruction for age, culture, and the educational background of students, as well as linguistic aspects; these include students' first-language literacy, second-language proficiency, and literacy in the content area of instruction.

To enhance the level of comprehension, teachers prepare supplementary materials such as visuals and manipulatives (e.g., pictures, illustrations, charts, graphs, realia, hands-on manipulatives, adapted text, related literature, and multimedia). Content is also adapted to ELLs' needs through the use of graphic organizers, outlines, labeling of pictures, study guides, adapted text, highlighted text, taped text, jigsaw text reading, marginal notes, and texts in the students' native languages. Teachers also plan meaningful activities that meet the content objectives and

give students ample opportunities to practice all four skills of language learning (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing). Meaningful activities for students are of an authentic nature, where the students actually experience what they are learning about.

Building Background

Instruction begins with building background. Background is built in several ways. First, it is through building connections with prior information, and then through providing experiences to build background knowledge. Connections are made between the new lesson concepts and the students' prior background knowledge and experiences to make it more comprehensible and meaningful for the students. Links are also made with previous lessons and new lessons. If the students do not have prior experience, teachers can provide experiences as a means through which children can build background for themselves.

Vocabulary plays a big part in background building and in academic achievement. Students develop content language by emphasizing key vocabulary words before the lesson, and through various activities such as contextualizing key vocabulary, vocabulary self-collection strategies, personal dictionaries, world wall, concept definition map, cloze sentences (where words are omitted and students fill in the gaps), word generation, word study books, and vocabulary games.

Comprehensible Input

Drawing on the work of Stephen Krashen, SIOP emphasizes the importance of comprehensible input, which is suggested to be measured throughout the lesson to ensure that students understand what is communicated. Comprehensible input begins with a clear speech. This form of speech is appropriate for students' proficiency level in the pace, enunciation, and complexity of the sentence structure. Clear instruction and directions for academic tasks are necessary for both ELLs and native English speakers. Directions can be made clearer through adapting a step-by-step manner, accompanied with written directions, visual examples, and teacher's demonstration. The use of a variety of techniques to make the concepts clear is encouraged. These techniques include modeling, visuals, hands-on activities, demonstrations, gestures, and body language.

Strategies

Students can benefit from explicit teaching of self-regulating learning strategies. Teachers provide ample learning strategies related to the lesson contents, as well as language learning strategies. Three categories of learning strategies are presented in the SIOP model: metacognitive, cognitive, and social/affective strategies.

Scaffolding techniques, in which students are gradually apprenticed to a task by an expert (teacher or peer) are used throughout the lesson. Verbal scaffolding can be done through paraphrasing, think-alouds, and reinforcing contextual definitions. Procedural scaffolding can be achieved through structuring the instruction in such a way that students gain more independence when performing a task. The lesson will provide explicit teaching, modeling, practice with others, and individual application. Teachers also scaffold through one-on-one teaching, small group teaching, and assigning group work with diverse students at their language proficiency and achievement level.

Interaction

English learners benefit from interaction where they have ample opportunities to use the target language in various settings. Teachers provide various types of activities that promote interaction, which can be in oral or written form. Through interaction, students have opportunity to practice the target language, negotiate meanings, clarify ideas, ask and answer questions, and give and justify opinions.

When grouping the students for interaction, a variety of grouping configurations are suggested. Homogeneous grouping can segregate students by performance or ability level, which often parallels socioeconomic and ethnic groupings, and can potentially end up promoting differential expectations and differential treatments among them. Configurations that are diverse better serve students' interests by providing various learning situations and increasing the opportunity for students to find their preferred modes of instruction.

Ample wait time for responses should be planned during the interaction. Wait time differs by culture; English language learners in particular need extra time to process questions in English. Effective teachers provide sufficient wait time for ELLs and balance it well enough that the class will not lag and the needs of mainstream students are accommodated.

ELLs can also benefit from clarifying concepts in their native languages.

Practice/Application

Teachers identify various ways to make students practice their content learning and language knowledge. Hands-on materials and manipulatives are used as practice to help students apply what they learned. This notion aligns with the “guided practice” coined by Madeline Hunter, which is the process where teachers lead students through practice sessions that precede independent application. In “guided practice,” teachers use a meaningful amount of material to be practiced at one time: Practice should take a short time, so that students can put in efforts intensely. Massed practice for new learning and distributed practices for old learning are beneficial, and specific feedback should be given to students.

SIOP emphasizes that knowledge should be applied in a meaningful way. Actual doing helps ELLs grasp the abstract content better. It also provides them the opportunity to apply language knowledge in a real-world context. Thus, teachers plan practice activities that integrate the four language skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

Content objectives and language objectives are supported by lesson delivery. The goal is that students are engaged 90% to 100% of the lesson period. Allocating time appropriately improves students’ time-on-task and makes this period a time when students are focused on learning the content and language that is closely related to the lesson objectives. Teachers need to consider the appropriate pacing according to the level of the students.

Assessment

Throughout the lesson, teachers use various techniques to review lesson objectives as well as key words and key concepts. Teachers also provide periodic feedback on students’ output. Through feedback, teachers can reinforce or correct students’ language usage. In SIOP, the notion of assessment is differentiated from evaluation. Whereas evaluation means making judgments about student learning, assessment is an ongoing process of gathering and combining information about students’ learning to make instructional modifications. These assessments are authentic, informal, multidimensional, and drawn from multiple sources in nature.

Critiques of SIOP

SIOP is gaining popularity among ESL teachers in sheltered English immersion classrooms because of its simple and clear step-by-step how-to guides. One of the criticisms of SIOP, however, is that it oversimplifies teaching ELLs and presents it as if this simple step-by-step guide alone can achieve an effective teaching for all ELLs. When it comes to teaching ELLs, SIOP provides basic skill-based tools that can come in handy; however, the matter of teaching ELLs takes more than following a simple methodology. SIOP may be very useful, however, in helping build confidence among young or inexperienced teachers who are new to the work of teaching ELLs.

Another limitation of SIOP is that language objectives presented in the model are somewhat limited, too general, or even superficial; they fail to show concretely what needs to be achieved in language proficiency. This happens especially in a class with varied levels of language proficiency, and when there is lack of extended knowledge about how to teach a language, how language objectives are set, and how they are taught. Teachers find themselves unable to successfully set appropriate language objectives beyond the superficial level, not to mention successfully teaching students the lesson simply by following SIOP. However, this limitation is more a practical issue of setting language goals, rather than a theoretical one because language objectives do need to be set. SIOP leaves the role of efficiently setting language objectives to users of this method.

Chanyoung Park

See also BICS/CALP Theory; English Immersion; Monitor Model; Pull-Out ESL Instruction

Further Readings

- Echevarria, J., Vogt, M., Short, D. J. (2004). *Making content comprehensible for English learners: The SIOP model*. Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.
- Hunter, M. (1982). *Mastery teaching: Increasing instructional effectiveness in secondary schools, college, and universities*. El Segundo, CA: TIP Publications.
- Krashen, S. (1985). *The input hypothesis: Issues and implications*. New York: Longman.

Web Sites

SIOP Institute: <http://www.siopinstitute.net>

SITUATED LEARNING

Through their notion of “situated learning,” described in this entry, Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger introduced a broad theoretical framework that brings the socially situated nature of shared learning to the frontiers of learning theory. From this view of learning, individual learners participate in collective or group meaningful activities in which they acquire new knowledge and a continuously renewed set of relations with older members of the group. In this view, learning is not limited to an individual’s cognitive processes. Rather, learning requires learners to engage in socially organized and situated activities by practicing new ways of acting, believing, and understanding that result from such practice. Lave and Wenger refer to these situated activities as *legitimate peripheral participation* and believe that all learning necessarily results from learners’ participation in legitimate social practices that over time become increasingly similar to the practices, actions, and understandings of their teachers or older members of the group. A learner’s participation in social practices is necessarily peripheral because as learning occurs through more intensive participation, the periphery adjusts to the new learning goals. However, situated learning is not a linear process, nor does it need to result in core participation. Its essence is legitimate peripheral participation in collective or social structures and socially meaningful activity. Accordingly, human communication, social activity, and the conceptual understanding of learning tasks occur in a situated context that derives from legitimate peripheral participation in goal-oriented practices rather than from an individual’s cognitive internalization of the meaning and abilities associated with the practice.

This theoretical approach to learning stems partially from the sociocultural theory described by Lev Vygotsky, which treats learning as a social practice that first appears on interactions with others and is then transformed by mediational resources, such as language, to reach the individual cognitive level. Based on this approach, scholars theorize that teaching activities should engage students in social participation in concrete community practices, which lead to the development of new knowledge. However, unlike Vygotsky, who acknowledges both the socially and individually transforming constructs of learning, this framework accentuates even further the socially

derived learning practices. It centers more on the relations that arise between new and old learners as they participate in legitimate peripheral practices and learn to think, act, behave, and believe like older community members. Generally speaking, situated learning as legitimate peripheral participation is akin to the apprenticeship process, in which learners spend time watching and practicing as apprentices to masters of a particular trade. Once the apprentices can demonstrate to the master tradesperson that they have learned skills of the trade to a certain level, they can move on to become more independent of their master.

Learning in Peripheral Participatory Modes

At the core of situated learning practices are peripheral or auxiliary modes. Novice learners enter a community of practice to acquire new skills, actions, beliefs, and knowledge that will help them identify with and gain membership in a particular community of practice. In the process of becoming members of a new learning community, the novice’s goal is to acquire the skills, actions, beliefs, and knowledge to become fully integrated within that community. Early membership is peripheral or auxiliary to the extent that the learner is engaged in social activities in preparation for more intensive participation over time. As learners become increasingly more able to participate in learning activities, the periphery adjusts and learners are invited to participate in deeper levels of knowledge, actions, and beliefs.

This notion of legitimate peripheral participation is analogous to craftwork apprenticeship practices in different societies and among different conventional professions, such as midwives among Yucatec women in Mexico, tailors in West Africa, quartermasters in the U.S. Navy, and butchers in the United States. The apprentices in these communities of practice begin their participation in minimal supporting roles, by assisting with practices in small ways. As their participation continues, they gain more knowledge and expertise in their craft, which facilitates a more assertive control of other, more central aspects. As the apprentices’ participation is enhanced, they take on additional responsibilities and contribute more actively to the final product. Apprentices in these communities of practice gradually move along the lines of peripheral participation to a more centralized role. In short, they become members of this professionally oriented

practice community, taking on the ways of being, believing, and acting that established members possess.

Within these theoretical premises, Edwin Hutchins examined the joint constructs of navigation as they emerge among U.S. quartermasters on a helicopter transport carrier. Experienced U.S. quartermasters well versed in complex technological means cooperate with less qualified members of their team to help them progress from peripheral to essential tasks, and in the process, quartermasters help novices learn to recognize and locate errors, and then to make appropriate diagnoses. The results indicate that such tasks are complex and require a high degree of expertise and that collaborative and interpersonal communications among team members are imperative because full internalization of such processes or knowledge by a single quartermaster is not possible.

The notion of moving from the periphery toward mastery of key tasks, required for full recognition as a legitimate participant of the community, leads to the construction of new identities and a sense of community affiliation. However, neither the identity affiliations nor the learning of new practices are static. On the contrary, they are dynamic, evolving, and continuously dependent on social structures and power relations that develop through these socially oriented participatory processes. As learners' legitimate participation becomes more intense and increasingly integrated with the desired practices, their peripheral participation gains in value and recognition by peers, simultaneously becoming less and less peripheral relative to where they began as novices.

Implications for Bilingual Instruction

Situated learning has gained wide appeal in educational circles because it offers a sociocultural framework to examine second-language and bilingual learning in collective and peripherally organized modes, in specific institutional and community practices. To understand learning in the second-language and bilingual classrooms, it is important to examine the role of apprenticeship as it emerges through interactions between the teacher and students, as well as among students with multiple abilities. That is, as new learning environments, classrooms can offer a wide range of learning opportunities to apprentices that open the path to moving toward more central participatory modes, as well as helping learners create new identities as members of various learning communities.

One of the first steps to understanding the nature of situated learning in classroom settings is to acknowledge the local and situated context of classroom communities of practice, as they evolve in specific sociohistorical and cultural contexts. An important aspect of classroom communities of practice is the set of language socialization practices that learners bring with them to the classroom setting. The ways that students have been socialized to use language for communication, for expressing identities, and for making meaning may or may not be recognized as valuable for classroom interaction. For example, immigrant students entering American schools may have developed ways of using their home language that are not well understood or appreciated by the teacher and English-speaking peers. Accordingly, bilingual classroom research based on situated learning principles focuses on making sense of how English learners gain proficiency in English. It also includes how they learn academic content and in the process create new identities through participation in collaborative discourse with their peers.

This research indicates that the social and academic communities available to English learners are neither linear nor static. Rather, classroom communities are dynamic and ever changing, depending on the extent to which learners' entries are encouraged or hindered by English language proficiency, reading ability, social skills, or other factors that contribute to each learner's participation in social and academic communities of practice. In classroom settings, unlike those of butchers, midwives, and tailors, English learners' capacities to participate in social and academic communities of practice are a function of the social dynamics of the classroom, the role of the learners' home language, and the extent to which their new identities as English learners are facilitated through interaction with others.

All English learners bring into the classroom setting a personal and community-based language and cultural repertoire, which may not include oral and written proficiency in English, but it does include years of situated learning in their home communities. Hence, the participation of English learners in classroom communities and, more broadly, in the wider communities outside of school in which English is required, is likely to be difficult for learners who are new to and unfamiliar with these environments. In this sense, English learners may not only be new apprentices in academic communities, they may also need to be apprenticed

into ways of using language and literacy that differ from their first-acquired practices.

Thus, the legitimacy and peripherality of English learners may be formed by the sociocultural knowledge and practices they bring to a classroom, in which the new knowledge and academic practices being used happen in an unfamiliar language, embedded in unfamiliar practices. Moreover, because English learners may not know the language or ways of the classroom, it is easy for the teacher and English-speaking classmates to identify them as belonging to a different learning community, outside of the mainstream. In this manner, the legitimate status assigned to English learners by their teacher and their classmates, and perhaps even the broader school community, can hinder their legitimate participation in social and academic practices recognized as essential for academic success. Thus, although English learners are exposed to classroom communication, their participation in exchanges that result in language learning, while they are also gaining academically, is likely to be minimal. Researchers such as Kelleen Toohey have studied groups of English learners at the primary school level and have indicated that these children often become silent and isolated because they cannot fully comprehend or respond to their teachers' or their English-speaking peers' questions. Furthermore, in some instances, English learners in classrooms where most students are English speakers may have few opportunities to participate in academic activities exchanges with English-speaking peers.

English learners are positioned at the outer periphery of their classroom community on two levels: first, they are newcomers to the academic knowledge community (as are all students), and second, they bring with them a language and cultural foundation that is likely not to be drawn upon for learning. To be academically successful, English learners need to acquire the new knowledge that is situated in academic learning communities, and do so while they are acquiring a new language.

One of the ways that English learners gain access to English and become members of academic communities is by engaging in scaffolded activities organized around Vygotsky's concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). When English learners are invited into collaborative activities that are within their ZPD, the assistance they receive from the teacher or peers enables them to extend their academic knowledge in specific areas, while they are trying and using

English to accomplish the particular goals of the activities. Scholars such as Pauline Gibbons and Christian Faltis and Cathy Coulter, examining peripheral participation in mixed-language classrooms, have shown how teachers can create opportunities where scaffolded activities enhance English learners' participation in academic activities. Experienced teachers who are well grounded in social learning practices can also organize learning environments in which English learners use their developing language with English speakers so that they acquire language while they are engaged in academic community practices essential to school achievement.

An important ingredient for effective legitimate peripheral participation in academic classroom setting is the existence of multiple social uses of language. This view of language implies that learners with diverse oral and written language abilities can participate in a wide range of socially organized activities, which involve the creation and development of multiple identities. From a situated learning perspective, language is not a unitary or an abstract general system; rather, it lives in and develops from multiple socially situated practices. This view of the language multiplicity and its learning as socially situated is important for understanding how English is acquired in mixed-language classrooms; it asks teachers to question teaching and learning practices that place what happens in the learner's head at the center of how language and knowledge are acquired.

Learners gain proficiency in new ways of doing things, including using a new language, through legitimate peripheral participation in multiple communities of language practice. This perspective requires teachers to acknowledge the multiplicity of voices brought into the classroom by different learners. Some of these voices may be shared with and among English learners, but others may conflict with other voices, especially those held in high esteem by the school because they are based in social practices that reflect certain power relations and valued identity affiliations.

Identities taken up by English learners have been shown to be multidimensional and complex. While engaging in academic interactions with their peers, English learners are drawn into contexts that call for the appropriate use of language and social identities. Faltis and Coulter have emphasized that the identities of English learners create derive from socially and institutionally constructed identities already in existence. Identities emerge during socially situated learning

activities in which learners are provided multiple opportunities to try new identity affiliations as members of new language and academic communities. In this manner, English learners create new identities for themselves as a way to join and participate in established learning communities.

As English learners are invited into unfamiliar learning activities, they are simultaneously invited to establish school or institutional identities, which are demonstrated through their performance during assessment and any number of classroom practices. The ability to adapt to school and establish friendships among classmates contributes to the kinds of identities English learners create and nurture during their time in school. Beginning English language learners may not be able to adequately display their academic knowledge in English, which places them in a disempowered position relative to learners who are proficient in English. Most English learners become consciously aware very quickly that their ability to use oral and written English for academic tasks contributes to the formation of their identity. English learners realize as well that their status as classroom community members is also partially determined by the extent to which they gain access to the hierarchical power structures that exist in the classroom.

Part of what English learners learn through classroom settings is that how and what they communicate is not simply located at the local, classroom context; rather, it is also situated within larger academic, institutional, and social contexts of the different communities to which they already belong or are attempting to belong. This means that in any classroom a multiplicity of identities is involved in becoming a new member of an academic community. Learners are apprentices who need to participate in socially organized activities to acquire new language proficiency and the knowledge and skills coupled with the identity affiliation associated with them. Accordingly, students should be viewed as apprentices to broader institutional and social communities, where they create and assume multiple identities during the learning processes.

The sociocultural tenets of situated learning provide teachers with a new way to disengage from the conventional monolithic approaches to learning that give preference to fragmented skill development and locate learning entirely in the head of learners. However, it could be argued that the argument for learning as legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice underestimates the role of cognitive and emotional processes involved in learning.

To be sure, learning is necessarily social and often peripheral in nature, but it can also have an individual character. Although language learners are situated in different discourse communities, which leads to peripheral participation, they can gradually gain the required knowledge to participate by controlling their learning processes based on how they feel about participation, and their knowledge of and ability to use previously acquired learning strategies.

Christian Faltis and Stella K. Hadjistassou

See also Classroom Discourse; Communities of Practice; Culturally Competent Teaching; Social Learning; Vygotsky and Language Learning

Further Readings

- Chaiklin, S., & Lave, J. (1993). *Understanding practice: Perspectives on activity and context*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Faltis, C., & Coulter, C. (2007). *Teaching English learners and immigrant students in secondary schools*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill.
- Gibbons, P. (2002). *Scaffolding language, scaffolding learning: Teaching second language learners in the mainstream classroom*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Hawkin, M. (2004). Researching English language and literacy development in schools. *Educational Researcher*, 33(3), 14–25.
- Hutchins, E. (1993). Learning to navigate. In S. Chaiklin & J. Lave (Eds.), *Understanding practice* (pp. 35–63). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Resnick, L., Levine, J., & Teasley, S. (1991). *Perspectives on socially shared cognition*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Toohy, K. (2000). *Learning English at school: Identity, social relations and classroom practices*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1934). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

SKILLS TRANSFER THEORY

Skills transfer theory has been applied to the study of human learning for at least 100 years and is an important

concept of education. Transfer of learning is the influence of prior learning on performance in a new situation. The theory explains how learners can transfer their skills and knowledge so that each new learning situation does not require that they start from zero. Young children learn to get along with their siblings and transfer this learning to their relationships with peers when they attend school. Adults who learn how to drive a car are able to transfer this knowledge to new contexts (for example, driving a truck or a boat). The assumption is that prior learning influences performance in new contexts.

Increasingly, researchers on bilingual education have been paying attention to the application of skills transfer theory—specifically, which skills seem to transfer from one language to the other for second-language learners, under which circumstances, and why. This entry describes research on skills transfer theory.

Learning Theories and Transfer of Learning

Skills transfer theory provides valuable insights about important topics in teaching and learning in bilingual/ESL classrooms, such as the following: (a) the relationship between proficiency in the L1 (native language) and achievement in L2 (English, the second language), (b) the relationship between overall reading abilities in L1 and in L2, and (c) the relationship between oral language proficiency in English and reading abilities in English. Furthermore, study of skills transfer theory helps researchers learn more about L1 literacy transfer to L2 literacy. Educators who work with second-language learners have found that skills transfer theory helps them understand more about the relationship between the processes involved in developing reading skills in the second language and the learner's reading ability in the native language.

The Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis

Skills transfer theory states that language and literacy skills can be transferred from one language to another in bilingual learners. The linguistic interdependence principle holds that certain processes are basic to reading and that, once learned, they can be applied to reading other languages. Specifically, when children learn the meaning of print materials that characterize

their native language and home sociocultural community, the linguistic interdependence principle predicts that they will be able to extend their literacy expertise to a range of language and social contexts in their second language. Children who can read well in Spanish, for example, are actively involved in highly selective, multifaceted processes that are identical to the mental processes used to read in English. The skills needed to read well in Spanish are also needed to read well in English. Therefore, children who learn to read well in their native language need not totally relearn basic literacy skills in English. In other words, learning to read in the native language is beneficial because students apply many of the skills and strategies they acquired when learning how to read in their native language to the task of reading in the new language, English. A high level of proficiency in the native language leads to accelerated cognitive growth and, hence, to positive academic outcomes in the second language. Furthermore, instruction in native-language reading helps limited or non-English speakers appreciate their linguistic heritage, develop positive literacy experiences, and attain competence in both their home language and English. In contrast, excluding the native language from a student's instructional program or minimizing its use in classroom pedagogy may seriously reduce the learning options for nonnative speakers of English, compared with their English-dominant peers.

Cross-Linguistic Transfer Hypothesis: Metalinguistic Knowledge

This theory of second-language acquisition provides information about literacy instruction for teachers of English language learners (ELLs), supporting the notion that knowledge in the first language is transferred to cognitive and linguistic tasks in a second language. Bilingual readers acquire "metalinguistic" knowledge in their first language and transfer this knowledge to their second language as they develop literacy in both languages. Regardless of previous educational experiences, second-language learners have developed a sense of how language works. For example, they have learned the sounds of their native language; they know how to combine sounds to form words and to use words to convey their thoughts and ideas in verbal exchanges. They understand that a relationship exists between sounds and symbols. All of this knowledge about language and writing will

serve them well when they learn to communicate in their new language, English.

When students have developed literacy skills in their own language, however, teachers should keep in mind that transfer of literacy skills from one language to another depends on the similarities and differences between the languages and writing systems, including the units of speech symbolized by each character. If students are not yet literate in their native language, they must be taught relationships between written and spoken language and basic functions of print. This information is important for teachers, who provide students with opportunities to capitalize on their existing language skills.

Many literacy skills transfer across languages, including students' knowledge about the general processes of decoding, interpretation, and constructing meaning from text. For example, the letters /b/, /c/, /d/, /f/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /p/, /q/, /s/, and /t/, represent sounds that are similar in both English and Spanish. The letters /c/, /g/, /h/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /p/, and /q/ represent sounds that are similar in both English and Vietnamese. These sounds will transfer readily as children begin to read in English if they are fluent readers in their native languages. Teachers can use explicit instruction to develop pronunciation skills by explaining how sounds are the same or approximate. Minimal phonics instruction is needed when teaching the sounds of these consonants. However, much more instructional time needs to be devoted to teaching those sounds that do not exist in the language being taught, or exist with different symbols in students' primary languages. For Spanish speakers, some of those sounds and symbols are the unvoiced /th/ as in *thing*, the /j/ as in *jacket* or *cage*, the /z/ as in *zero*, the /sh/ as in *shell*, among others. For Vietnamese speakers, some of those sounds are the /r/, /v/, /x/, and /z/. Care must also be taken, however, because some of the sounds will transfer from one language to the other but a sound-symbol match may not exist. For example, the /f/ sound will transfer from Vietnamese to English but no sound-symbol match exists. That is, the sounds are represented by different symbols. Similarly, the /ck/ sound transfers from Spanish to English but no sound-symbol match exists. On the other hand, vowel sounds look the same in English and Spanish but their sounds can be very different: In English vowels have different pronunciations, whereas Spanish vowels are more uniform. English vowel sounds and their spellings are difficult even for

proficient readers of Spanish. It is important to teach children to attend to vowel spellings.

The writing systems of some languages have no resemblance to English. For example, many of the sounds in Cantonese exist in English, such as /c/, /k/, /f/, /h/, /l/, and /m/, however, the symbols that represent those sounds are different because of the origins of Chinese versus Western writing systems. Teachers must consider this information when planning instruction for Cantonese-speaking children and other language groups, particularly those children who are literate in their own native language.

Research on Literacy in the Native Language: Spanish

Research on skills transfer with Spanish-speaking children suggests that literacy instruction in the native language appears to be the most pedagogically sound way of learning about the relationship between meaning and print in both Spanish and English. Spanish-dominant youngsters acquire English more efficiently when they have attained literacy proficiency in their mother tongue. In general, children who are dominant in a language other than English acquire academic language and literacy skills more rapidly in both the native language and English when they attain literacy proficiency in the first language. Instruction in the students' native language simultaneously promotes the development of literacy skills in both the native language and second language. Thus, time invested in developing first-language literacy works to the advantage of second-language literacy achievement.

Instruction in Spanish reading helps limited or non-English speakers appreciate their linguistic heritage, develop positive literacy experiences, and attain competence in both academic Spanish and English. In contrast, excluding the native language from a student's instructional program or minimizing its use in classroom pedagogy may seriously reduce the learning options for Spanish-dominant children compared with their English-dominant peers. Students who arrive as immigrants in this country must learn English. They cannot fully benefit from the schools until they are able to profit from instruction conducted primarily in this language. At the same time, research on skills transfer theory has produced a large and growing body of evidence pointing to the vital role of native-language literacy in educating the whole child, enabling them to express all the creativity and wide

range of skills, talents, and prior knowledge they bring with them to school.

Research on skills transfer theory indicates that language skills acquired in the mother tongue will transfer positively to English if they are sufficiently developed in the native language. Findings from these studies also suggest that native-language instruction in literacy may be the most pedagogically sound method for helping immigrant children with limited English proficiency develop the skills and knowledge they will need to become proficient in the academic uses of their second language—English.

*Josefina V. Tinajero
and Judith H. Munter*

See also Continua of Biliteracy; Interlanguage; Literacy and Biliteracy; Threshold Hypothesis; Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies

Further Readings

- Cloud, N., Genesee, F., & Hamayan, E. (2000). *Dual language instruction: A handbook for enriched instruction*. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.
- Cree, V., & Macaulay, C. (2000). *Transfer of learning in professional and vocational education*. London: Routledge.
- Cummins, J. (2003). Reading and the bilingual student: Fact and fiction. In G. Garcia (Ed.), *English learners: Reading the highest level of English literacy*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Ormrod, J. E. (2004). *Human learning* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Pardo, E. B., & Tinajero, J. V. (2000). Literacy instruction through Spanish: Linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical considerations. In J. V. Tinajero & A. Ada (Eds.), *The power of two languages 2000: Effective dual language use across the curriculum* (pp. 42–65). New York: Macmillan/McGraw-Hill.
- Schunk, D. (2004). *Learning theories: An educational perspective* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Tinajero, J. V. (2004). *Comprehension instruction for English language learners*. Monograph. Carmel, CA: Hampton-Brown.
- Tinajero, J. V., & Munter, J. H. (2004). The role of native language and parental involvement: Developing literacy skills for all children. In D. Lapp, C. Block, E. Cooper, J. Flood, N. Roser, & J. V. Tinajero (Eds.), *Teaching all the children: Strategies for developing literacy in an urban setting* (pp. 73–90). New York: Guilford.

SOCIAL BILINGUALISM

Although psychologists and linguists have traditionally viewed and studied bilingualism as an individual's ability to speak two or more languages, it is also important to understand bilingual's social dimensions. The latter is a focus on the uses and functions, statuses, and relationships of two or more languages within a society. From the sociolinguistic perspective, languages are studied in relation to social groups, social class, ethnicity, and other interpersonal factors in communication.

At its most basic definition, *social bilingualism* refers to the presence of two or more languages in a given society. Many countries include various language or speech communities that is, groups that speak several languages or dialects. Social bilingualism, discussed in this entry, is often used interchangeably with the terms *societal bilingualism*, *collective bilingualism*, and *diglossia*.

What Is Diglossia?

The term *diglossia* is a Greek word meaning “two languages.” Charles Ferguson first described *diglossia* as referring to two varieties of the same language or dialects. Following Ferguson, the sociologist Joshua A. Fishman extended the concept of *diglossia* to refer to two languages of differing prestige found in a geographical area. The languages, each of which is associated with a higher or lower degree of prestige, have different functions and purposes. The higher-prestige one, designated as H, is used in formal texts and institutions such as by the government, in religion, education, high culture, business, and commerce. Often, this language is learned later in life in a formal institution outside the home, which makes it differentially accessible depending on the availability of access to such institutions. Additionally, the higher-status language is considered the gateway to educational and economic success and, thus, is viewed as the more desirable and powerful one. It follows, then, that the high language allows for social mobility.

In contrast, the lower-prestige language, designated as L, is the one that is used in daily life, the home and family, social and cultural activity in the community, and in communication with family and friends. Using the low variety in a situation where the high variety is the norm is unexpected and can mark

the user as an outsider, uneducated, or of a lower class. Low languages or varieties can be stigmatized, and sometimes speakers of the high variety will deny speaking the lesser-prestige language for fear of negative consequences. The high-low binary can also be described as between a majority (higher prestige) and minority (lower prestige) language within a country. Genetically related languages can be closely related, or more distantly related, depending on how directly they trace back to a common source.

Diglossia can manifest itself in different forms. Fishman explains the various linguistic relationships between the high- and low-status languages, taking into consideration whether H and L are genetically related or not (tracing back to a common source/language family): First is the case where the two languages are genetically related, and H is a classical language, and L is the vernacular. An example of this situation can be found in previous centuries when Latin was the high language preferred by Western European scholars and clergy, over the Romance-language spoken idiom of everyday use. The second is exemplified in European Judaic culture, in which Hebrew/Aramaic (H) remained the written language of religious discourse and ritual, and Yiddish (L), a High German language, was the medium of everyday speech among Jews. In this case, the classical (H) and the vernacular (L) are genetically unrelated. The third situation is found in Paraguay, where Spanish (H) is written and spoken formally but Guaraní (L), which is spoken by the indigenous Guaraní people, constitutes the vernacular. Here both H and L are genetically unrelated. The fourth case comprises a high language that is written and formally spoken and a vernacular, both genetically related to each other. An example is the arrangement found in the Caribbean where standard English and Caribbean Creole are the H and L languages, respectively.

The previous categories are only a beginning in trying to explain the linguistic relationships found in social bilingualism. There are also more complex situations within each of these groupings. For example, in some cases two high languages with one low language may exist, such as in the Philippines where national policy fosters English and Pilipino/Filipino as high languages and Tagalog as a low language. In other words, social bilingualism is shaped and influenced by political, economic, social, educational, and cultural forces. The idea of social bilingualism is broad; it looks very different from country to country

given the presence or absence of language compartmentalization in bilingual settings. Additionally, open networks, fluid role relationships, interactions across status lines, increase of interaction in the work arena, increasing urbanization, intermarriage, and mobility, among other factors, tend to diminish the compartmentalization of languages or language varieties.

Relationships Between Bilingualism and Diglossia

Fishman provides some useful perspective on the different types of social bilingualism that exist today. In his well-known typology, he describes the various relationships that exist between bilingualism as an individual phenomenon and diglossia as a social one. In the first type, both bilingualism and diglossia are present. Widespread access to the languages means that people know and use both the high- and low-status language or variety. But, the roles associated with each language or code are compartmentalized and kept separate. Examples around the world where bilingualism and diglossia are present include such countries as Switzerland where German is high and Swiss-German is low, and Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon where the high language is the Koranic Arabic used for Islamic studies, and the vernaculars including Lebanese, Syrian, and Egyptian Arabic are used for informal conversation.

Diglossia without bilingualism describes the second situation. This refers to a situation where two or more languages (or varieties) are spoken but one of the languages is restricted to only one speech community. In other words, one group speaks one of the languages, and another group speaks a different language. A common example can be found in Switzerland, where different language groups including German, French, and Italian are located in different areas. The official status of the different languages theoretically may be equal, and fluent bilingual speakers of both languages may be the exception rather than the rule. In some cases, the ruling group will speak the high language and the larger, less powerful group will speak the low language. This is a common pattern in colonial situations such as Haiti, where the elite spoke French and the masses spoke a language or dialect known as French Kreyol (also Creole).

The third relationship consists of bilingualism without diglossia, which occurs in areas that are undergoing

rapid social change or social unrest. In this situation, there are large groups of immigrants. The children become bilingual at an early age, but this bilingualism is transitory or transitional in that the language of the school and government replaces the language of the home. As a result, children become monolingual in the language of the public sphere, the high language. For example, the trend among Mexican immigrants in the United States is that the second generation is bilingual in the mother tongue and English, but the third generation is monolingual in English. Thus, the southwestern United States, which is home to large numbers of Mexican Americans, has witnessed extensive loss of Spanish among the third and subsequent generations of immigrants. The dominance of English, the high-prestige language, fosters this. Few resources exist for the maintenance of the home language. Painfully aware of the status and prestige of English, some immigrant parents do not encourage their children's learning of the heritage language. Furthermore, kids as young as 3 years old become aware of the higher prestige and status of English, and they may feel shame when speaking their parents' home language, which further diminishes the use of the language. In addition to Spanish and other immigrant languages, there exist varieties of English, which are low including Chicano English, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), and some southern dialects.

The fourth type of relationship between bilingualism and diglossia is distinguished by the presence of neither diglossia nor bilingualism. No fully differentiated languages or varieties exist. However, this fourth state is difficult to find because all speech communities seem to have certain rituals, ceremonies, or events that are carried on in a particular language or variety to which access is limited. One example is where a formerly linguistically diverse society has been forcibly changed to a relatively monolingual society because the native languages have been exterminated. Another example is a small speech community that uses its minority language for all functions and has no relationship with the neighboring majority language.

Politics, Policies, and Language Rights

Although social bilingualism is considered to be a stable, permanent, and continuing structure, it involves a complex interplay of power struggles, ideologies of

nation, and politics that can affect the stability of the various systems. Scholars who have tested Fishman's typology of the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia among nine language groups have found that it has only limited predictive value. Colin Baker writes that ease of travel and communication, increased social and vocational mobility, a global economy, globalization, and more urbanization leads to more contact between language communities, often making language shift more typical than language stability. Even when countries attempt to preserve the compartmentalization of languages through policy, the political and power base of the two languages changes over time.

Two such attempts at separating languages are "the territorial principle" and the "personality principle." The territorial principle refers to a language having been given official status in a specific geographical area, for example, Belgium has three designated regions where Flemish, French, and German speakers have language rights inside their regions, but not outside in the remainder of Belgium. On the other hand, in Canada, under the "personality principle," Francophones have the right to use French wherever they travel across their country. Language status is given to individuals or groups wherever they live within a country. The "personality" refers to the linguistic status of the person traveling. The attempt to merge the territorial and personality principles has been termed the *asymmetrical principle* or *asymmetrical bilingualism*. Canadians conceived this principle to give full rights to minority language speakers and to redress discrimination against them. In this way, the question of social bilingualism intersects with the question of language rights.

The term *language rights* refers to the notion that the once-suppressed languages of national minorities should be recognized and revived. An argument for the maintenance and spread of a language is often based on its historic existence within a defined boundary. Language rights for indigenous or minority languages may be protected by law. Spain, for example, has a policy that reflects a commitment to language revitalization, taking into account the historical marginalization, dating back to the 19th century, of minority languages. Latvia and Canada have instituted similar policies. However, because language policies are never neutral nor inconsequential, the focus on revival has brought about new language conflicts.

Implications for Bilingual Education

The functions and boundaries of two languages in a diglossic society will both affect and be reflected in bilingual education policy and practice. Many questions remain to be assessed and decisions to be made about the language that is to be used in schooling, oral communication, and biliteracy. These questions are complicated and laden with controversy when it comes to schooling the nation's children. In the United States, for example, bilingual education has been hotly debated for decades and continues to be a source of political conflict as the dismantling of bilingual education in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts demonstrates. This brings back the call for more of a focus on the social aspects of bilingualism to help illuminate the phenomenon of individual bilingualism.

Lucila D. Ek

See also Bilingualism Stages; Language Policy and Social Control; Social Bilingualism; Views of Bilingual Education; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- Alvarez, C. (2005). Language and participation. *New York University School of Law. New York University Public Law and Legal Theory Working Papers*. Paper 7. Retrieved from <http://lsr.nellco.org/nyu/plltwp/papers/7>
- Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bhatia, T. K., & Ritchie, W. C. (Eds.). (2004). *The handbook of bilingualism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Ferguson, C. (1996). *Sociolinguistic perspectives: Papers on language in society, 1959–1994*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1972). *Sociolinguistics: A brief introduction*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Fishman, J. A., & Keller, G. (Eds.). (1982). *Bilingual education for Hispanic students in the United States*. New York: Teachers College Press.

SOCIAL CLASS AND LANGUAGE STATUS

Most Americans can tell that English speakers from different geographical regions use distinct varieties of the language. The same is true for regional and

national dialects of Spanish, Chinese, and Swahili, although that may not be as apparent to those who do not speak those languages. However, how people use language depends more than just on where they come from. A range of social categories influences speech, such as age, gender, ethnicity, style (formal or informal), and social class. Although these categories are undoubtedly interrelated, social class has long been studied as an important factor of the way language is used, as discussed in this entry. The noted sociolinguist William Labov asserted that social class is the fundamental sociolinguistic pattern of variation and that other patterns of variation (for example, gender or ethnicity) are derivative patterns. Although all languages and language varieties are equal in the linguistic sense, they are not all worth the same in the social sense. Standard varieties are privileged, and nonstandard varieties are stigmatized, both by degree. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu used the term *linguistic capital* to refer to the positive aspects of privilege and status that languages carry with them wherever they go.

Social Class and the Patterned Variation of Language Use

The father of modern linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure, made a key distinction between *langue*, or language as a system, and *parole*, or speech. In a collection of his lectures published posthumously in 1916, Saussure asserted that *langue* is the proper object of linguistic study and analysis. Early linguists followed his lead, and although it was observed that people actually did use language quite differently across different areas and in different social situations, they wrote off these differences as instances of *free variation*. Free variation was seen as the random, inexplicable differences in language use. Noam Chomsky's concepts of *competence* and *performance* mirror *langue* and *parole*, respectively, in many ways. Chomsky also stressed that his object of study was language competence, not language performance. Indeed, he viewed performance as a secondary level or layer to language analysis, whereas within competence lay the key to understanding the true nature of language.

During the 1960s, however, a group of scholars began working to show that language use in everyday social situations is patterned in interesting ways, when it had previously been discounted as random free variation. Moreover, these scholars noted that the regularities

of language use revealed the social structures within which people use language. The work of this group of scholars came to be known as *sociolinguistics*. Specifically, studies in *correlational* or *variationist* sociolinguistics sought to link a particular linguistic variable to its social significance. By using quantitative methods, researchers were able to prove that the idea of free variance was flawed, that language use is patterned in regular ways. A *linguistic variable* can be any salient feature that marks difference in language use; often researchers chose phonological markers because they were easy to identify and count—for example, whether the vowel in the words *pen* and *pin* are pronounced the same or differently, or whether the “-ing” tense is pronounced with the final sound as [ŋ] as “playing” or [n] as in “playin.” A linguistic variable can be a grammatical feature as well, such as the way the third-person singular is conjugated (“he does” versus “he do”). Finally, word choice can also be a variable, say whether a person uses *bag* or *sack*.

The form a person uses depends on what position that person wants. An elderly White woman from a rural community will have adopted ways of talking: her accent and choice of vocabulary and grammatical structures that identify her as a member of a particular *speech community* (a social group that shares ways of using language). An inner-city youth may take on very different ways of talking that are meant to project traits valued by his social group—for example, toughness, manliness, and a particular style of humor. So a researcher, for instance, could find salient linguistic variables within the inner-city adolescents’ speech community and correlate those to some other social factor, such as the youths’ attitude toward school. Sociolinguist Penelope Eckert used this approach in her study of gender differences across two school social groups she called “jocks” and “burn-outs.”

Labov’s study of three New York department stores is seminal in this field because of the methodology he used and because his results clearly showed the connection between social class and language use. Labov identified working-, middle-, and upper-class department stores. In each one, he entered and asked the store clerk the location of an item (for example, “Where is the shoe section?”) for which he knew the answer would be “the fourth floor.” He carefully noted how the respondent pronounced the final “r” in each word (called the post-vocalic /r/) because he had previously identified it as his linguistic variable. By asking multiple employees in each store, he was able

to quickly generate data that showed a clear correlation between the presence or absence of the post-vocalic /r/ and social class. His results reflected that the more working class a person is in New York City, the more likely that person is to drop the final “r”: 62% for the working-class store versus 20% for the upper-class store. The post-vocalic /r/ is also an indicator of social class in the city of Reading, England. However, in Reading, the correlation is reversed: The *higher* a person’s social class is, the more likely that person is to drop r’s. The same sort of analysis also discovered that both in Detroit, Michigan, and Norwich, England, working-class people were more likely to drop the -s in the third person singular (“he go”), but that the difference between middle- and working-class norms were greater in Norwich than in Detroit. An interpretation of this result could be that there may be more mobility in the U.S. social system.

Language Standards and the (In)equality of Variety

That dropped r’s have the exact opposite social value in New York City as in Reading, England, tells us an important sociolinguistic truth: that ways of talking correspond to, but do not determine, social standing. Some linguistic forms have higher social status than others, but the value of a particular linguistic form, whether it is seen as an “upper-class” or “lower-class” way of talking, is created by historical social conditions rather than because of anything inherent in the forms themselves. This may seem obvious, but it has important implications for sociolinguistics.

One of the main premises of sociolinguistics is the assumption that no one’s way of using language is better than another’s; they are simply different. Although sociolinguists stress that these differences are patterned, they also stress that there is no means of making linguistic judgments about which way of using language is better, more proper, or “correct.” Evaluations about proper and correct ways of using language are *social*, rather than *linguistic*, judgments. Hence, common admonitions made by English teachers on proper usage—not to use “ain’t” or to end a sentence with a preposition—are based on *prescriptivist* views of language, according to a sociolinguistic approach. A prescriptivist view holds that established norms of language use, most obviously those laid out in pedagogical grammar books, constitute the rules of proper usage and are therefore more

correct than alternate or deviant forms. However, again, from a sociolinguistic point of view, there is no such notion as “correct” or “incorrect” language. The best dictionaries of English are almost certain to point this out in the preface to the list of meanings but the point is often lost when people look up a word to find its “correct” usage.

Sociolinguists take a *descriptive* approach to language study and observe that those ways of using what constitutes *language standards* merely represent one particular way of using language by one particular language group at a particular point in time. Standard language forms in the United States, for instance, reflect dominant White, middle-class linguistic norms. Nonstandard and vernacular forms largely correspond to marginalized working-class and racial or ethnic minorities. Ebonics is often stigmatized because it is generally spoken by poor African Americans. However, a linguistic analysis of Ebonics shows that it is every bit as rule-governed (in the descriptivist sense) as is standard American English (SAE). Characterizations of Ebonics as a “linguistic ghetto” and SAE as the “cash language” reflect social judgments, rather than linguistic evaluations, of the relative value of these varieties as linguistic capital. Studies done in a related field of linguistics called *discourse analysis* have considered what happens at an interactional level when speakers of vernacular varieties interview for jobs, attempt to gain access to health care services, interact with school administrators, and other social situations where nonstandard speakers must use their linguistic resources to negotiate dominant institutional structures.

Class Differences Challenge Educators

Most educators agree that one of the main imperatives of public education is to equip students with the language resources necessary to allow them to successfully navigate mainstream institutions and mainstream life. That is, the school curriculum ought to develop the language and literacy skills that count as linguistic capital in mainstream U.S. society. This means that all students should become articulate and literate in SAE. As sociolinguists and ethnographers of education such as Shirley Brice Heath have found, this is much easier for students who arrive at school speaking SAE, and thus provides them with an advantage. In her 1983 work *Ways With Words*, Heath showed how

language socialization practices, the myriad of ways parents teach their children to interact and use language, differ across culture and class. She and other researchers have noted, for example, how African American children’s narrative structure differs from how White children organize a storytelling event. The effect of these differences is that some children come to school already knowing how to interact and use language in ways that are valued and rewarded in schools, whereas other children struggle to learn these norms. Susan Philips used an approach called the *ethnography of communication* to document how Warm Springs native children’s patterns of language use are distinct from those of mainstream children and showed how the native children struggled to adjust to the Anglo discourse and interactional structures teachers created in the classrooms. Children who have a harder time adjusting are often seen as nonparticipatory, disruptive, attention-deficit disorder, or learning disabled. Because these language differences correspond to lower socioeconomic status, they often contribute to academic failure.

On the one hand, the school has an obligation to teach children the standard language that will give them access to social opportunities and mobility. On the other hand, the school also should value and honor children’s linguistic and cultural heritage, rather than reinforce negative stereotypes that denigrate certain language varieties. One significant approach to the problem of how to best understand and value children’s language resources is called *household funds of knowledge*. This approach advocates an ethnographic view of seeing how families use the linguistic capital they have, their everyday language and literacy practices in their homes and communities, to negotiate real-world challenges. In turn, these can serve as starting points for curricula and classroom practices that are more relevant and meaningful to nonmainstream students.

Peter Sayer

See also Accents and Their Meaning; Cultural Capital; Ebonics; Language Registers; Languages and Power; Language Socialization; Social Class and School Success; Spanglish

Further Readings

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press.

- Chambers, J. K. (2003). *Sociolinguistic theory* (2nd ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of a theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- de Saussure, F. (1986 [1916]). *A course in general linguistics*. R. Harris, Trans. Peru, IL: Open Court.
- Eckert, P. (1990). The whole woman: Sex and gender differences in variation. Reprinted in N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), (1997). *Sociolinguistics: A reader and coursebook* (pp. 212–228). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- González, N., Moll, L., & Amati, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practice in households, communities, and classrooms*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, W. (1972). The social stratification of (r) in New York City department stores. In W. Labov (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic patterns* (pp. 43–54). Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press.
- Philips, S. (1983). *The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

with the notion of class differences. As a society, Americans tend to regard low social class not as a condition with long-term consequences, but as something that can be outgrown through diligence and hard work. Many Americans believe that education trumps class. They proudly proclaim that class has little or nothing to do with finding one's niche in U.S. society. U.S. residents are, as a people, proud of having discarded the idea of nobility and social standing based on lineage or high birth.

Recent research and analysis on the subject suggests that this collective wisdom may be wrong. Class, the relative status of groups within U.S. society, may have as much to do with the school success of immigrants and linguistic minorities as does language incompatibility between schools and learners. Equally important is the close association between the "hidden curriculum" of the schools (the "unofficial" or "unintended" knowledge that children get from schooling, such as good manners or competing for good grades) and middle-class, English-speaking society. The hidden curriculum favors individuals and groups who share the social and cultural assumptions of the persons who design the curriculum. This entry discusses those issues.

SOCIAL CLASS AND SCHOOL SUCCESS

Most immigrant children and youth who enter U.S. schools are not proficient in English. This is their most salient feature, or at least it is what schools and school people focus on as the biggest challenge for the schools and the children alike. Many of these young people also have an additional characteristic that is probably no less important. Many of them come from a social class and an experiential family history that is substantially different from that of the White English-speaking group with whom they will share classrooms for several years.

What role do social class and histories of family schooling play in the way that immigrant children engage their school experience in the United States? How do issues of class compare with language incompatibilities in the school context? These questions are difficult to answer partly because American researchers have not paid enough attention to the formal study of social class as a factor in school success. Researchers have studied poverty, but social class is a broader concept. Americans tend to be uncomfortable

Class Defined

For the purposes of this entry, *class* is partially a sociological and partially a cultural phenomenon. *Class* encompasses a wide range of shared beliefs, values, and predispositions that are largely related to earning power but that are not totally defined by wealth or earnings. Those in the United States do not equate class with wealth, poise, elegance of bearing, or any other of the ways humans have invented to position themselves as being of a higher status than their neighbors. This entry discusses "class" in the sociological sense, rather than "classiness."

Research has shown that sociocultural notions of class are embedded in the curriculum and interactive style of schools and school people. The features of middle-classdom most favored by schools includes demonstration of the following: polite interaction with others, conventionalities in the use of oral language, appreciation for urbane patterns of conduct such as waiting in line for one's turn, and public expressions of respect for the historical aspects of national identity. Diligent effort, constancy of work patterns, competitiveness, and a commitment to

improvement are all part of what schools regard as useful and necessary behaviors. Schools disdain bullies and honor team players who are able to put the needs of the group above their own. All of these values and preferences are part of the hidden curriculum. They are reinforced in children who already have them and pushed on those who do not.

Class Differences in a School Context

The differences in the school manifestations of class differences can be illustrated through the following example:

Pablo comes to his first day of school. On the basis of an interview with his parents, he has been placed in the fourth grade. His parents have had little formal schooling beyond the early grades of elementary school in a small rural school in a developing country. His literacy skills in Spanish are below par. He can read only the simplest text and then only laboriously. He speaks English haltingly, although he is quick to understand new language he has not heard before. Pablo is unfamiliar with the routines of the school lunchroom because he has never attended a school that had such a facility. His school was a small one-room building in which individual behavior was valued much more than was one's social behavior. Because there was only one teacher and more than 80 children in the school, quiet and orderliness was highly valued. In his new school, as recorded in his cumulative record file, Pablo is considered to be overly quiet and introverted.

Pablo's family does not have a checking or savings account. They have never had one. Their earnings are paid in cash, which is spent as fast as it comes in. The few pennies that are left over after the weekly purchases of food and other necessities are kept in a coffee can in his mother's kitchen.

Pablo's family has never taken a vacation. Members of his family are at home during daylight hours only when they are between jobs. His mother and father both have two jobs that keep them away from home most evenings. He has several brothers and sisters, and his oldest sister, Marina, is pregnant at the age of 15. She has no husband or fiancé and must endure the outcome of the pregnancy alone. Her parents are very upset at her. When they discovered she was pregnant, she was immediately withdrawn from school. The parents are debating

whether to send her back "home" to have the baby. Marina has lived in the United States since she was seven. School personnel are probably not aware of her pregnancy. No one in the family has sufficient literacy skills in English to help the younger children with their homework. Other than occasional visits to a doctor or dentist, Pablo has never met a professional person in any field outside of teaching. The reasons for attending school and working hard on his schoolwork have never been clear to him.

Pablo sits across the aisle from Paul, a bright-eyed youngster with a high interest in team sports and electronic toys. Paul is assertive in his interactions with fellow students, eagerly engages in class discussions, and is not hesitant to volunteer answers to the teacher's questions. He always seems to know what the teacher wants by way of a response. Pablo is keen to develop this skill. He is amazed at Paul's ability to finesse his way to good grades that Pablo feels are undeserved. Pablo is also surprised that the teacher seems not to mind that Paul is often light-hearted and somewhat playful about his school assignments. Pablo's own experiences in the prior grades were rigid and far from enjoyable.

Paul is the second child in the family. His mother is a college graduate who has never worked outside the home. She chooses to stay home and devotes most of her energy and time to taking care of her three children and doing volunteer work at a battered woman's shelter. She is an avid reader and has taught her children to enjoy books and magazines during their quiet times. Although they are not wealthy and only have one income, Paul's mother has a standing policy that the children can purchase one book per month on any subject, provided they finish reading one book before buying another. All of her children are good readers, although they seem to have well-balanced interests. They could not be called bookworms by any means. She discourages excessive television watching, although Paul manages to take in most of the important sports events, especially NASCAR racing and football. Pablo prefers soccer but has found few other boys who like the sport in his school.

Paul and his family live in an ex-urban community with green spaces, bicycle paths, and golf courses. He has never been involved in an automobile accident and has never experienced violence to his person. Before moving to the United States, Pablo had a traumatic experience. He witnessed

a shooting of a neighbor by men in uniform in the street. Paul, on the other hand, has an extensive collection of G.I. Joe toys and dreams of wearing a uniform, any uniform. Paul has never experienced physical pain or bloodshed beyond the cuts and scrapes associated with an active sports life. He smiles and waves at police cars; Pablo averts his gaze when he sees a police car and pretends he has not seen it.

Paul has a 15-year-old sister, Martha, who is sexually active with her boyfriend. With her mother's consent, she has been instructed in safe sex by a youngish aunt. Martha has been using birth control pills for at least one year. She is a straight-A student who frequently helps Paul with his homework. Paul's sister is very close to him. Much to his embarrassment, she seems ready to take on any kid who might hurt or embarrass him.

In class, Pablo is quiet and almost withdrawn. He rarely volunteers an answer even when he is sure he knows it. Pablo is puzzled that Paul, who is sometimes loud and somewhat overbearing, makes better grades than he. The two boys were friendly toward each other for the first few weeks of school but have now grown apart because they do not understand each other well. Paul is not patient with Pablo, who feels that Paul is somewhat pushy and impolite toward him. Pablo has few friends and looks forward to the end of the school day when he can go home to an empty house and watch television for several hours until his parents return.

Although this vignette is fictional, teachers who have read it often say they have had children like Pablo or Paul in their classroom. When asked to say whether the two boys are in the same or in different social class, most teachers assert that Pablo is lower or working class, whereas Paul is solidly middle class. They also suggest that Paul is more likely to do well in the higher grades. Pablo's lack of English is identified as a problem, even though the narrative does not mention that as a serious problem for Pablo. It is not easy, however, for teachers to agree which problem is the most serious, language or class. The dynamics of class difference and the long-term effects of those differences are not always apparent to teachers and school officials. When the story is extended to relate Pablo's involvement with a hoodlum gang in his high school years, and Paul's successful career as a star football player in high school, few educators are surprised. They nod

their heads in understanding and find it easy to accept the credibility of those episodes in the lives of the two boys. Generally, the effects of class difference are acknowledged as important, but are not seen as being equally challenging as the language barrier.

Current Research

One of the few contemporary scholars who has examined social class differences in a sustained manner is Richard Rothstein, a former education columnist for the *New York Times*. In his book *Class and Schools*, Rothstein examines the research literature on social class and school success. His particular focus is African American students. He also looks at a sampling of studies from other countries. Rothstein concludes that, at least for Black students, class is an element that must be considered in the drive to reform schools. Rothstein is among a handful of education writers who assert that the current thrust to place strong accountability on schools is likely to fail because the schools, acting alone, lack sufficient power to overcome the social class barriers faced by poor African American families.

Rothstein's conclusions are of special interest to bilingual education because the problem of being a non-English speaker does not arise in the same way in the case of African American students. This seems to highlight the importance of class over language differences.

Rothstein argues that some aspects of what we commonly understand as social class are obvious, whereas others are less obvious but no less important. Among the latter, Rothstein claims that many differences in what is commonly referred to as "quality of life" topics stem from social class disparities: health care quality and access, nutrition, child-rearing styles, housing quality and stability, parental occupation and aspirations, and even exposure to environmental toxins. All of these play a part in how well children learn and succeed in school. A multipart report in the *New York Times* claimed that in some cases, social class is a key factor in whether a heart attack victim survives that trauma and determines the type of care such victims receive after the incident. This is because class determines the type of health care Americans aspire to or demand. Poor patients settle for whatever medical care they can get; more affluent patients demand the best care available and often insist on more than one opinion when surgery is involved.

Among other social class factors identified by Rothstein as having an effect on school success are parental occupation and home literacy practices. School people are not surprised by this assertion: The children of doctors, lawyers, and successful merchants are likely to do better and to do so more quickly than are children of families who work in low-prestige jobs. Among immigrant families, a similar pattern exists. Children of high-prestige immigrant families catch up more quickly in school, even when English mastery is an issue, than do children of illiterate parents or parents from unskilled groups. Rothstein found in his review of research literature that this situation exists not only in the United States but also in Germany and England, where it is even more marked.

Finally, poor minority children of all races and ethnic groups are disproportionately affected by high family mobility. Poor families tend to move more often than middle-class families do, thereby disrupting the lives of children and youth and affecting their schoolwork negatively. These displacements are caused by job loss or seasonal variations in job availability. Poor families may also move because of housing problems. No matter what the causes, frequent movement between schools and teachers makes learning more difficult. Depending on class, adults may not recognize the affect of family moves on their children. The bottom line for Rothstein is that children's lives must be improved inside and outside the classroom simultaneously.

This overview raised the question, Are the language differences of immigrant youngsters more important than differences of social class as factors in their school success in U.S. schools? A review of important research concerning social class makes a convincing argument that social class differences are important. The probative value of this research seems high although by no means conclusive because the two factors have not been compared empirically. We must await further research before we can make a stronger statement of relative importance. Conceptually, an interesting beginning in this direction was proposed by Milton Gordon, who coined the term *ethclass* to refer to a combination of factors relating to class and ethnicity as a promising way of assessing these differences. Gordon defines the *ethclass* as a combination of ethnicity and class, where the latter is chiefly regarded as a matter of wealth. This juxtaposition of distinct concepts suggests that class may be as important as ethnicity, although Gordon did

not factor language into his framework. Gordon was attempting to find a more robust concept with which to analyze social phenomena. His postulate is that millionaires from almost any ethnic group have more in common with each other than with destitute people from their own ethnic groups. Similarly, chronically poor people from almost any culture or country have more in common with each other than they do with an upper-middle-class professional from their own ethnic group. Gordon's conclusions do not consider language differences, although it could be argued that at least in part, they are subsumed under ethnicity.

Class and Culture

An important footnote to close this discussion is that social class and culture are different concepts. Explicit in this concept is the assumption that such a culture cannot be changed and that those who carry it are doomed to suffer its effects generation after generation. Social class is more tractable. It is no doubt difficult to overcome patterns of thought and behavior that have evolved over more than one generation, but it is far from impossible. Many people from the poorest strata of society have overcome the limitations of the class they were born into and moved up to partake more fruitfully of the American dream. It is not clear why this happens in some cases but not in others. As more is learned about this transition, schools may someday be able to claim, credibly, that low social class is but one more barrier to overcome and that schools know how to do it.

Josué M. González

See also Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Ebonics; Social Class and Language Status

Further Readings

- Class matters: Social class in the United States of America (2005, May 15–June 12) [Special section]. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/indexes/2005/05/15/national/class>
- Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rothstein, R. (2004). *Class and schools: Using social, economic, and educational reform to close the Black-White achievement gap*. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute.

SOCIALIZATION

See ENCULTURATION

SOCIAL LEARNING

Social learning refers to the belief that thought has its genesis in social interaction. It emphasizes the importance of human activity in social interaction as the primary process for gaining knowledge. Social learning is based on the theories of Lev Vygotsky, a Russian cognitive psychologist of the early 20th century. Vygotsky's theories emphasized the central role of the social interaction, transactions, and context in all learning and development and the dynamic interdependence of social and individual process. This is in contrast with other learning paradigms that emphasize gaining knowledge as an individual process, occurring solely in the mind. Another approach to social learning theory is that found in the work of Albert Bandura, whose approach is related to the social learning of Vygotsky, but emphasizes the importance of observing and modeling the behaviors, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others. Bandura's theory has been applied to the understanding of aggression and other psychological disorders. This entry addresses the nature of social learning as viewed by Vygotsky, and its applications to understanding language and literacy development.

Human Development and the Social Context

Learning and development occur in socially and culturally shaped contexts. During early human development, young children enter into a social dependency with their caregivers. As children participate in human activity, they learn from the experiences of others. Throughout the early development, there exists a predominance of the social interaction and interdependence with other individuals. Vygotsky referred to this interdependence as the "genetic law of development" through which socially shared activities are later transformed into internalized processes. For example, Barbara Rogoff describes how children involved with parents in agricultural and household work assumed increasing responsibility for their own learning and participation in joint activity. She characterized this

process as guided participation. Developmental activities are the products of social and cultural practices belonging to the community to which the individual child has access.

In Vygotsky's theory of development, every mental function or task being learned goes through the process first in the social realm, while interacting with others, and later at the individual internal level. In the interpsychological plane, the individual learns in social interaction with others through the use of tools such as language and other symbolic systems. In the intrapsychological plane, the individual uses mental tools such as thoughts, which were created and shaped in the social and cultural contexts. So an individual may first learn a new task in the interpsychological plane working with others and then use that knowledge in the intrapsychological plane.

Social learning and development are culturally contextual, mediational, and best understood through genetic analysis within their historical development. This entry examines three important contributing factors that summarize Vygotsky's notions: (a) learning is a process best understood by genetic or developmental analysis, (b) learning has its origins in social interactions, and (c) learning is mediated by tools.

First, in social learning, the process or the origins of what is to be learned is central; that is, learning a particular task means examining the process of change or development of the thing being studied. Studying the process means discovering its nature or essence, which maximizes the experience and the opportunity to learn. The origins of the process and the continued development become what James Wertsch calls "the genetic matter" of the social conceptions of mind. The social conception of mind contrasts with the mind as individual. The socially conceived mind is not something solely residing in the individual for the individual's uses; it is a mind molded, developed, and used in a social plane.

Second, social learning blurs the roles and reshapes the connection between the repository of knowledge and the learner of the knowledge. Social learning is not concerned with learning as a transfer of knowledge from a repository (e.g., text), or a person (e.g., teachers), to the learner's mind but, rather, focuses on the cultural process within the social systems. Knowing is a cultural process through which the individual engages the knowledge of the other, through a transaction that is interdependent between the learner, the text, practice, and context.

Third, social leaning emphasizes the role of mediational tools—for example, language, texts, and media—in human mental functioning. The mediational tools and the human mental functioning around the use of the tools are situated in cultural and historical context. The social interaction and use of mediational tools shape the interdependence of thought and language, speech and activity, immediacy and context. By considering the very nature or the representational activities, for example, forms of inner speech, imagery, or conceptual artifacts, and the culturally shared systems, we may explore the way cognitive processes depend on the social as well as the physical practices. Wertsch distinguishes between those mediational tools directed toward the physical world and the tools directed to internal psychological process, but emphasizes that both are appropriated during social activity. Thus, the artifacts and the social interaction around the artifacts both enable and constrain the individual's potential to make meaning—that is, to learn.

The Role of Language

Social learning stands in the foreground of the role of language in social interaction and in the meaning-making processes. Language is viewed as a mediational tool, and language and literacy are learned in social interactions situated within cultural and historical systems. The very acquisition of language, whether first or second, occurs in social interactions and social settings requiring cooperation between novice and more expert speakers. Thus, the first stages of language development appear as an interpsychological process, where the learner in social interaction with others learns to use language to control, regulate, and communicate. In the second stage of language development, language becomes an intrapsychological process, where the learner internalizes the use to regulate one's behavior and to use it as a tool for further learning. Examining perspectives of social learning contributes to understanding of the interplay between language development, literate processes, and the social and cultural lives of children as they carry out literacy, meaning-making, and problem-solving activities.

Social learning has been applied extensively in programs for second-language learners, particularly in the context of language and literacy learning. It is also the foundation for the conceptualization of

collaborative and cooperative group techniques and strategies used in many second-language classrooms. In classrooms, where children come from social groups that may have different patterns of preferred interaction, children will work on collaborative activities requiring them to assume new patterns of behavior. In these collaborative or cooperative groups, children will begin to share, explore, and integrate new ways of being social and learn other cultural norms. In these groups, Vygotsky's concept of "Zone of Proximal Development" (the space between the learner's current level of knowledge and a higher level that is achieved through collaboration) is bridged in the social process as learners assist one another to accomplish the task or activity. Children will be able to perform tasks within the collaborative or cooperative group that may be beyond their developmental level, and through the collaborative performance will learn and be able to later accomplish similar or higher-level tasks individually. As the learning tasks become more difficult, so does the social human activity, which engages in increasingly complex processes that include transmission, construction, transaction, and transformation at increasingly higher levels of mental functioning.

Sociocultural Theory

Sociocultural theory emanates from social learning and has made directional changing contributions to our understanding of language and literacy development. Concern with issues of culture and language in educational settings emerged as an important research question that led to studies that examined the complex relationships of social factors in language and literacy learning, especially for culturally and linguistically diverse learners. Kathryn Au and Jane Mason studied the successful literacy lesson practices in the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program that reflected the social and cultural ways of the children in the class. Shirley Brice Heath studied the social context of language development and literacy practices of African American and White children, both from working-class households. She also examined the discontinuity in social and cultural practices in these communities and the literacy practices of public school classrooms. Luis Moll studied the social networks and "funds of knowledge" found in Mexican American communities. He examined how knowledge was socially distributed and how

through mediating structures, such as after-school labs, strategic connections could be facilitated to use the household knowledge to understand school material and classroom activities. These and many other applications of sociocultural theory to research have provided valuable insights to improve the quality of education for students who come from diverse backgrounds and to understand the social processes involved in the learning of language and literacy.

Bertha Pérez

See also Communities of Practice; First-Language Acquisition; Language Socialization; Language Socialization of Indigenous Children; Moll, Luis; Second-Language Acquisition; Vygotsky and Language Learning

Further Readings

- Au, K. H. (1980). Participation structures in a reading lesson with Hawaiian children: Analysis of a culturally appropriate instructional event. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 11(2), 91–115.
- Au, K. H., & Mason, J. M. (1981). Social organizational factors in learning to read: The balance of rights hypothesis. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 17(1), 115–152.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Moll, L. C. (1992). Literacy research in community and classrooms: A sociocultural approach. In R. Beach, J. L. Green, M. L. Kamil, & T. Shanahan (Eds.), *Multidisciplinary perspectives on literacy research* (pp. 211–244). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Moll, L. C., & Diaz, R. (1987). Teaching writing as communication: The use of ethnographic findings in classroom practice. In D. Bloome (Ed.), *Literacy and schooling* (pp. 195–221). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1986). *Thought and language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1991). *Voices of the mind. A sociocultural approach to mediated action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEES

In the 1970s and early 1980s, thousands of refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam came to the United States. The Vietnam War had spread to Cambodia and Laos, leading to civil war and other conflicts within those countries. Unlike traditional immigrants who move from one country to another by choice, refugees are individuals who are forced to flee from their country to escape danger or persecution. Many Cambodians, Laotians, Hmong, and Vietnamese escaped from their countries to avoid political persecution, starvation, or execution. Most of these refugees spent a few months to several years living in refugee camps in neighboring countries. When it proved too dangerous for them to return to their home countries, arrangements were made for many of them to resettle in the United States and other countries. This entry discusses the background, demographics, and bilingual education programs for this population.

By 2005, more than 2 million Southeast Asian Americans whose families originated from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam were living in the United States. About one-third of the Southeast Asian American population was between the ages of 5 and 17, and thus of school age (K–12). Although the Southeast Asian American student population is much smaller than the Spanish-speaking student population, several large, Cambodian, Hmong, Lao, and Vietnamese communities exist in cities throughout the United States, posing significant challenges to the local schools charged with meeting their unique linguistic, cultural, and educational needs. Although many students from these communities have been successful, Southeast Asian American refugee students have not done well academically as a whole. This is partly due to the trauma of months of uncertainties in refugee camps, but perhaps more importantly, caused by the lack of bilingual and other language education programs designed to meet their needs.

Four major ethnic groups constitute the Southeast Asian American refugee population today: Vietnamese, Cambodians (or Khmer), Laotians (or Lao), and Hmong (from the highlands of Laos). Some smaller ethnic group refugee students from Laos include the Thaidam and Iu Mien. By 2005, most Southeast Asian American students in Grades K–12 were U.S.-born. A small number of recent immigrants are from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, most of whom have

been sponsored by relatives or others who came as refugees in the previous decades. Also, a large group of Hmong refugees who had been living in an unofficial refugee camp in Thailand were allowed to resettle in the United States in 2004 (see below).

Although there are students in American schools today from other Southeast Asian countries, including Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore, these students are not discussed here because they are fewer and are traditional immigrants not associated with the refugee experience.

Historical Background of Southeast Asian Refugee Groups

Cambodians

The Vietnam War spread to Cambodia in 1970 as the United States began bombing the Ho Chi Minh Trail, a supply line for the Viet Cong that passed through parts of Northern Cambodia. The bombing, along with a U.S.-sponsored coup d'état, gave rise to Pol Pot and his Communist Khmer Rouge regime, leading to a major civil war and genocide in Cambodia. Following the pullout of American troops and diplomats, the Khmer Rouge captured the capital city of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, on April 17, 1975, and immediately emptied the capital and forced the entire population into the countryside, where people were organized into communes and forced to do agricultural labor under slavlike conditions. The Khmer Rouge operated a program of genocide in which between 1 and 3 million Cambodians (about one-third of the population) died. Many—particularly members of the educated classes—were systematically executed, but many others died of starvation or disease. The genocide ended in 1979 following the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam, which ended the Khmer Rouge's reign of terror, but that launched Cambodia into a new phase of civil war that lasted another 20 years and beyond. During the chaos that ensued during and after the invasion, thousands of Cambodians fled to the border of Thailand, where they were allowed to stay in refugee camps, including some established by the United Nations.

The education of most refugee children was disrupted for 4 years or more because the Khmer Rouge had shut down the schools and executed teachers. Schooling in the refugee camps was limited. Cambodian students suffered traumatic experiences under

the Khmer Rouge and in the refugee camps. Few spoke English, and many of the younger students were not literate in Khmer. Most came from rural backgrounds where their parents had had little formal education.

About 13,000 Cambodian refugees managed to escape before the Khmer Rouge takeover in 1975. This group tended to include members of the educated classes. Most refugees, however, are survivors of the genocide and came to the United States in the 1980s. Most of these refugees were from rural backgrounds with low levels of literacy and education. Beginning in the mid-1990s, it became possible for some Cambodian American families to sponsor their relatives left behind in Cambodia to the United States. Thus, although in the early years of the 21st century, most Cambodian American students were born in the United States, some students recently emigrated from Cambodia.

Laotians

Laos is an ethnically diverse country with approximately 60 different ethnic groups. It is also one of the poorest in Southeast Asia and historically has had the lowest levels of literacy and education. The dominant and ruling ethnic group, the "Lowland Lao," made up about 50% of the population. A Communist movement, the Pathet Lao, resisted French occupation beginning in the 1950s and waged civil war against the royal government. By some estimates, the Pathet Lao controlled more than one-third of the country by the early 1960s. The Pathet Lao became allies of the North Vietnamese (Viet Cong), and soon after the end of the Vietnam War, the Pathet Lao captured the Laotian capital and took over the country. Unlike the Khmer Rouge, the Pathet Lao were not genocidal, and even had a strong educational agenda to open schools, particularly in ethnic tribal areas where schooling was limited. Nonetheless, thousands of Lowland Lao—particularly those of the middle and upper classes affiliated with the former government—feared for their lives and fled as refugees, making dangerous journeys through the jungle to the Thailand border. After spending anywhere from several months to several years in refugee camps, thousands of Laotian refugees were allowed to resettle in the United States and other Western countries. Most Laotians settled—either initially or later as a result of secondary migration—in California, though large communities

also exist in Texas, Minnesota, and Washington, and smaller communities in many other states. Despite being of higher social class and having better access to education than Cambodian and Hmong refugees had, Laotian refugee students struggled greatly because local schools were ill-prepared to meet their unique language and educational needs.

Hmong

The Hmong originate from southern China but are now also residing in Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, and Laos because of migration since the 1600s. Hmong Americans are from the highlands of Laos. As an ethnic minority that made up only about 10% of the population of Laos, they differ greatly from Laotians (the Lowland Lao) in language, religion, and culture. As the Vietnam War spread to Laos, the United States recruited the Hmong to fight against the Communist Pathet Lao and Northern Vietnamese troops moving supplies through Laos. The Hmong army also rescued American pilots shot down over Laos and protected U.S. military radar facilities. The Hmong suffered great casualties as a result of what is now referred to as the “secret war,” with estimates that more than 67,000 Hmong soldiers and civilians were killed between 1969 and 1975. The Hmong reportedly had an agreement with the CIA that the United States would protect them should the war be lost. However, the United States all but abandoned the Hmong after their defeat in 1975. Only about 2,000 were evacuated following the war, leaving tens of thousands behind and at the mercy of the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese forces. Former Hmong army members were executed, and others were sent to reeducation camps. Thousands of families fled as refugees to Thailand, making a dangerous journey through the jungle, and perilous crossings of the Mekong River under the cover of darkness on crudely fashioned rafts or other improvised floatation devices. During the journey, many were killed by Communist forces, others died of starvation or disease, and many others drowned in the Mekong before they could reach safety.

Even before the war, the Hmong were poorly treated by the ruling Lowland Lao and were denied full access to education. The Hmong language did not have a writing system until the 1950s. Even in the Thailand refugee camps, schooling opportunities were limited. Refugee resettlement programs enabled thousands of Hmong to enter the United States and other Western

countries. The Hmong have very tight clan structures. Despite efforts to resettle Hmong in different cities across the country, secondary migration brought families and extended clan members together resulting in large Hmong communities primarily in central California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Given the lack of access to schooling in both Laos and in refugee camps, many Hmong refugee children attended school for the first time in the United States, thus posing significant challenges to their local schools.

In 2004, the United States began admitting an additional 15,000 Hmong refugees whose families had been living for decades in an unofficial refugee camp at the Wat Tham Krabok temple in Thailand. Most of these Hmong refugees were children, and once again, local schools receiving these students faced a number of challenges. However, unlike the experience of the first wave of Hmong refugees, these new refugees had the advantage of coming into established Hmong American communities, and educational needs of many newcomer Hmong students are being addressed by Hmong American educators who understand their language and culture.

Vietnamese

Most Vietnamese refugees fled their country after 1975 following the U.S. pullout of the Vietnam War. Many Vietnamese refugees escaped in dangerous journeys by boat and, thus, have been referred to by many as the “boat people.”

Recent Demographics of Southeast Asian Americans

The most recent demographic information on Southeast Asian Americans comes from the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2005 American Community Survey (ACS). Southeast Asian Americans have made tremendous progress since they first began arriving in the United States as refugees in the early 1980s. When the refugees first arrived, they literally had nothing. Very few spoke English, employment prospects were minimal, and most lived in the poor, crime-ridden neighborhoods. They were required to rebuild their lives in a new country with strange customs and a difficult language, with very few resources. Parents in particular faced the challenge of raising children in this difficult new environment as their children learned English and adopted American customs and culture,

while losing knowledge of their native languages and cultures.

Table 1 provides ACS data on the size of Southeast Asian American populations in the United States. The Vietnamese American population was by far the largest of the four groups, with more than 1.5 million people, whereas the other three Southeast Asian Americans groups have population sizes between 189,000 and 241,000. There were more than a quarter of a million Vietnamese Americans between the ages of 5 and 17, and thus of school age. More than one-third of the Hmong American population and about one-fourth of Cambodian and Laotian Americans were of school age. Overall, there were more than half a million Southeast Asian American children attending K–12 schools.

Table 1 ACS 2005: Total Population and Population Ages 5–17

	<i>Total population</i>	<i>Population ages 5–17</i>
Cambodian	241,025	60,979
Laotian	209,627	49,682
Hmong	188,900	70,460
Vietnamese	1,521,353	289,057
Total	2,012,284	660,973

Source: U.S. Census Bureau's 2005 American Community Survey (ACS).

The top five states for each Southeast Asian American population are shown in Table 2. California has by far the largest share of the four Southeast Asian American groups. Texas and Washington are also among the top five states for Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans. Outside California, most Hmong live in Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Table 3 shows the 2005 nativity and citizenship status for Southeast Asian Americans. About three-fourths of Southeast Asian Americans are native born or naturalized U.S. citizens. Just over half of the Hmong American population, and less than half of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans were born in the United States. Thus, most Southeast Asian Americans were born outside the United States, which suggests they still maintain strong ties to the languages and cultures of their home countries.

Table 2 ACS 2005: Top Five States With the Largest Southeast Asian Populations

	<i>Top 5 States</i>	<i>Population</i>
Cambodian	California	83,562
	Massachusetts	24,172
	Washington	16,082
	Texas	12,112
	Florida	7,889
Hmong	California	65,345
	Minnesota	46,352
	Wisconsin	38,814
	Michigan	7,769
	Colorado	4,285
Laotian	California	63,318
	Texas	12,643
	Minnesota	11,636
	Washington	10,638
	Iowa	6,129
Vietnamese	California	539,150
	Texas	159,107
	Washington	60,543
	Florida	55,555
	Massachusetts	48,583

Source: U.S. Census Bureau's 2005 American Community Survey (ACS).

Table 3 ACS 2005: Nativity and Citizenship Status

	<i>Native Born, U.S. Citizen</i>	<i>Foreign Born, Naturalized Citizen</i>	<i>Foreign Born, not a Citizen</i>
Cambodian	42%	32%	27%
Laotian	40%	35%	25%
Hmong	51%	25%	24%
Vietnamese	36%	46%	19%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau's 2005 American Community Survey (ACS).

Note: Numbers may not total to 100 because of rounding.

Table 4 shows the foreign-born population by year of entry into the United States. Most Southeast Asian Americans came to the United States before 1990

during the periods of refugee resettlement. The foreign-born population that entered the United States between 1990 and 1999 and after 2000 includes a number of school-aged children. These data suggest that there are larger numbers of Vietnamese and Hmong students than Laotian and Cambodian students in U.S. schools who are foreign born. Overall, however, these data reveal that schools continue to receive foreign-born Southeast Asian students from all four groups in need of specialized language programs such as bilingual education.

Table 4 ACS 2005: Foreign Born by Year of Entry

	<i>Before 1990</i>	<i>1990–1999</i>	<i>After 2000</i>
Cambodian	77%	13%	10%
Laotian	85%	11%	4%
Hmong	56%	31%	13%
Vietnamese	47%	42%	12%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau's 2005 American Community Survey (ACS).

Note: Numbers may not total to 100 because of rounding.

Table 5 provides data on the educational attainment of Southeast Asian Americans. Between one-third and one-half of Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong Americans did not have a high school diploma in 2005. Less than 15% of Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong Americans had completed a bachelor's degree or higher. Educational attainment is slightly higher for Vietnamese Americans; nearly three-fourths had

graduated from high school, and a little more than one-fourth had completed a bachelor's degree or higher. Overall, however, educational attainment for Southeast Asian Americans is quite low, and thus, many Southeast Asian American students come from homes with parents with low levels of education.

Median family incomes and poverty rates in 2005 for Southeast Asian Americans are shown in Table 6. Of the four groups, Hmong had the lowest median income (\$38,335), which was far below the national median family income of \$55,832. Hmong Americans also had the highest poverty rates with about one-third living in poverty. Vietnamese Americans had the highest median income, but this was still less than the national median. All four groups had poverty rates above the national average of 10%. Thus, these data suggest that many Southeast Asian students are coming from lower-income families. Also, according to ACS 2005, nearly half of Cambodian (48%) and Hmong (49%) American families, and more than one-third of Laotian and Vietnamese American families lived in renter-occupied housing units. This suggests that a large number of Southeast Asian students are transient because families who rent tend to move more than do those who own their own homes.

Table 7 shows the number of speakers of Southeast Asian American languages in the United States. These data are from the 2000 census and thus are slightly older than the data from the ACS 2005 reported in the tables. The numbers in Table 7 roughly parallel the total ethnic populations for each of the four Southeast Asian American groups reported in the 2000 census. Thus, these data demonstrate that Southeast Asian Americans of all ages maintain some level of spoken proficiency in their native languages. Even most school-aged children were reported as being speakers

Table 5 ACS 2005: Educational Attainment (Ages 25 and Older)

	<i>Less than High School Graduate</i>	<i>High School Graduate</i>	<i>Some College or Associate's Degree</i>	<i>BA Degree or More</i>
Cambodian	41%	25%	20%	14%
Laotian	36%	31%	22%	12%
Hmong	50%	21%	20%	10%
Vietnamese	28%	23%	24%	26%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau's 2005 American Community Survey (ACS).

Note: Numbers may not total to 100 because of rounding.

Table 6 ACS 2005: Median Family Income and Poverty Rate

	<i>Median Family Income</i>	<i>Poverty Rate</i>
Cambodian	\$44,833	19%
Laotian	\$52,248	14%
Hmong	\$38,335	33%
Vietnamese	\$54,227	12%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau's 2005 American Community Survey (ACS).

Table 7 Census 2000: Number of Speakers in United States of Southeast Asian Languages

	<i>Age 5 Years and Above</i>	<i>Age 5–17</i>
Cambodian	181,885	57,935
Laotian	149,305	38,300
Hmong	168,065	82,655
Vietnamese	1,009,625	205,060

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

of their native languages. This does not mean they have difficulty with English. As shown in Table 8—also from the 2000 census—the overwhelming majority (85% or higher) of school-aged Southeast Asian Americans speak English well or very well. However, between 8% and 15% of school-aged children reported difficulties speaking English. For ages 18 and older, although the majority reported speaking English very well or well, about one-third reported difficulties with the English language.

Overall, these data suggest Southeast Asian American students have made great progress in learning English and still speak their native language at home. However, many students come from homes where parents or other adults may lack fluency in English. Therefore, these data also suggest that despite progress in English, many Southeast Asian American students still need specialized language programs. Furthermore, the census does not ask *how well* family members speak the native language or about literacy skills in the native language. Very few Southeast Asian American students today can read and write in the native language, and Southeast Asian American parents and community leaders are greatly concerned about the rapid loss of children's oral proficiency in the native languages. Thus, Southeast Asian American students—particularly those born or raised in the United States, need opportunities to develop and maintain proficiency in their home languages.

Bilingual Education Programs for Southeast Asian Americans

Despite the significant language, educational, and cultural needs of Southeast Asian American students, very few schools have been able to offer bilingual programs in Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, or Vietnamese. Given that so few Southeast Asian Americans were in the United States before refugee resettlement began, there were few, if any, bilingual teachers who could speak these languages, and no curricular materials were available in Southeast Asian languages. Initially, the best most districts could do was to hire bilingual paraprofessionals to assist in the classrooms, provide district-level training, and translate or create materials for student use. Eventually, some Southeast Asian Americans were hired as teachers, and a few schools were able to offer bilingual programs in Southeast

Table 8 Census 2000: English-Speaking Ability by U.S. Speakers of Southeast Asian Languages

	Age 5–17		Age 18 and Above	
	<i>Very Well or Well</i>	<i>Not Well or Not at All</i>	<i>Very Well or Well</i>	<i>Not Well or Not at All</i>
Cambodian	51,900 (90%)	6,035 (10%)	77,365 (62%)	46,585 (38%)
Laotian	35,330 (92%)	2,970 (8%)	75,405 (68%)	35,600 (32%)
Hmong	69,950 (85%)	12,705 (15%)	51,825 (61%)	33,585 (39%)
Vietnamese	179,605 (88%)	25,455 (12%)	503,050 (63%)	301,515 (37%)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Asian languages. Long Beach Unified School District in California, and Lowell Public Schools in Massachusetts, for example, offered Khmer bilingual programs in select schools with large Cambodian American student populations. These states also had a small number of bilingual programs for Hmong or Vietnamese. Most of these programs ended, however, following the passage of the English for the Children Initiatives in their respective states. Even though most Southeast Asian American students are born in the United States, many are identified as English language learners when they enter school. This suggests that Southeast Asian languages continue to be the dominant language of many homes, and thus children from these homes need the types of bilingual education programs currently restricted by some state laws.

Some secondary schools, specifically in California and Massachusetts, offer Khmer-for-Khmer-Speakers, Vietnamese-for-Vietnamese-Speakers, or Hmong-for-Hmong-Speakers classes that students can take to earn foreign-language credit. Fresno Unified School District in central California has a newcomer program for newly arrived Hmong refugee students. The principal and many of the classroom teachers are native Hmong speakers. A few schools in other states, such as Texas, Florida, Oregon, and Massachusetts, offer Vietnamese bilingual education programs.

In Minneapolis, Minnesota, the Hmong American community became frustrated with the local school district for its consistent failure to offer quality Hmong bilingual programs. In response, the Hmong American community began opening and running its own charter schools, which emphasized Hmong language and culture. Soon afterward, the local school district increased efforts to offer Hmong language programs at the elementary and secondary levels to prevent the loss of more Hmong American students to these charter schools. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the local school district responded to community demands by establishing the Hmong American Peace Academy charter school, which provides a Hmong bilingual program.

Although the number of programs is relatively small, they nonetheless demonstrate that a continuing need and demand for bilingual and other specialized programs designed to meet the unique linguistic and educational needs of Southeast Asian American students. The case of the Hmong communities in Minneapolis and Milwaukee in particular demonstrates that community activism is often necessary to ensure needed programs are provided. Given the lack of school programs, many Southeast Asian American communities offer their own

heritage language programs through community organizations, Buddhist temples, or Christian churches, or in conjunction with local schools to sponsor programs after school.

Wayne E. Wright and Hsiaoping Wu

See also Assimilation; Critical Languages for the United States; Culture Shock; Enculturation; Immigration and Language Policy; Language Shift and Language Loss; Newcomer Programs; U.S. Census Language Data; Vietnamese Immigration

Further Readings

- Hein, J. (2006). *Ethnic origins: The adaptation of Cambodian and Hmong refugees in four American cities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Hmong Studies Internet Resource Center (2006). 2005 American Community Survey: Southeast Asian American Populations. Retrieved December 20, 2006, from <http://www.hmongstudies.org/2005AmericanCommunitySurveySoutheastAsianAmericans>
- Park, C. C., & Chi, M. M.-Y. (1999). *Asian-American education: Prospects and challenges*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Weinberg, M. (1997). *Asian-American education: Historical background and current realities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

SPANGLISH

The word *Spanglish* is a combination of the words *Spanish* and *English* and describes the mixing of those languages in oral and written production. Historically, Spanglish has been a source of disagreement. Some people consider Spanglish a valid form of communication, but others think that the two languages should be kept separate at all costs. Of the people who find value in Spanglish, some believe that Spanglish is an offensive way to describe this language use and instead prefer using the terms *code switching* and *code mixing*. Others, however, argue that Spanglish reflects the bilingual reality of its users. In this entry, the term *Spanglish* is used purposefully, and its value in oral production is described from the sociocultural perspective. To show how Spanglish functions in the classroom, an example of children using it in a content area is presented. Implications for teachers conclude this entry.

Dialectal variation exists within all languages. Language use varies according to gender, class, geographical region, and the multiple identities speakers create when they use language varieties. Some ways of making sounds, using grammatical structures, and selecting vocabulary are shared among members of particular speech communities. Furthermore, there are rules for when, where, and how to use language variations, as well as when not to use them. The varieties of English spoken in California differ from the ones spoken in New York, the varieties of English spoken in Chicago differ from those used in Texas, the Spanish spoken in Mexico differs from the one spoken in Peru, the Spanish spoken in central Mexico differs from the Spanish spoken along its northern border, and so on. Another language variety is Spanglish, and what makes Spanglish unique from the other varieties is that its speakers bring together the phonological and grammatical systems of two languages.

Spanglish is a language variety found in the United States that results from intense and prolonged contact between speakers of Spanish and English. Speakers of Spanglish blend the languages in different situations for a number of purposes. Ana Celia Zentella, an educational linguist, argues that Spanglish speakers can use their languages differently in a variety of situations. The use of Spanglish, as opposed to Spanish or English, depends with whom the bilingual speaker is talking. If a Spanglish speaker addresses a person that is known to be or is perceived to be a monolingual speaker of Spanish or English, then the Spanglish speaker can remain in that language. In contrast, if this same speaker knows or perceives that the person being addressed uses both languages, Spanglish can be used. In this manner, to whom one speaks, the topic of conversation, and the physical setting influence whether or not bilingual speakers can use Spanglish.

Often, the “turning on” and “turning off” of Spanish or English does not happen. Some words in Spanish do not easily translate into the English language. For instance, the word *educación* in Spanish means more than what *education* captures in English. In Spanish-speaking communities, *educación* is more than the education in formal settings, it is also the education that occurs in homes and communities. This example should help in understanding that although a bilingual speaker may be speaking to a monolingual English speaker, a word in Spanish may be necessary in the conversation. Another reason to explain the “turning on” and “turning off” is that at times bilingual speakers

can use Spanglish because of the effect that they wish to convey to those around them. Spanglish becomes an indication they belong to a certain group, or that they are a member of a specific community. Overall, one language may be more dominant than the other in different situations or life stages.

Another unique characteristic of Spanglish and its speakers is that they grow up using it by belonging to a bilingual community. Sociolinguist Shana Poplack maintains that bilingual speakers know when and where to switch, whether between sentences or within sentences, and how to mix words in one language with words of the other to coin new words. What is commendable is that bilingual speakers use Spanglish without relying on the rules of both languages. Accordingly, Spanglish is a valid language variety that is comprehensible to other bilingual speakers but is especially relevant to speakers who belong to a bilingual community.

Opponents of Spanglish, often the foreign-born Spanish speakers residing in the United States or professors in Spanish departments, maintain that it is “a chaos of words” or “state of confusion,” and some, like Mexican writer Octavio Paz, have gone as far as describing it as “neither good or bad, but rather abominable,” as Ilan Stavans reports. Opponents view speakers of Spanglish as linguistically or intellectually deficient because they supposedly lack full proficiency in either Spanish or English. Also, because opponents view Spanglish as a mixed and not “pure” variety of Spanish, it is perceived as an illegitimate form of language use. An ideal situation, these critics maintain, is to keep each language separately, *or purely*, from the other and never use them simultaneously. This ideology, however, is linguistically uninformed. Spanglish is a phenomenon that is rule-governed and is, as Gloria E. Anzaldúa (a Chicana feminist scholar) and Rosaura Sánchez (professor of Latin American and Chicano literature) have argued, influenced by many social and political factors. Like every other language, however, Spanglish is rule-driven.

Although many people have begun to accept Spanglish as a valid form of language use, disagreement exists regarding the use of the word *Spanglish*. On the one hand are those who believe that the phenomenon should be called *Spanglish*, and on the other hand are those who believe that it should be called *code switching* and *code mixing*. This second group argues that referring to the phenomenon as code switching and mixing is aimed at removing the negative connotation

from the minds of teachers and other gatekeepers. Members of this group also consider other words that are “more appropriate,” such as Spanish of Mexican Americans, Chicano Spanish, and New York City Spanish. Proponents of the word *Spanglish* agree that the phenomenon has been stigmatized and, as Zentella argues, Spanglish—much like “Nuyoricano,” “Chicano,” and “Dominican York”—needs to gain a different meaning, one of pride. Teachers do not regard Spanglish as the final form of either language to be learned by their students. One of the teachers’ functions is to be the facilitators for children to be proud of *who they are* and *how they speak*, while they learn other, more academic, varieties of Spanish and English.

Spanglish in the Classroom

In a scenario in a second-grade dual-language classroom, a group of four children are at one of the math activity stations while the teacher works with another group of students for small-group instruction. The children at the math activity station explore missing addends of addition and subtraction by playing a version of Chutes and Ladders. They first need to calculate the missing addend on one of the flashcards and if it matches the number in the back of the card, they throw the die and move that many spaces. The following is their conversation:

- Esmeralda:* Okay, ¿quién va a empezar?
[Okay, who’s going to start?]
- Emily:* I think *que debemos tirar el dado y él que sacar* [sic] *el número más grande va primero.*
[I think that we should throw the die and the one to get the biggest number goes first.]
- José:* Sí, yo voy primero.
[Yes, I’ll go first.]
- Jesús:* No, I’m first ’cause I’m always last.
¿Dónde están las tarjetas? Gimme one.
[No, I am first because I am always last.
Where are the cards? Gimme one.]
- Esmeralda:* Here!
- Jesús:* (Calculates the missing addend correctly.)
Yes! (Throws the die.) ¡Dos! (Moves his marker twice on the board.)
[Two!]

They later determine who goes next and the following is what happens after 15 minutes:

- Esmeralda:* ¡Jesús, estás cheareando! ¡Maestra!
[Jesús, you are cheating! Teacher!]
- Group:* ¡Maestra, Jesús está cheareando!
[Teacher, Jesús is cheating!]
- Maestra:* (Speaks from where she is working with other students.) ¿Quién está haciendo trampa?
[Who is cheating?]

Esmeralda, José, and Jesús are native Spanish speakers, but Emily is a native English speaker. In line 7, Esmeralda is the first to express that Jesús is cheating. In line 1, Esmeralda uses “Okay,” which is considered a tag-switch similar to its use in English, and the rest of the question is in Spanish. Overall, her switches are single words more than phrases or sentences, but are still considered between-sentence switches. When the group sets out to tell the teacher, the group merely mimics what Esmeralda has already conveyed, that Jesús is cheating. The children have combined the word “cheating” with the bound morpheme “-ando” of the present progressive in Spanish to coin the new word, “cheareando.” Aside from the bound morpheme, the word maintains its English phonology with the exception of “t” which the children have replaced with an “r.” Of the four students, Jesús proved to be the one to code-switch the most, both between and within sentences. In line 4, he performs a between-sentence switch from English to Spanish and back to English. In line 6, he switches from English to Spanish with single words. Although the teacher has recast the standard form of “cheareando” as “*haciendo trampa*” (cheating), the children continue to use “cheareando.”

The students’ continual use of the word *cheareando*, even after the teacher has modeled the standard form, should not be confused with the children being deficient or disobedient but, rather, be interpreted as the social language used between them. They are engaged in an activity that reinforces a math skill; hence, the learning is more important than the language they use. To use the phrase *hacer trampa* (to cheat) presently goes beyond how they use language with each other. Over time, they will add “*hacer trampa*” to their verbal repertoire. This scenario is akin to adults interrupting children at play and proceeding to tell them which way is best to play.

Implications for Education

Many teachers, both monolingual *and* bilingual, may be biased against minority students who use Spanglish. These teachers expect students to keep their languages compartmentalized, but an important feature of any language is that it changes constantly to meet its speakers' needs. Spanglish is a manifestation of language contact between Spanish and English, and it is a behavior that is both functionally and formally systematic. Teachers should modify their perceptions of the status and value of Spanglish and understand that blending Spanish and English is a phenomenon not related to intellectual skills; bilingual children who use Spanglish can reason just as much and as well as monolingual children, and this language variety does not mean they are necessarily confused.

In addition, teachers must realize that English, however important for success in school and society, may not be the only language in a child's verbal repertoire. Other language varieties such as Spanglish have distinctive and valued roles in the community. Choosing to ignore that they exist or negating their value by claiming the exclusive use of standard Spanish and standard English runs contrary to the communicative and identity functions of language. It can also be detrimental to the child's self-respect and cultural affiliations. Learning the standard forms of the languages should not be at a subtractive cost of the range of verbal behaviors in a child's repertoire; teachers should promote the inclusion of all language varieties in the classroom. They can find ways to use the students' language varieties through activities such as those examined by Mary Beth Monahan and Roxanne Henkin. Such activities engage children, and in the process teachers, about language varieties in the communities where they teach. The most effective teachers are those who honor language varieties instead of criticizing them. The ultimate goal of language is to communicate effectively and to allow language users to identify with varieties of that language.

Teachers should gradually model the standard forms of Spanish and English instead of constantly "correcting" children who speak Spanglish because this can threaten the children's linguistic and social development. By ensuring that children have abundant time to talk in mixed-ability groupings with children that speak different language varieties, teachers provide language models in a nonthreatening

atmosphere. Children can reap the social and academic benefits of bilingual and bidialectal proficiency.

In addition, bilingual teachers can also use Spanglish with their bilingual students. Children need to hear the way they speak in their communities and homes reflected and honored in the classroom and school by the adults. This, in turn, can lift their self-esteem and encourage them to learn and add the standard forms to their repertoires, which is necessary for their academic achievement. A significant part of this achievement starts when teachers recognize and value Spanglish as a legitimate language variety.

Irma Rosas

See also Code Switching; Ebonics; Language and Identity; Social Bilingualism; World Englishes

Further Readings

- Anzaldúa, G. E. (1987). *Borderlands/la frontera* (1st ed.). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
- Monahan, M. B., & Henkin, R. (2003). On the lookout for language: Children as language detectives. *Language Arts*, 80(3), 206–213.
- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18(7/8), 581–618.
- Sánchez, R. (1983). *Chicano discourse: Socio-historic perspectives*. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press.
- Stavans, I. (2003). *Spanglish: The making of a new American language*. New York: Rayo.
- Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Zentella, A. C. (2003). "José, can you see?": Latin@ responses to racist discourse. In D. Sommer (Ed.), *Bilingual games: Some literary investigations* (pp. 51–66). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

SPANISH, DECLINE IN USE

Some voices in the United States today regard Spanish as a threat to the continued dominance of English and argue that an increase in Latino immigration and natality may lead to a bilingual society and to drastic changes in American culture. In general, these voices argue that Hispanics or Latinos have little interest in learning English. Conversely, there have also been studies that have proved that after a few

years of moving to the United States, Latinos abandon the use of Spanish and become competent English speakers. They integrate linguistically following the same pattern as earlier immigrants from around the world. These polarized positions have played a role in a political debate that has contributed to the development of language policies dividing the country into those that support bilingual education and those who oppose it. This entry assesses the future of the Spanish language in the United States by examining research findings on these questions: What is the current status of Spanish in the United States? Do Hispanics learn and use English less than other immigrants do? Is the Spanish-to-English shift process similar or different from that followed by other groups of immigrants?

Although Spanish was the first European language with a significant presence in what is now the United States, it has become controversial in the country that now holds the fifth largest population of Hispanics in the world, as indicated by National Virtual Translation Center. Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Dominicans are the four largest Spanish-speaking groups in the United States. Los Angeles is the city with the largest population of people of Mexican origin, second only to Mexico City; New York has as many Puerto Ricans as San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico, does; Miami is home to the largest population of Cubans outside Cuba; and more than a million Dominicans live in northeastern cities, mainly New York.

The increasing population and arrival of immigrants to the United States has caused adverse reactions. Some believe that Hispanics represent a threat to U.S. society and English. Victor Davis Hanson and Samuel P. Huntington, for example, argue that Latinos are failing to integrate culturally and linguistically. Huntington maintains that the large influx of Latinos into the United States during the last three decades of the 20th century endangers American identity and society in the future. He believes that Latin American immigrants have no interest in assimilating culturally or linguistically as did earlier generations of European immigrants because Latinos speak a common language, concentrate in common areas, live within Spanish-speaking communities, and are persuaded by political activists to maintain their identities. In particular, Huntington doubts whether Mexican Americans will integrate linguistically. He states that the third generation (individuals whose parents were born in the United States and have at least one grandparent of foreign descent) will tend to

remain bilingual and that competency in both languages will be liable to become established in the Mexican American community unless the second generation discontinues the use of Spanish.

Although many scholars rejected Huntington's arguments, these arguments were nonetheless extensively disseminated and accepted among various social and political groups. Calvin Veltman in 1988 and Ruben G. Rumbaut, Douglas S. Massey, and Frank D. Bean in 2006 have reported research findings that contradict Samuel P. Huntington's theory. These researchers have concluded that Spanish does not constitute a peril to the supremacy of English in the United States. Those concerned with Spanish persistence in the United States, they assert, should not be afraid. Much evidence shows that, like other immigrant languages, Spanish fades away rapidly across generations, even in communities of high concentration of Spanish speakers.

Hispanic Immigrants Learn and Use English

Veltman states that because of a rise in immigration and natality, the number of Spanish speakers will increase, but contrary to public opinion, U.S.-born and immigrant Latinos commit themselves to learning and speaking English fluently and quickly. The preference, use, and preservation of Spanish depend on the permanent influx of new Latino immigrants. Because of the continual arrival of large numbers of immigrants, bilingualism may persist longer among Latinos than it did among other immigrant groups. However, ongoing immigration does not discourage U.S.-born or immigrant Hispanics from studying and becoming competent users of English. Actually, newly arrived or established immigrants believe that proficiency in English is key to their participation in American society and a condition for accessing its benefits. Despite Hispanics' interest in assimilating linguistically, the government has been incapable of meeting their language learning needs. James Thomas Tucker, in a report issued by the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, reveals a shortage of English classes for Hispanics. His report shows that instruction in English as a Second Language (ESL), one of the means whereby Hispanics could integrate fully, is facing a crisis. Providers of ESL courses have been unable to satisfy the demand, and students sometimes wait as long as 3 years for enrollment.

The Language Shift Process

Children of Hispanic immigrants, Veltman says, tend to lose their ability to read and write their parents' mother tongue, which may happen at a different pace from their ability to speak it; this leads to the deterioration of literacy skills. Once this happens, the remaining spoken fluency weakens over time and the prospects for bilingualism vanish. This language shift extends over three generations and sometimes less than that. In southern California among the second and higher generations, there is a high likelihood of English becoming the language of communication with spouses, children, friends, and coworkers. Veltman asserts that English becomes the first language and Spanish the second language of more than 50% of Spanish-speaking immigrants who enter the United States at or before the age of 15. Veltman further adds that an interruption of the flow of Spanish-speaking immigrants into the United States would stabilize the number of Hispanics for about 15 years. After that, the decline in preference and use of Spanish would tend to accelerate.

Conclusion

If Hispanics do not make attempts to use and prefer Spanish past the third generation, the possibilities for its continued existence in the United States are uncertain. Rumbaut and his colleagues indicate that a linguistic survival analysis yields a life expectancy of 3.1 generations for Mexican Spanish, 2.8 for Guatemalan and Salvadorian Spanish, and 2.6 for Spanish spoken by other Latin Americans. Under this scenario, the daily use of Spanish is expected to fade away after 2 generations among Mexicans, 2.1 among Guatemalans and Salvadorians, and 1.7 among other Latin Americans.

Spanish will continue to be a controversial language in the United States. Its linguistic life expectancy appears unpredictable and will depend on a number of factors. According to recent studies, the United States is still regarded as a "graveyard for languages." Current language policies discourage rather than encourage multilingualism or even bilingualism. Bruce Gaarder states that issues related to political and economic power and prestige influence bilingualism in important ways. These issues do not seem to favor the maintenance of Spanish. Rather, Spanish continues to be regarded as a threat to the domination of English in the United States and efforts are made to slow its use in programs such as bilingual education.

Rumbaut and his collaborators state that there are more than 200 million speakers of English in the United States. Historical and contemporary evidence indicate that Spanish or bilingualism has never been a menace to the supremacy of English in the United States. What is in danger is the use and preference for Spanish by the second and third generations of U.S. Hispanics. Bilingualism and dual-language education represent opportunities still to be recognized and achieved.

Jorge A. Aguilar

See also Hispanic Population Growth; Immigration and Language Policy; Language Shift and Language Loss; Spanish, the Second National Language; Spanish-Language Enrollments

Further Readings

- Gaarder, B. A. (1976). Bilingual education: Central questions and concerns. In F. Cordasco (Ed.), *Bilingual schooling in the United States: A sourcebook for educational personnel*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hanson, V. D. (2003). *Mexifornia: A state of becoming*. San Francisco: Encounter Books.
- Huntington, S. P. (2004). *Who are we? The challenges to America's national identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- National Virtual Translation Center (2007). *Spanish*. Retrieved from <http://www.nvtc.gov/lotw/months/january/Spanish.html>
- Rumbaut, R. G., Massey, D. S., & Bean, F. D. (2006). Linguistic life expectancies: Immigrant language retention in southern California. *Population and Development Review*, 32(3), 447–460.
- Tucker, J. T. (2006). *The ESL Logjam: Waiting times for adult ESL classes and the impact on English learners*. Los Angeles: National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund.
- Veltman, C. (1988). *The future of the Spanish language in the United States*. New York: Hispanic Policy Development Project.

SPANISH, PROACTIVE MAINTENANCE

The challenges of maintaining minority languages are well known and well documented. In most contexts all over the world, extrasocietal languages are abandoned by their speakers in three to four generations. These shifts happen whether minority languages are

indigenous to a nation-state (e.g., Breton in France, Basque in Spain, Navajo in the United States, aboriginal languages in Australia) or whether they are the languages of groups who arrived in a country after the national language was already established (e.g., Chinese in the United States or Turkish in Germany).

Sadly, for those who care about language diversity and its unique role in maintaining cultural continuity, the shift away from minority languages to the national language has been found to be tragically inevitable across a range of societies and contexts. The literature on language maintenance and language shift offers many examples of the challenges involved in attempting to reverse language shift and in reviving languages that have been abandoned by their original communities of speakers—such as work published by Joshua A. Fishman and jointly by Peter Thomas and Jayne Mathias. The pattern of shift and abandonment is similar: The older generations, indigenous residents, and early arrivals speak the minority language. The next generation, because its members are schooled in the majority language and because they are surrounded by a society that speaks that language, tends to become dominant in it, shifting to this language for a range of purposes and using the minority language in a reduced set of situations. The youngest generations tend to be largely monolingual in the societal language. If they speak the minority language at all, they often cannot transmit this language to the next generation.

For Fishman, a scholar who has devoted much of his scholarship to the study of language maintenance and language shift, the process of reversing language shift (i.e., of intervening in the seemingly inevitable three-generation process) involves a conscious assessment and a clear valuing of language resources by the linguistic community. This involves the ways of strengthening the proficiency of younger generations, who are still at childbearing age, and of the prospect of aiding the process of intergenerational transmission within the community that will ensure the acquisition of the language as a primary language by young children. According to Fishman, this process must involve intergenerational transmission, that is, use of the language by parents at home to their children. He argues that, despite the great faith that many communities have in language instruction schools (i.e., in programs such as bilingual education), these institutions by themselves will do little to retard or reverse language shift. This entry describes proactive maintenance of the Spanish language in the United States.

The Case of Spanish

For Latinos, the pattern of transitional bilingualism leading to language shift has been masked by the continuing arrival of new, monolingual, Spanish-speaking immigrants into bilingual communities. Research on language use in Latino communities conducted over time, however, has made clear that, despite the influx of monolinguals into Latino communities, the shift toward English among Latinos is unmistakable. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that Latinos are regularly acquiring English and shifting away from the use of their ethnic language (see work by Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut and Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell). Among Latino professionals, the shift is even more rapid; it appears to take place by the second generation, as indicated in the survey conducted by Guadalupe Valdés, Fishman, Rebecca Chavez, and William Pérez. From these data, it is amply clear that language shift is ongoing among Chicano professionals in California. The low frequency of “sometimes/rarely” survey answers to Spanish language use, even with monolingual Spanish interlocutors, and the first-, second-, and third-generational decrease in Spanish-speaking, both strongly indicate language shift.

The Role of Educational Institutions in Maintaining Spanish

If Fishman is correct regarding the importance of intergenerational transmission in the proactive maintenance of minority languages, Spanish will only be maintained in the United States if parents personally commit to speaking Spanish at home with their children. However, bringing about the maintenance and development of *high-level, literacy-related proficiencies in Spanish* cannot be carried out by parents alone. As is the case with all languages, the development of Spanish for both personal and professional purposes will require the direct involvement of elementary, secondary, and postsecondary educational institutions making common cause with the parents who wish to see this outcome in their children. Unfortunately, the American educational system—in its present mind-set—has not been designed to involve itself in the maintenance and development of nonmajority languages. It can only support Latino students in the development of their Spanish-language proficiencies in two main types of non-English language instructional programs: (a) maintenance bilingual

education programs in which Spanish is used as the language of instruction after students have acquired English and (b) foreign-language programs in which Spanish is taught as a subject. This entry examines the role of traditional “foreign” language programs and their potential role in proactively helping to maintain Spanish in this country after briefly commenting on maintenance bilingual education programs.

Maintenance Bilingual Education

Transitional bilingual education programs are those in which minority languages are used in subject matter instruction only during the period when students are acquiring basic English skills. Maintenance bilingual education programs, on the other hand, continue to educate students in a minority language even after students have acquired English. Regrettably, bilingual education, especially the maintenance variety, although much discussed in the literature, is an option that is open to only a small fraction of English language learners (ELLs), primarily in the first 3 years of schooling. Maintenance programs currently appear to be almost nonexistent.

Traditional Foreign-Language Students

Foreign-language students in the United States have primarily been fluent speakers of English who elect to “take” foreign languages as academic subjects. Although some of these students may have been speakers of languages other than English, until recently, it had not been common for these students to enroll in classes of languages they already spoke. Italian-background students might study Spanish or French. Spanish-background students might study Portuguese, and Polish-background students might study Russian. For reasons that now seem arcane, it was generally felt by school people that students would not profit from continuing the study of their own ethnic/immigrant languages. Therefore, the traditional foreign-language student has been a monolingual English speaker who is expected to move from a state of monolingualism through various stages of incipient bilingualism. Nativelike attainment of the foreign language, however, is rarely expected and almost never reached by school-based programs alone.

In sum, the foreign-language teaching profession in the United States has traditionally been dedicated to teaching non-English languages to monolingual

English-speaking students. However, members of the profession have continually struggled against the indifference of the American public toward languages in general. Language teachers have been largely unsuccessful at persuading parents that language study is worth the time it requires to achieve mastery. Moreover, teachers have had difficulty producing a significant number of young Americans who are functionally proficient in the languages they have studied.

From time to time, particularly during periods of national emergency, various government agencies have paid attention to foreign-language teaching and learning. During World War II, for example, concern about the availability of language-competent military led to the development of the Army Specialized Training Programs and to the rise of the Audio-Lingual Method. The late 1950s, the Sputnik era, brought about the passage of the National Defense Act and projects designed to enhance the preparation of foreign-language teachers. Currently, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, there is again interest in non-English languages, particularly in the development of heritage language resources. In the section that follows, the changing boundaries of the foreign-language teaching profession are described as the profession endeavors to involve itself in teaching immigrant and ethnic languages.

Teaching Heritage Languages

In the United States, the term *heritage language* has come to be used, broadly, by those concerned about the study, maintenance, and revitalization of non-English languages in the United States. For individuals interested in the strengthening of endangered indigenous languages or the maintenance of immigrant languages that are not normally taught in school, the term *heritage language* refers to a language with which individuals have a personal historical connection, as explained by Fishman. In this view, the historical and personal connection to the language is salient rather than the actual proficiency of individual students. Armenian, for example, would be considered a heritage language for American students of Armenian ancestry *even if* such students were themselves English speakers. For strengthening and preserving Armenian in this country, such heritage students would be seen as having an important personal connection with the language and an investment in maintaining it for future generations. Their motivation for studying Armenian would thus contrast significantly with that of typical students of foreign language.

The foreign-language teaching profession currently uses the term *heritage student* to refer to a student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken. The student may speak or merely understand the heritage language and is to some degree bilingual in English and the home language. This is distinct from the scenario described previously, where individuals work with endangered indigenous languages or immigrant languages that are not regularly taught in school, like the case of Armenian. Moreover, for foreign-language-teaching professionals, the term refers to a group of young people who are different in important ways from English-speaking monolingual students, who have traditionally undertaken the study of foreign languages in American schools and colleges. This difference has to do with *developed functional proficiencies* in the heritage languages.

Within the foreign-language teaching profession, the use of the term *heritage speaker* is relatively new. Its use was generalized for the first time in the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* (published by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages in 1996). Until that time, Spanish instructors were the only members of the foreign-language teaching profession who had worked with large numbers of students who already understood and spoke the language. In an attempt to differentiate between this new group of foreign-language students and traditional students, the Spanish-teaching profession referred to these students as “native speakers of Spanish,” as “*quasi* native speakers of Spanish,” or as “bilingual” students.

Dissatisfaction with these terms led to increased use of other terms such as *home background* speakers (as used in Australia) and *heritage language speakers* (as used in Canada). Members of the profession in the United States are currently engaged in examining the use of the term *heritage language* as they research the various types of students who have a family background in which a non-English language is or was spoken. Researchers and practitioners are also engaged in exploring ways to expand approaches, methods, and alter course sequences to meet the diverse needs of different groups of students.

Teaching Spanish as a Heritage Language

Until the mid-1970s, foreign-language teaching professionals almost exclusively taught Spanish to monolingual Anglophones. Beginning in the mid-1970s, the

increasing number of Spanish speakers in the country significantly affected the Spanish-teaching profession at both the secondary and the postsecondary levels. College and university faculties with experience in teaching Spanish as a foreign language have had to open their doors to students who, in some cases, were more fluent in the language than they were, but who could not talk *about the language* using the terminology used in the traditional conventions of the academy. Individuals involved in teaching Spanish to such students, in the classroom setting, quickly discovered that these young people had a very difficult time learning grammar rules taught to foreign-language students. Not only did they become confused by explanations of aspects of the language that they already knew (e.g., the difference between *ser* and *estar*), but they also refused to confine themselves to the limited vocabulary of the textbook. Because many Latino students who made it to college had been schooled exclusively in English, they had no experience in reading and writing in Spanish. Worst of all, they were often speakers of stigmatized varieties of Spanish (e.g., rural Mexican Spanish or urban Puerto Rican Spanish). There were few textbooks on the market that could adequately deal with this “problem,” and there was little agreement among Spanish-teaching professionals (most of whom had been trained in literature) about what to do and how.

The general consensus, reflected in the textbooks of that period (e.g., Pauline Baker’s *Español para los Hispanos*, published in 1966; and Marie Esman Barker’s *Español para el Bilingüe*, published in 1972), was that bilingual Hispanophone students were in need of remediation, of techniques and pedagogies that would help undo the damage that had been done at home. In short, instead of looking favorably at the Spanish they already knew, professors of Spanish continued to stigmatize the Spanish of their *hispanoparlante* students.

More recently, secondary-school Spanish teachers have faced an even more difficult situation. Given the rising numbers of Latino students nationwide, enrollments in high school Spanish classes now include traditional foreign-language students (Anglophone monolingual students), second- and third-generation bilingual Latinos and Chicanos who are largely English-dominant, and newly arrived Latino students who speak little or no English, and who have been schooled to a greater or lesser degree in Spanish in their home countries. For many of these students, the Spanish language class is the only non-English as a

Second Language (ESL) core academic subject they are allowed to take. The remaining part of their day may be filled with physical education and electives such as drawing and cooking, and one or more “study halls.”

The situation is no better at the college and university level. According to a survey of college and university foreign-language departments conducted by the Modern Language Association (MLA) (reported by David Goldberg, Natalia Lusin, and Elizabeth Welles), Spanish heritage language classes are offered at 24% of 772 colleges and universities offering majors and advanced courses in Spanish. According to a survey conducted by the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) and the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP), however, only 18% of 146 campus responding have implemented special courses for heritage speakers (reported by Catherine Ingold, William Rivers, Carmen Tesser, and Erica Ashby). At the secondary level, the percentage is much smaller. According to a survey of foreign-language instruction in elementary and secondary schools conducted in 1997 (reported by Nancy Rhodes and Lucinda Branaman), 9% of secondary schools in the country currently offer Spanish heritage language programs.

Teaching Spanish to Spanish-speaking bilinguals, however, is not a new area of interest. Indeed, as Guadalupe Valdés-Fallis and Richard Teschner found when they put together a bibliography on the subject in 1977, interest and concern about how to teach Spanish to students who already spoke the language had been present in educational circles since the 1930s. Despite the long-standing interest in this question, teaching Spanish to the Spanish-speaking as an academic subject was not widely discussed until the late 1970s and early 1980s. Apparently, an increasing enrollment at state colleges and universities by non-traditional students (particularly Chicanos and Puerto Ricans) led to a realization that existing practices were inappropriate. Several articles in the late 1970s and early 1980s attempted to define the field by discussing the difference between foreign and native language, for instruction, the implications of the study of linguistic differences for teaching Spanish to bilingual students, concerns and questions surrounding teaching the prestige or standard variety, and implications for teacher preparation. Articles began to appear that described classroom practices and shared suggestions about what to teach and how. Attention was given to

teaching grammar, spelling, reading and writing, syllabus design, and testing and assessment. During this period, much activity in the field also centered on the production of textbooks intended to be used for the instruction of bilingual students. By the end of the decade, practitioners, especially at the university level, settled into what appeared to be comfortable teaching patterns using a variety of readily available materials.

By the late 1980s, however, it became clear that the problems surrounding teaching Spanish to bilingual speakers had not been solved. Few materials of high quality were available for the secondary level, and younger college faculty, trained primarily in peninsular and Latin American literature, found themselves facing the same problems others had faced in earlier decades.

The profession itself had begun to change. The emphasis in foreign-language teaching had shifted away from grammar-based instruction to a proficiency orientation, but there was much confusion about the right kinds of instruction and assessment. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, articles began to appear that examined old issues in new ways or that posed new questions (e.g., the use of the oral proficiency interview with bilingual students), the question of dialect and standard, the role of foreign-language teachers in teaching bilingual students, and the role of the foreign-language teaching profession in maintaining minority languages. Again, much attention was given to describing instructional practices and to curriculum development.

Beginning in the late 1990s and continuing today, professional activities focusing on teaching heritage languages have increased enormously. The AATSP initiated its Professional Development Series Handbooks for Teachers K–16 with Volume 1: *Spanish for Native Speakers*, published in 2000. The NFLC in cooperation with the AATSP developed in 2001 a language-based resource named *Recursos para la Enseñanza y el Aprendizaje de las Culturas Hispanas* (REACH, <http://www.nflc.org/REACH>) for teachers of Spanish to heritage speakers. NFLC also developed *LangNet* (<http://www.langnet.umd.edu>), a searchable database that includes Spanish and contains numerous resources for teaching heritage languages. In collaboration with AATSP, NFLC conducted a survey of Spanish-language programs for native speakers (mentioned earlier). The Center for Applied Linguistics and NFLC also launched the Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages. The Alliance sponsored two national conferences in 1999 and 2002 on teaching

heritage languages, in which many members of the Spanish-teaching profession participated. The first conference led to the publication of the volume *Heritage Languages in America* (edited by Joy K. Peyton, Donald Ranard, and Scott McGinnis) in which much attention was given to teaching uncommonly taught languages as well as to the publication of a special issue of the *Bilingual Research Journal* focusing on heritage languages (edited by Terrence Wiley and Guadalupe Valdés). The second conference, led to the publication of a report on research priorities on teaching heritage languages entitled “Directions in Research: Intergenerational Transmission of Heritage Languages” (edited by Russ Campbell and Donna Christian).

Additionally, a number of conferences and workshops focusing on teaching Spanish as a heritage language have been held around the country. In 1998, UCLA hosted a summer institute, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, on teaching Spanish to heritage speakers that included 30 secondary-school teachers. Participants in the workshop produced a document entitled *Spanish for Native Speakers (SNS) Education: The State of the Field* making recommendations on program design, teacher preparation, and policy development (edited by Lynn Fischer). New Mexico State University hosts an annual summer conference on teaching Spanish to heritage speakers. Multiple ERIC digests have been produced on a variety of topics; these and numerous other online resources are listed and described by Ana Roca, Kathleen Marcos, and Paula Winke. The Alliance Web site at the Center for Applied Linguistics also includes listings of online, print, and video resources.

Collections of articles and articles in edited books and journals focusing on teaching Spanish as a heritage language continue to appear. For example, *Mi Lengua* (edited by Ana Roca and M. Cecilia Colombi) includes a range of articles on such topics as student characteristics, revitalization versus eradication of students’ varieties of Spanish, language attitudes, and theoretical principles guiding the teaching of Spanish to heritage speakers.

In comparison with other heritage languages (e.g., Arabic, Farsi) and even languages that are taught more commonly, such as Chinese and Japanese, teaching Spanish to heritage speakers is well established within secondary and postsecondary programs. However, although much has been written about Spanish heritage programs, there is a great deal that we do not

know about the role of schools in language maintenance and language shift, about ways of measuring progress in the reacquisition or revitalization of heritage languages, and about the most important differences between learners of a first and second language.

The scholars who contributed to the research agenda created at the second national heritage conference stated in Campbell and Christian’s edited work that it is important to understand the external pressures that heritage speakers are subjected to in this country, the ways in which language ideologies interact with particular pedagogical goals, and the ways in which measurement procedures can engage both community and academic norms. In establishing research directions for the study of intergenerational transmission of heritage languages, Campbell and Christian point out that numerous questions must be attended to by the research community if the formal educational system is to succeed in its efforts to maintain heritage languages.

Remaining Challenges

Despite the expanding number of classes for heritage speakers of Spanish, many challenges must be surmounted if such instruction is to contribute to the maintenance of Spanish in the United States. In a recent survey of instructional practices in secondary and postsecondary Spanish heritage programs in California (reported in Valdés, Fishman, Chavez, and Pérez), it was determined that, with very few exceptions, heritage language programs were established to respond to institutional challenges in serving an increasing population of Latino students. These researchers found no evidence to suggest that high schools or colleges and universities offering such programs see themselves as engaged in the process of language preservation. Heritage programs (sequences of language course or single courses) are designed to be part of existing Spanish language and literature programs. They focus on achieving traditional academic goals in the study of foreign languages and literatures. Heritage program personnel have not developed ways of assessing the bilingualism of heritage students effectively. Few institutions at the secondary and postsecondary levels use departmental placement examinations or special placement examinations for placing heritage students in courses. Survey results indicate that high schools and colleges offering heritage programs frequently rate instructional goals that are

closely aligned with teaching the standard dialect as important in the instruction of heritage students. Instructional practices considered effective are also closely aligned with teaching the standard dialect (e.g., correcting anglicisms, archaisms, and other nonstandard forms in students' oral and written language; teaching grammatical terminology; or teaching spelling). Respondents at both the secondary and post-secondary levels came from institutions that claimed to be very satisfied with students' achievement as measured by course examinations or by success in subsequent courses within the Spanish departments of which they are a part. They are not much concerned with students' continued use of Spanish in their homes, communities, and the wider Spanish-speaking world. In general, instructional goals of existing programs for heritage speakers of Spanish at both the high school and the college levels are not consistent with recommendations being made by those concerned with the development of professional proficiencies in Spanish.

Despite the challenges, the possibility of using traditional foreign-language programs to contribute to the maintenance of minority languages is an attractive one. However, the proactive, effective involvement by the foreign-language teaching profession in maintaining and developing the non-English languages currently spoken by immigrants, refugees, and their children will require that the profession expand and broaden its scope beyond the mere recognition of heritage students as more advanced learners of the "target" language. To serve heritage students' needs, the profession's areas of interest needs to extend to include a population of students who are very unlike traditional foreign-language learners at all skill levels. This new population of students includes youngsters who have acquired the target language as their first language, students who have acquired two languages simultaneously, and students who have developed excellent receptive abilities in the language but are reluctant to speak it.

Second-language acquisition theories, as well as traditions now guiding foreign-language instruction, have little to say about these students and what they should be taught. Existing research on incipient or developing bilingualism in foreign or second languages is not relevant to teachers of heritage students. Moreover, views about second-language developmental sequences and proficiency hierarchies also contribute little to the understanding of the instructional needs of this population. What is required is a new

"knowledge base" that draws from preexisting knowledge in related areas but also looks to create knowledge that does not now exist.

The results of the survey cited previously (conducted by Valdés, Fishman, Chavez, and Pérez) on teaching Spanish as a heritage language in California suggest that to respond to these students' needs, members of the foreign-language teaching profession and government agencies charged with building capacity in strategic languages must acquire an understanding of societal bilingualism and language contact, as well as of theories of second dialect acquisition. Instruction for these very different students must be informed by clear views about the nature of bilingualism itself, the controversies surrounding definitions of bilingualism and the ways in which bilingual individuals use two languages in their everyday lives.

As was pointed out by the high school teachers participating in an ACTFL/Hunter College heritage language teaching initiative (in John Webb's and Barbara Miller's work) in their *Statement of Shared Goals and Fundamental Beliefs* (pp. 83–85), teachers of heritage languages should (a) "understand how complex heritage learners are," (b) "acquire the sociolinguistic foundations that enable them to be respectful of language origins and ever-evolving language varieties, dialects, registers, and styles that students bring with them to class and build upon them," and (c) "help students to recognize the uses and purposes of their heritage language both in their immediate environment and in a global society."

The challenges surrounding the development of Spanish for students who have been raised with Spanish at home as well as for students who have been educated through Spanish in transitional, two-way and maintenance bilingual programs are not simple. Latino communities will need a deep commitment to Spanish as well as a willingness to take on the struggle to transform existing educational programs. To be effective, proactive language maintenance must involve a deep understanding of existing educational institutions and sustained efforts to influence their future ability to serve the needs of the nation's Spanish language speakers.

Guadalupe Valdés

See also Heritage Languages in Families; Spanish, Decline in Use; Spanish, the Second National Language; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

- American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (1996). *Standards for foreign language learning: Preparing for the 21st century*. Yonkers, NY: National Standards in Education Project.
- Baker, P. (1966). *Español para los hispanos*. Skokie, IL: National Textbook.
- Barker, M. E. (1972). *Español para el bilingüe*. Skokie, IL: National Textbook.
- Campbell, R. N., & Christian, D. (Eds.). (2003). Directions in research: Intergenerational transmission of heritage languages. *Heritage Language Journal*, 1(1), 1–44.
- Center for Applied Linguistics. (2007). *Heritage languages in America*. Retrieved from <http://www.cal.org/heritage>
- Fischer, L. (2001). *Spanish for native speakers (SNS) education: The state of the field*. Retrieved from <http://www.cal.org/sns/sns-fieldrpt.html>
- Fishman, J. A. (2001a). *Can threatened languages be saved?: Reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective*. Clevedon UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Goldberg, D., Lusin, N., & Welles, E. B. (2004). Successful college and university foreign language programs 1995–99: Part 2. *ADFL Bulletin*, 35(2–3), 27–70.
- Ingold, C., Rivers, W., Tesser, C. C., & Ashby, E. (2002). Report on the NFLC/AATSP survey of Spanish language programs for native speakers. *Hispania*, 85(2), 324–329.
- Peyton, J. K., Ranard, D. A., & McGinnis, S. (Eds.). (2001). *Heritage languages in America*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics/Delta Systems.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rhodes, N. C., & Branaman, L. E. (1999). *Foreign language instruction in the United States: A national survey of elementary and secondary schools*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Roca, A., & Colombi, M. C. (Eds.). (2003). *Mi lengua: Spanish as a heritage language in the United States*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Roca, A., Marcos, K., & Winke, P. (2001). *Resources for teaching Spanish to Spanish Speakers: An online resource collection*. Washington, DC: Eric Clearinghouse for Languages and Linguistics.
- Thomas, P. W., & Mathias, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Developing minority languages*. Cardiff University, Wales: Gromer Press.
- Tienda, M., & Mitchell, F. (Eds.). (2006b). *Hispanics and the future of America*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Valdés, G., Fishman, J. A., Chavez, R., & Pérez, W. (2006). *Developing minority language resources: The case of Spanish in California*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Valdés-Fallis, G., & Teschner, R. V. (1977). *Spanish for the Spanish-speaking: A descriptive bibliography of Materials*. Austin, TX: National Educational Laboratory.
- Webb, J. B., & Miller, B. L. (Eds.). (2000). *Teaching heritage learners: Voices from the classroom*. Yonkers, NY: American Council on the teaching of Foreign Languages.
- Wiley, T. G., & Valdés, G. (2000). Heritage languages [Special Issue]. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4).

SPANISH, THE SECOND NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Essay

Editor's Note: *The author of this entry was invited to submit an article reflecting a mix of information and expert opinion. We acknowledge that parts of it could be disputed or given an alternative interpretation. In several instances, we found this approach helpful in more realistically portraying the history and current status of bilingual education in the United States.*

The idea of a formal nexus between nationhood and one or more languages is recent. Only within the last 500 years has there been a tight connection between nationality or citizenship and the language or languages one expects residents of particular countries to speak. In the United States, no historical evidence exists that the founders devoted much time or effort to determining what language or languages would be identified with the country. The push to make English the official language did not occur during the formative years of the republic. When it did emerge in the mid-1980s, it was not as a positive statement of nation-building—the United States was already a world superpower—but as an expression of antiimmigrant sentiment. Perhaps because of its uncontroversial origins, the idea that English is the language of the nation and that it should be safeguarded in that position is widespread and firmly held by many Americans.

English appears to have fallen easily into the role of sole national language even though it was the language of England, the country against which the American Revolution was fought. Although numerous Native American languages existed in what is now the United States before arrival of the Europeans, there is no evidence that any Native American language was ever considered to be honored with a special recognition by the new nation. Of all the European languages spoken here during the colonial period, English and

German were the main languages spoken, although other European languages were used in some settlements. The first European explorers and settlers spoke Spanish, but that language was concentrated away from the centers of greatest cultural and political influence, and its use in early colonial history was limited to the Spanish settlements. Today, the use of Spanish has changed dramatically and it is now spoken throughout the country.

Speakers of Spanish are the language group that is most responsible for bilingual education. This entry reviews the current status of Spanish as an important language in the United States. It also suggests factors to consider in assessing the future of Spanish as a cultural element in the country and the place of bilingual education in this.

In the discussion that follows, I make a distinction between *official language* and *national language*. The former is a status officially conferred by the political apparatus of a country on the main language in which the bulk of civic and political affairs is to be conducted. The status of official language is usually determined during the formative years of a new nation such that both the country and its language shape each other's history. Importantly, the status of official language does not mean that only one language can have a special status bestowed to it. A national language refers to a language that is in wide use throughout the country and one that, although something less than official, is afforded recognition for use in particular domains or situations such as education, court proceedings, media, public documents, voting, cultural events, or commerce. No conflict is inherent in acknowledging that more than one language is used by the citizenry in their daily interactions and expression. Many modern countries employ more than one language without conflict or difficulty. Some nations designate more than one official language either for the entire country or portions of it. In most cases where conflict erupts between speakers of one language and those of another, it is usually because of repressive or restrictionist policies by which the speakers of one language seek to restrain or eliminate the use of another language.

Current Status of Spanish

The simplest and arguably most important measure of the status of Spanish in the United States today is the sheer numbers of the population that speak that

language on a regular basis. Of the U.S. population, 10.71% is Spanish-speaking, according to figures reported by the Modern Language Association. Of the total population that speaks a language other than English in the United States, 64.5% of them speak Spanish. The big picture, on a global scale, is straightforward and uncomplicated. According to the last official U.S. Census (2000), the number of Spanish speakers here was larger than the combined populations of four Latin American countries combined: Bolivia (8.15 million), Honduras (6.34 million), El Salvador (6.13), and Paraguay (5.59 million). (The next decennial census is likely to add two more countries to this list.) The only countries with individual Spanish-speaking populations larger than that of the United States are Mexico (99.92 million), Spain (39.82 million), Colombia (38.65 million), and Argentina (37.49 million). In 2000, the total population of U.S. Spanish speakers was 28.1 million, making it, even then, the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world. Although it is not customary to regard the United States as a Latin American country, the number of Spanish speakers suggests it is moving in that direction. Given this context, to deny the importance of Spanish in the United States is to deny present and future reality.

Problems Facing the Spanish Language

With nearly 40 million speakers and students, Spanish in the United States appears to be in good health. However, in assessing the current and future trajectory of the Spanish language within the United States, it is important to consider other factors beyond the number of speakers: the assimilative power of English, the wide divergence between the two languages with respect to social prestige, the relative health of bilingual education, the absence of social and cultural institutions that provide an infrastructure for the continuing viability of a language in any society, and the degree to which the dominant culture and language welcomes diversity.

The Power of English

Never before in the history of the world has a language reached the worldwide prestige and level of use of English. Linguists suggest there is no longer one form of English. *World Englishes* has emerged as the

term to describe the various forms of English appropriated for local use in different regions around the world. Beyond the simple metric of numbers of speakers, English has become a cultural phenomenon that transcends nationalities, most notably in education, popular culture, and the Internet. Although the language has its roots in the British Empire, it is now embraced by many nations and cultures, especially among the young.

Any assessment of the role and status of other languages, including Spanish, must take place against the backdrop of the domestic dominance of English and its worldwide hegemony. With or without a sociopolitical or culturally imperialistic motive—a topic we do not examine here—speakers of English have the power to promote or ignore other languages within the nation's boundaries. Americans are notably inconsistent in this regard. The link between being American and speaking English seems unbreakable. At the beginning of the 21st century, it is difficult to imagine English-speaking America creating an official opening for Spanish as a second national language. For the foreseeable future, an opening of this type can only occur in the cultural rather than political arena. It may also occur at a city, county, or state level. New Mexico, for example, was once officially bilingual, although the influx of English speakers into the territory ended that distinction. If one or more cities were to embrace Spanish as an official second language, the news would create a major stir nationwide. This development would likely cause consternation among those who feel there is room for no other language here.

Relative Status of Languages

The prestige of its speakers attaches to the language they speak. Hence, in the United States, almost no competition exists between the social status of English and that of any other language. In the public eye, English is the language of progress, education, and leadership whereas Spanish is the language of illegal immigrants, unskilled manual labor, and the Third World. Under the pall of these contrasting views of the two languages, it is difficult to envision the healthy growth and acceptance of Spanish by middle-class native speakers of English, the population that best represents the cultural core of the country. Although many Americans do not feel this way, many see little advantage, for themselves or their children, in learning a language they do not see as promising

them better employment or other social advantage. This problem may be age-related. Young college-age Americans appear to be more receptive to studying and speaking Spanish. Every year more of them enroll in Spanish-language classes. Clare Mar-Molinero, professor of modern languages at Southampton University, highlights some areas in which Spanish can rely on in its positioning as a global language: its cultural and literary tradition, its role in schooling in the countries where it is regarded as a national language, and the stabilizing influence of the Royal Academy in Spain (*Real Academia Española del Idioma*), to name some.

Scope and Health of Bilingual Education

Much of bilingual education remains a deficit-based remedial compensatory tool, in which the object is to transition young people out of bilingual instruction, rather than seeking to develop two languages to high levels of proficiency and literacy. Further, the limited participation of native-English-speaking children and youth in bilingual or dual-language schools is testimony that U.S. families do not value Spanish and other languages highly. Spanish is the most studied modern language in the United States today, but the numbers are not sufficiently robust to suggest a strong commitment to Spanish as an important national language. Reforms now being discussed for improving the teaching of Spanish and for its role in the curriculum may contribute to an improvement in that situation. Even the terminology of Spanish teaching needs attention. Although Spanish is the most frequently studied modern language in the country, schools and colleges continue to label it a “foreign language” even though millions of Americans use it on a daily basis. Carlos J. Alonso, chair of Spanish and Portuguese at Columbia University, is among those who believe that Spanish should no longer be regarded as a foreign language. He calls for a change in university language departments to position Spanish as a second national language and afford it a more prominent role in the curriculum to reflect its status as the second national language.

In the past, neither bilingual education nor modern language programs have demonstrated sufficient cultural and political power to move Spanish—or any other language—to a higher status than it held before. In some cases, namely Native American, Alaska Native, and Pacific Island languages, the opposite has occurred: Some languages have all but disappeared.

This situation is partially the result of a misimpression regarding bilingual education. *Transitional* bilingual education (TBE), the most common variety of the program over the last four decades, does not have, nor has it ever had, the goal of maintaining and improving the home languages of participating students. The goal of TBE is to move language minority children away from using their home languages and push them to use English exclusively as quickly as possible. A little-used but more accurate label for efforts to maintain home languages would be *programs of home-language support* or *primary-language support*. Regrettably, the term *bilingual education*, when used as a synonym for TBE, has persisted.

Foundations of Robust Languages

Even if bilingual education were to change dramatically in the future, languages do not stand alone as sole instruments of culture and communication. Nor do they thrive simply because they are taught in classrooms. Enduring languages are strengthened and supported by institutions that help the languages keep current, adapt to changing conditions, and create new communicative tools and cultural forms. Transitional bilingual schools do not fit that bill. In Canada, where English and French coexist as important languages deserving mutual respect, both languages have strong social institutions behind them. There are English-language universities and schools, as well as institutions that teach exclusively in French or bilingually. Civic organizations exist in which both languages are used. Government agencies have the capability to engage them in the language of their choice, English or French. Importantly, both languages have strong literary traditions and the literature of both groups is studied by young people of both language communities. Although these social institutions are now firmly in place, the struggle to have both languages recognized, honored, and freely used was difficult and has taken many decades to achieve. In the United States, the possibility of replicating the current Canadian profile with respect to bilingualism is hard to imagine at a macrolevel. Many Americans regard the Québec experience in setting bilingualism policy as a troubled chapter in Canada's history, one that should be avoided here. At present, however, there is no active advocacy for moving in that direction with respect to national language policy; the dominance of English in the United States is accepted and unchallenged.

Climate for Linguistic Diversity

The preceding discussion is not exhaustive. Many factors and conditions combine to create a favorable climate for language diversity. This brings us back to the notion of a language that is endowed with a special, perhaps official, status. How likely is it that Spanish could be afforded a formally recognized status as second national language in the foreseeable future? That question must be addressed in the shadow of the status of English, the undisputed national language with the weight of history and tradition behind it. It should be noted that English is not, at present, the official language of the country although pressure groups continually lobby to have it declared so through a constitutional amendment. Persons who argue for this designation often use the argument that unless it is protected by law, English will eventually be replaced by Spanish, given the rapid increase in population among Latinos and the somewhat slower population growth of native speakers of English. Those who oppose the idea believe that making English official is a solution without a problem because the global hegemony of English ensures its continued dominance in the world. They argue that designating English as the sole official language sends a gratuitous message to those who speak other languages that their languages are officially second tier. Although the latter may be true, it may also be the case that designating English as the official language is a necessary antecedent to recognizing Spanish in some way. Advocacy for making English the sole official language is relentless. Several Washington-based organizations have as their only purpose to amend the U.S. Constitution to make English the sole official language of the country. They collect and spend millions of dollars annually in this effort. The call for official English is often linked to other reforms in the society, namely preventing the continued influx of undocumented immigrants and trying to end bilingual education in the public schools. Neither the main agenda of these organizations nor their peripheral goals can be interpreted as supporting Spanish as a cultural symbol of an important segment of the population. Perhaps the English-speaking population requires its own symbol.

Factors That Favor Spanish in the United States

The preceding paragraphs describe a negative climate in which it could not be expected that Spanish could be afforded a higher status than that of other "foreign

languages.” But other factors also support the continued use and increasing respect for Spanish in the United States. An ascendant role that Spanish has begun to play here is as the language of the marketplace. Increasingly, U.S. stores and firms sell to Latin American investors and frequent visitors as well as to domestic Spanish-speaking customers. High-end retail outlets in all major cities strive to employ bilingual sales people. Advertising space and time on Spanish radio and television has become more expensive. One of the two Spanish television networks was recently purchased by one of the major mainstream networks, and the other is rumored to soon follow. Around the country, automatic teller machines (ATMs) allow customers to use Spanish to conduct electronic banking without using English. Telephone systems allow callers to “press 2 to continue in Spanish.” An important American city, Miami, is often mentioned in business circles as the banking capital of Latin America. The use of the language is underscored by the number of radio and TV outlets broadcasting in that language. The Spanish-language evening news is superior to any English media in its coverage of news of Latin America and the Caribbean. In short, Spanish is becoming the language of business and commerce, not merely the language of unskilled workers in the underground economy. This new role for Spanish as an important business language can be expected to influence the general status of the language in U.S. society.

In other venues, such as the Catholic Church, change has been slow but seems inevitable. Some 30% of all Catholics in the United States are Hispanic and tend to worship in Spanish. In every U.S. city, inner-city grand old churches that were once Irish, German, or Eastern European are now predominantly Hispanic, although the hierarchy of the church is still dominated by its European traditions and personnel. Whenever church leaders gather to discuss the status of the church among minorities, the theme of the Hispanization of the Catholic Church is ever present. One clear result of this internal dialogue is an increased visibility of the church in the political debates affecting Hispanics, such as the recent demonstrations and congressional wrangling over undocumented immigration. As the Catholic Church becomes increasingly Hispanic, its Spanish accent in sociopolitical arenas is likely to be heard more often. An activist church, especially one that embraces elements of Liberation Theology, could go far in promoting the Spanish language in the country.

In other arenas, English-speaking America has been willing to accept the use of Spanish: movies, radio, television, and sports. In 2007, for example, 25% of the players on the Cleveland Indians baseball team were Latinos, and some of them spoke little English. Their fan base is probably similarly large. Soccer, long an unimportant sport in the United States, has now become popular. Professional players from around the world come here permanently or as visitors to play American teams. The language of these athletes often is Spanish. Once limited to the purely Hispanic markets, Latino entertainers now cross over to English easily, although reverse crossovers are fewer. Nonetheless, popular culture may be an important arena in which Spanish will continue to develop a large and uncontroversial user base.

Much of what we do not know and cannot easily anticipate about the place of Spanish is in the domain of cultural pluralism and linguistic and cultural democracy. Until now, the United States and its leaders have not found it difficult to maintain Spanish for use as the language of unskilled work and other low-level domains. Spanish speakers have not insisted that their language be accorded greater respect and recognition. But the presence of more than 40 million Latinos, the rapid growth of that group, coupled with the slow but steady decline in the birthrate of mainstream native English speakers, cannot be ignored. Numbers alone may someday bring us to a tipping point where the status of Spanish must be addressed more formally rather than leaving it to chance. That dialogue may once again bring bilingual education to the foreground as a tool for addressing challenges in language study and learning. Scholar Joshua A. Fishman calls for action to preserve Spanish across generations and to prevent the loss of the national resource Spanish is in the United States.

Finally, as Spanish-speaker migration from Mexico and Latin America continues to increase, its growth is matched by its diversity. Immigration has begun to broaden its demographic base. In the past, only the poorest, least-educated, and least-skilled workers came. This continues today, as we are continually reminded by evening news stories about our porous southern border. The story that remains untold concerns legal migration, which is also at an unprecedented high. Legal migration from these same countries now includes growing numbers of professional and technical workers with skills that allow them to enter the U.S. job market at higher levels. Most of these immigrants are literate in

Spanish and many have a high command of English. Importantly, they are not looking to divest themselves of language and culture as the immigrants of the past were forced to do. Many are sophisticated binational individuals who move easily between the United States and their countries of origin and do not see themselves as permanent immigrants. They are more aware of notions of cultural and linguistic democracy. Many have fled repressive regimes, vowing never to accept repression for their families. In time, these new residents and citizens will enter the civic mainstream in important numbers. In time, this phenomenon may be a bigger news story than that of undocumented aliens crossing the Arizona desert. As Spanish-speaking Americans become more engaged with the political processes of the country and their levels of education rise, they may find unique ways to demand higher recognition of Spanish, their first language.

Josué M. González

See also Canadian and U.S. Language Policies; English in the World; Hispanic Population Growth; Immigration and Language Policy; Nationalization of Languages; Paradox of Bilingualism; Spanish-Language Enrollments; Status Differences Among Languages

Further Readings

- Alonso, C. (2006). Spanish: The foreign national language. *ADFL Bulletin*, 37(2–3), 15–20.
- Fishman, J. A. (2006). *Imagining linguistic pluralism in the United States*. In G. Valdés, J. A. Fishman, R. Chávez, & W. Pérez (Eds.), *Developing minority language resources: The case of Spanish in California*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- González, J. M. (1994). Spanish as a second language: Adding language to the discourse of multicultural education. In F. Rivera (Ed.), *Reinventing urban education: Multiculturalism and the social context of schooling* (pp. 257–277). New York: Institute for Urban and Minority Education.
- Leeman, J. (2007). The value of Spanish: Shifting ideologies in United States language teaching. *ADFL Bulletin*, 38(1–2), 32–39.
- Mar-Molinero, C. (2000). *The politics of language in the Spanish-speaking world: From colonisation to globalization*. New York: Routledge.
- Spanish in the Spanish World. (2005). *Where is Spanish spoken in the world?* Retrieved from <http://www.spanishintheworld.com/resources/spanish-world.html>

Web Sites

- Modern Language Association Language Map:
http://www.mla.org/map_main
- U.S. Census Bureau International Data Base:
<http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb>

SPANISH-LANGUAGE ENROLLMENTS

In 2000, a reported 53,358,000 students were enrolled in public and private schools in the United States. Some of them studied foreign languages. This entry focuses on one language, Spanish, which is arguably the most popular language studied in schools and institutions of higher education. The popularity of Spanish is generally attributed to a number of factors, including the large numbers of Spanish speakers in the United States, proximity to Spanish-speaking countries, and corresponding demands for a workforce capable of communicating in Spanish with these trade partners.

Three professional organizations for linguists, second- and foreign-language educators, and educational language policymakers regularly survey elementary, secondary, and higher educational institutions about foreign-language program characteristics and enrollment patterns. This entry summarizes the results of the latest available surveys published by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), and the Modern Language Association (MLA) in 1999, 2002, and 2004, respectively.

Spanish Language Programs

Nancy Rhodes and Lucinda Branaman reported that in 1987, 68% of elementary schools teaching a language reported teaching Spanish. This proportion increased to 79% in 1997. In 1987, 1% of elementary schools reported teaching Spanish for Spanish speakers. This proportion grew to 8% in 1997. This growth pattern is unlike the rest of commonly taught modern languages, such as French and German, which experienced declines during the same period. A similar pattern was reported by secondary schools. In 1987, 86% of schools reported offering Spanish, and in 1997, 93% offered Spanish. In addition, 9% of secondary schools reported offering instruction in Spanish for Spanish speakers. No data exist for Spanish for Spanish speakers in 1987.

Spanish instruction was not confined to any particular region; Rhodes and Branaman reported that Spanish instruction was commonplace throughout U.S. elementary schools offering modern language instruction. The lowest proportion reported was 77% in the Northeast and the highest was in the Southwest (95%). The region reporting the next highest proportion was the Pacific Northwest at 89%. At the secondary level, 100% of Northeast schools offering modern languages reported offering Spanish, followed by the Pacific Northwest (95%), the Southwest (94%), the central states (91%), and the South (89%).

Program types at the elementary level include Foreign Language in the Elementary School (FLES), Intensive FLES, Foreign Language Experience/Exploration, and Immersion. Of particular interest is the immersion type, which when situated in bilingual communities can be a useful tool for developing bilingualism for language minority students and for native speakers of English.

Spanish Language Enrollments

Jamie B. Draper and June H. Hicks report a high demand for Spanish at the elementary and secondary

levels. In their 2002 study of foreign-language enrollments in public schools during the fall 2000 semester, they reported 20,192 of 30,620 elementary-school foreign-language students were studying Spanish. At the secondary level, 4,057,608 modern foreign-language students in Grades 7 to 12 were studying Spanish (see Table 1), representing 68.7% of all foreign-language students. Another 2.0% (137,703) were enrolled in Spanish for Native Speakers classes.

E. Welles reports that from 1960 to 1990, there were fewer Spanish students in colleges, community colleges, and universities than those studying the rest of the modern languages combined. In 1960, 430,060 studied languages other than Spanish at the undergraduate or graduate levels, and 178,689 studied Spanish (see Table 2). In 1995, the trend changed. The Modern Language Association survey reported that 490,317 studied languages other than Spanish, and 606,286 studied Spanish. As shown in Table 2, this trend continued in 2002, where 746,267 students were enrolled in Spanish classes, and 600,769 students were enrolled in other languages. Between 1960 and 2006, enrollments in languages other than Spanish experienced declines as a proportion to the total number of students, but the number of students of Spanish

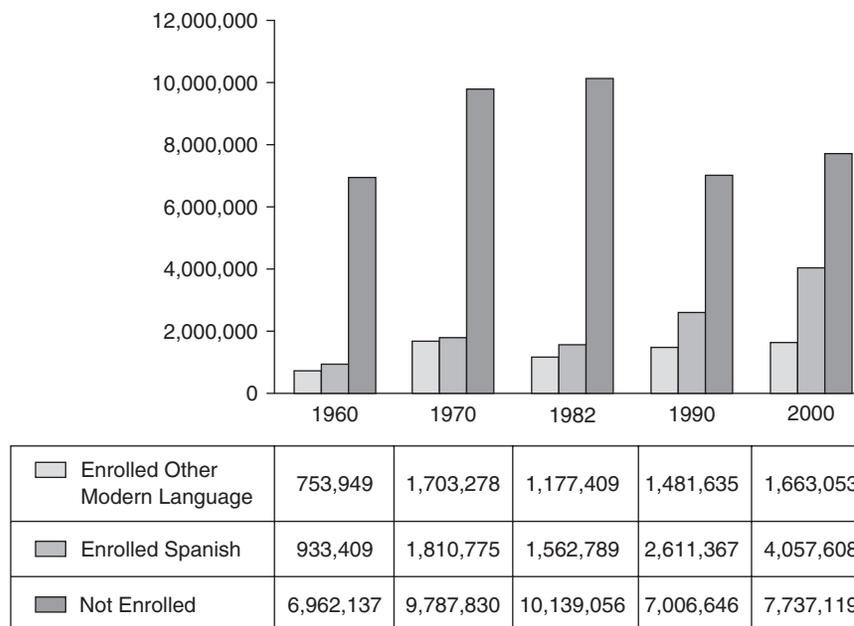


Figure 1 U.S. Public High School Spanish Enrollments: 1960, 1970, 1982, 1990, 2000

Source: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 2002. In Draper, J. B. & Hicks, J. H. (2002). *Foreign language enrollments in public secondary schools, Fall 2000*. Alexandria, VA: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

increased consistently from a low of 178,689 in 1960 to 823,035 in 2006. This trend shows no sign of changing.

Conclusion

Draper and Hicks report that Spanish and other foreign-language enrollment data are weak or nonexistent. For instance, no data were available at all from Alaska, Oregon, or Washington State because relevant data were not collected in those states. Also, no other readily accessible mechanism is available for assessing the status of Spanish enrollments in other settings other than schools and institutions of higher education. Draper and Hicks maintain that poor-quality enrollment data reduces the ability to determine more specifically the overall health of individual languages other than English. These data also mask the extent to which advanced Spanish and other languages are studied in settings other than schools, colleges, community colleges, and universities.

Draper and Hicks also report that despite the advent of national foreign-language standards, calls to begin language study in lower grades, and a national climate that suggests support for more extensive study of languages and cultures, there remains no appreciable difference in the numbers of students studying Spanish or other languages beyond the introductory levels. Draper and Hicks also remind us that Spanish dominates in

a small piece of the overall enrollment pie. In 2000, only 44% of all high school students in the United States studied a language other than English, and Spanish students were 69% of all high school language learners. In 2002, modern language learners were less than 9% of all college students, and a little more than 56% of that percentage studied Spanish in colleges, community colleges, and universities.

Contrary to the optimism generally expressed that Spanish enrollments are growing exponentially, the broader context suggests otherwise. J. Lipski calls for a language of goodwill and common cause when researching the enormity of enrollments in Spanish courses in comparison with languages other than Spanish. One might argue that firmer data from a comprehensive research agenda will contribute to the achievement of this goodwill and common cause, especially when aimed at investigating how many are studying Spanish or any other language and for how many years, with what curriculum, where, and for what purpose. The foreign-language instruction surveys of K–12 and higher education enrollments are an important part of this research.

Similar surveys of other educational providers of language instruction, such as commercial language schools and community-based language instruction, would be helpful in addressing the need for a more complete understanding of Spanish language teaching and learning in the United States. Advanced information

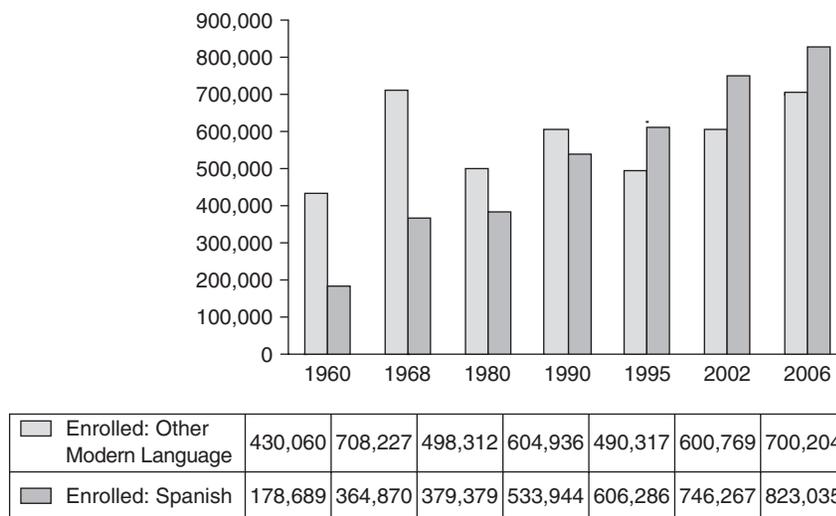


Figure 2 U.S. Higher Education Spanish Enrollments: 1960, 1968, 1980, 1990, 1995, 2002, 2006

Source: Furman, N., Goldberg, D. & Lusin, N. (2007). *Enrollments in languages other than English in United States institutions of higher education, fall 2006*. Modern Language Association. Available from http://www.mla.org/2006_flenrollmentsurvey

and communication technology tools may also assist in the collection, analysis, and dissemination of comprehensive information about Spanish enrollments in a complex educational landscape.

Elsie M. Szecsy

Further Readings

- Dickson, P., & Cumming, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Profiles of language education in 25 countries*. Berkshire, UK: National Foundation for Education Research.
- Draper, J. B., & Hicks, J. H. (2002). *Foreign language enrollments in public secondary schools, Fall 2000*. Alexandria, VA: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
- Furman, N., Goldberg, D. & Lusin, N. (2007). *Enrollments in languages other than English in United States Institutions of higher education, fall 2006*. Modern Language Association. Available from http://www.mla.org/2006_flenrollmentsurvey
- Jaschik, S. (2006, January 4). Millions for “strategic” languages. *Inside Higher Ed*. Retrieved August 28, 2006, from <http://insidehighered.com/news/2006/01/04/language>
- Lipski, J. (2002). Rethinking the place of Spanish. *PMLA*, 117(5), 1247–1251.
- Ovando, C. J., & Wiley, T. G. (2003). Language education in the conflicted United States. In J. Bourne & E. E. Reid (Eds.), *World yearbook of education 2003: Language education* (pp. 141–155). London: Kogan Page.
- Rhodes, N. C., & Branaman, L. E. (1999). *Foreign language instruction in the United States: A national survey of elementary and secondary schools*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2005). *Digest of education statistics, 2005*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Welles, E. (2004). Foreign language enrollments in United States institutions of higher education, fall 2002. *ADFL Bulletin*, 35(2/3), 7–26.

SPANISH LOAN WORDS IN U.S. ENGLISH

Young people who study more than one language are often intrigued to know that many languages are inter-related, that they grow portions of their lexicons by adopting words from other languages. These young people are particularly interested when their own language can be identified as the source of English words

and ideas. Word loans occur all over the world except in languages that are in geographically isolated settings or those whose host societies arbitrarily restrict word loans from other languages. In linguistics, the science of language, this is known as “word borrowing” and the items are often referred to as “loan words.” This entry discusses the use of Spanish loan words in U.S. English.

Some of the words that enter a language this way may have been borrowed, in turn, from yet another language. Over centuries, the process may be repeated several times, often obscuring the relationship between the “new” word and its lexical ancestors in other languages. The word borrowing process is freewheeling. Permission to borrow is neither sought nor given before the borrowing takes place. The process is also complicated because, in the process of borrowing, the borrower language may change the meaning of the word slightly or in a major way. An example of this is the words *prejudice* and *prejudgment* in modern English. Both terms come from a common Latin root meaning *to judge*. When these words came into English, they had similar meanings but, over time, their meanings became different. *Prejudgment* came to mean a judgment made in advance of the full facts, but one that could be changed as new or more convincing evidence came to light. In contrast, we consider a *prejudice* to be a stubborn or intransigent belief that may have been based on a prejudgment but is not amenable to change in the face of new evidence that is contrary to what was first assumed. In short, although they share a common lexical ancestor, prejudgments are reasonable and flexible whereas prejudices are understood to be more rigid and resistant to modification.

Languages borrow words for reasons ranging from the sublime to the pedestrian. A clever tool, an intriguing idea, a pretty picture, and a tasty morsel are good reasons for a word to jump from one language to another. It then becomes the job of etymologists, the historians of words, to document the borrowing. More than 1,000 word borrowings have come into English from Spanish, making Spanish one of the big lender languages to contemporary U.S. English. When young people study in bilingual classrooms, teachers may point out these word dynamics to their students to help them understand how the two languages in question are related and how they may differ in assigning meanings to words.

With this brief description of word borrowing in mind, this entry reviews some of the Spanish words

that have been loaned to English. Although borrowings have occurred in all fields, the best-known examples of lexical borrowings from Spanish have to do with foods and food preparation. This is not surprising because English and Spanish speakers in the United States have been sharing foods for hundreds of years. This relationship can be seen clearly in the history of the beef industry as well as in the contemporary cuisine of the United States where Spanish words and dishes are common. Few Americans today have not sampled *tacos*, *guacamole*, *burritos*, and *salsa* at a favorite Mexican restaurant. Some of the historical words associated with the beef cattle industry are no longer in common use by urban Americans, but in the Western region, they are very much alive and in use.

Soon after arriving on the Atlantic coast, the English-speaking immigrants—at that point, they were not yet Americans—began to experience foods with Spanish names. In the midst of a harsh New England winter, probably little note was taken of the etymology of words, but some of those overlooked origins surely had a connection to Spain or the Spanish colonies to the south and west. Whether they were noted at the time, these connections began at that time and increased markedly as the country expanded to the west, where the Spanish language was already well established.

The key foods that saved the early settlers from almost certain starvation were squash, beans, and corn. All of these had been brought from Mexico, probably by the Native American traders known as the mound builders of the Mississippi River. The mound peoples linked the native tribes of the northeast downstream to those who lived around the Gulf of Mexico. The most important of these foods was undoubtedly corn because it could be stored for long periods, even from one year to the next. The word *corn* itself is a borrowing from an ancient pre-Germanic word meaning *grain* or *seed*. At the time of the American colonies, *corn* was a term applied generically to several European grains, probably different grains in different countries. The Native Americans who helped colonists cultivate this grain may have referred to it by a Native American name or even by the Spanish term *maíz*. The latter term had been used in the Spanish colonies for several decades before the English settlers arrived here. *Indian corn* was also used. The grain we know today as *corn* was not a Spanish creation. Spain helped to disseminate corn, but the Spanish did not discover it. The Spanish became familiar with corn in the Caribbean, where it was first

cultivated by the native Taínos and Arawaks. Mexicans are often credited with the widespread cultivation and use of corn, but it is more likely to have been cultivated first in Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico. The native Mexicans, however, can be rightfully credited with popularizing it, diversifying its use, and helping make it into one of the great grains of the world, alongside wheat and rice.

Maíz, written in English as *maize*, was an early borrowing but it was soon followed by a number of other Spanish terms associated with the beef cattle industry of the Old West and derived from the language of Hispanic colonists. J. Frank Dobie, renowned historian and folklorist of the American West, claims that it is almost impossible to talk about the cattle industry without using Spanish words. Figure 1 shows a sampling of loaned Spanish words and their original meanings in the *lingo* (from the Spanish *lengua* or tongue) of Mexico and subsequently the West. Many have to do with food and cuisine, but others are related to the cowboy era, its tools, and the animals involved.

An important point to remember in studying word loans and borrowings from Spanish is that most of these have occurred in U.S. English and may not be recognizable by a person from another English-speaking country. Another important point is that etymology is not an exact science. In some cases, the original source or origin of a word or phrase may be shrouded in centuries of freewheeling borrowings by explorers and visitors to other lands.

Two cases illustrate how meanings change because of borrowings. The Old West term *Dolly Welter* is used in rodeo parlance to describe a specific step that occurs after the *vaquero* or cowboy has wrestled the animal to the ground and is preparing to immobilize it with the lariat. The term, in its original Spanish was *dale vuelta*, a shouted admonition by fellow cowboys that it was time for the animal to be hobbled by winding the rope around its ankles. So it was that *dale vuelta* became *Dolly Welter*. Another odd translation of a Spanish borrowing is the *ten-gallon hat* favored by cowboys and country and western singers. Most people assume that the ten gallon reference has something to do with the large size of the brim. This is incorrect. A *sombrero galoneado* is one that is festooned or decorated, a Spanish tradition from pre-Colombian days. The size of the brim has nothing to do with being embroidered or festooned. Rendering *galoneado* into *gallon* is simply a mistranslation. Today most ten-gallon hats are no longer decorated

<i>avocado</i>	The name of this fruit came from the Nahuatl (Aztec) language, but it moved into English from Spanish.
<i>barbecue</i>	This Native American word is of Caribbean origin but strongly associated with Spanish whence it jumped to English.
<i>bravo</i>	This is a tribute used to praise the bravery of a bull in the bullring but is also used to express admiration for an inspired musical or acting performance.
<i>buckaroo</i>	This word comes from the Spanish equivalent of “cowboy”; in its original form, it was <i>vaquero</i> .
<i>burrito</i>	This literally means “little donkey,” but in the United States, it is a Mexican dish consisting of a stuffed tortilla wrapped to resemble a Chinese egg roll.
<i>cafeteria</i>	The original <i>cafetería</i> was a place for coffee and light fare. In U.S. English, it usually denotes much broader offerings.
<i>canyon</i>	This is from the Spanish <i>cañon</i> with a slight spelling alteration because the ñ is not used in English.
<i>cargo</i>	This is from the Spanish verb <i>cargar</i> , to load or carry; hence, the popular <i>cargo pants</i> with several roomy pockets.
<i>chaps</i>	This is an Old West term for protective cowboy gear worn while riding through thorny brush. The original Mexican <i>vaquero</i> word is <i>chaparreras</i> .
<i>chihuahua</i>	This is a diminutive dog breed named after the Mexican state of the same name.
<i>chile relleno</i>	This Mexican dish consists of a <i>poblano</i> pepper stuffed with cheese or ground beef, then breaded and fried.
<i>chocolate</i>	Another word from the Nahuatl or Aztec language, <i>chocolate</i> was appropriated by Spanish and disseminated in Europe during the colonial period. The Dutch are credited with improving the taste and texture of chocolate, but the product is of Mexican origin.
<i>cilantro</i>	This is an aromatic cooking and garnishing herb.
<i>cockroach</i>	The two component words <i>cock</i> and <i>roach</i> may have come into use together because they are similar in sound to the original Spanish <i>cucaracha</i> .
<i>corral</i>	This word from the Old West era is still used to describe a large open pen for holding livestock.
<i>coyote</i>	The wily one owes its name to the Nahuatl <i>coyotl</i> , but, as in other cases, it was disseminated by Spanish speakers throughout the Americas.
<i>criollo</i>	This is sometimes equivalent to its cognate <i>creole</i> , but there are important variations in how the word is used in different countries.
<i>El Niño</i>	This is an important weather pattern in the Pacific Ocean that affects North American climate. It literally means “the child,” a name given to it because it tends to occur around Christmas.
<i>embargo</i>	The original Spanish verb <i>embargar</i> means “to bar.” In English, it may also mean to defer release, as in to embargo a press release.
<i>enchilada</i>	This is a Mexican dish deriving its name from the verb <i>enchilar</i> , to season with chili. In contemporary Mexican cooking, some enchiladas contain little or no chili.
<i>fajita</i>	This Mexican dish derives its name from the noun <i>faja</i> or belt, known in English as skirt steak. In contemporary Mexican-style cooking, there are <i>chicken fajitas</i> and <i>shrimp fajitas</i> in addition to beef. Oddly, neither shrimp nor chicken contain the cut of steak from which the name derives.
<i>fiesta</i>	In modern Latin American Spanish, the word is used generically for any kind of celebratory event much as <i>party</i> is used in vernacular U.S. English.
<i>flauta</i>	The literal translation is <i>flute</i> , but it is also the name of a Mexican dish consisting of a filled, rolled, and fried tortilla.

Figure 1 Sample List of Spanish Loan Words to English

(Continued)

Figure 1 (Continued)

<i>guacamole</i>	This is yet another food term of Nahuatl origin that is commonly thought of as Spanish. The original meant something like <i>avocado sauce</i> .
<i>guerrilla</i>	In Spanish, <i>guerrilla</i> refers to a fighting group or movement, rather than to an individual. An individual member of such a group is a <i>guerrillero</i> . English does not usually make that distinction.
<i>hurricane</i>	The word and the concept come from <i>huracán</i> , an indigenous Caribbean word now as firmly ensconced in English as it is in Spanish.
<i>incomunicado</i>	This describes a person who is held prisoner while being denied any communication with others.
<i>jalapeño</i>	This is a person or object from the city of Jalapa (also Xalapa) in the Mexican state of Vera Cruz. The jalapeño pepper is presumably native to that region.
<i>lariat</i>	This word is a combination of two Spanish words <i>la</i> and <i>reata</i> . The reference is to the stiff rope used by cowboys to lasso cattle.
<i>machete</i>	A large knife used for hacking through brush the machete is also used in the <i>safrá</i> or sugar cane harvest.
<i>machismo</i>	In Spanish, <i>macho</i> means male; hence, <i>machismo</i> could be translated as <i>male-ism</i> . In English, <i>machismo</i> is negatively charged. That connotation has been popularized even in contemporary Spanish to denote chauvinistic behavior offensive to women. It is not clear why a Spanish term was chosen to represent this negative idea, which is aptly expressed in English as <i>male chauvinism</i> .
<i>maize</i>	The word comes from <i>maíz</i> (stressed <i>í</i>), which is probably of Caribbean origin but long ago became firmly ensconced in Spanish.
<i>margarita</i>	This word started out as a woman's name, Margaret or Daisy. It is still used that way but is also widely recognized as a tequila-based cocktail.
<i> mariachi</i>	The origins of this term are obscure, but some believe it to be a borrowing from French "mariage" or wedding. The musical group now called <i>mariachi</i> may have evolved during the French occupation of Mexico under Maximilian when it became a popular form of wedding music.
<i>marijuana</i>	This literally means "Mary Jane," but few if any parents would give that name to a daughter today. It is now used almost exclusively as the name of a recreational drug.
<i>matador</i>	The word means "killer," usually in the context of killing bulls in the ring.
<i>menudo</i>	The word means "small" and is used in some countries to mean loose change. In the cuisine of northern Mexico, it is the name of a spicy soup made from beef tripe.
<i>mesa</i>	It is most commonly used in Spanish to mean "table." In the U.S. Southwest, it is also used to describe a hill or mountain with a flat top.
<i>mesquite</i>	There are many varieties of this tree, which grows from the United States in the north to the southern cone of South America. The word is of <i>Nahuatl</i> origin.
<i>mestizo</i>	A race descriptor for persons with mixed European and Native American ancestry. Some countries such as Mexico and Guatemala have large proportions of <i>mestizo</i> citizens, whereas others such as Costa Rica and Argentina do not.
<i>mole</i>	In the United States, only one kind of mole is well known, <i>mole poblano</i> , which contains chocolate in the sauce. In Mexico, there are other types: <i>amarillo</i> , <i>colorado</i> , <i>coloradito</i> , <i>mancha</i> , <i>manteles</i> , <i>negro</i> , and <i>verde</i> . Note that the word <i>mole</i> does not carry a written accent; it is stressed on the first syllable.
<i>mustang</i>	This is an Old West term meaning a stray or wild horse. In the original Spanish, the word was <i>mesteño</i> .
<i>nada</i>	The word means "nothing" in Spanish. It is sometimes used in U.S. English for emphasis, e.g., "Nothing, zip, nada."
<i>olé</i>	This word expresses approval of actions occurring in the bullring at the moment. It is typically used to praise the usual survivor, the bullfighter rather than the bull.

<i>paella</i>	This Spanish dish is based on rice but containing seafood or pork depending on the region of origin.
<i>palomino</i>	This is a highly valued breed of show horse.
<i>patio</i>	Originally, this was the inner courtyard of a Spanish or Spanish colonial home.
<i>peccadillo</i>	A <i>peccadillo</i> is a small <i>pecado</i> , a sin that is not considered very serious—at least by the person(s) who commits it.
<i>piña colada</i>	This alcoholic drink from Puerto Rico is made with rum and pineapple juice. The literal meaning is “strained pineapple.”
<i>piñata</i>	These are made of <i>papier maché</i> or clay. As part of a Mexican birthday celebration, blindfolded children take turns trying to break them open with a stick to get at the candy goodies inside. The job of the adults is to protect other children from the sometimes wildly swinging stick.
<i>pinto</i>	This is a mottled or mixed-color horse. Other animals and items can also be described as pinto or pintos, e.g., <i>pinto beans</i> or a <i>gato pinto</i> .
<i>plaza</i>	In almost every Spanish and Spanish colonial town, there was a central square or <i>plaza</i> around which public offices and at least one church were built. In English, the term is used loosely to suggest a public space, e.g., the “toll plaza” on the New Jersey turnpike.
<i>potato</i>	Both the name and the spud itself came from Spanish-speaking nations. The name is probably of Caribbean origin, a variant of <i>batata</i> .
<i>pueblo</i>	In Spanish, the word can mean “town” or “people.” The indigenous pueblo dwellers of the U.S. Southwest use the word both ways.
<i>quesadilla</i>	Literally, the word means “a small cheese thing.” In actual practice, this morsel is usually a hot flour tortilla with cheese stuffing and perhaps other ingredients.
<i>ranch</i>	The English <i>ranch</i> comes directly from the Mexican Spanish <i>rancho</i> . In U.S. English, a secondary use is a type of single-story house, as in “a three-bedroom ranch.” The latter usage does not occur in Spanish.
<i>remuda</i>	During long cattle drives, most of the cowboys herded cattle but a few of them were in charge of moving and caring for the <i>remuda</i> , the herd of spare horses they rotated to ensure a fresh mount everyday.
<i>rodeo</i>	Originally, this was the annual roundup in which cattle were branded and sorted in preparation for moving them to market. Today, it is a festive but serious competition among cowboys and professional riders and ropers.
<i>salsa</i>	In Spanish, <i>salsa</i> is the generic equivalent of “sauce” and is not restricted to the spicy variety. Use of the term to refer to a type of Afro-Cuban music derived from the <i>mambo</i> is fairly recent but widespread.
<i>savvy</i>	The word comes from the Spanish verb <i>saber</i> , “to know.” A person is said to be “savvy” when he or she has intimate knowledge about a subject or situation. In Spanish, equivalent terms are <i>listo</i> or <i>lista</i> .
<i>serrano</i>	This adjective describes the provenance of a person or item as native to a <i>sierra</i> , or mountain region. It is used often to describe food items such as <i>serrano</i> peppers or, in Spain, the famous <i>serrano</i> ham.
<i>siesta</i>	The common meaning of this word has not changed in the transition to English: a nap, especially an afternoon nap taken as part of the lunch break.
<i>stampede</i>	The term comes from the Spanish <i>estampida</i> , a wild uncontrolled rush usually by herd animals.
<i>taco</i>	In Mexico, a <i>taco</i> has a similar function to a sandwich. It holds food inside for easy consumption without a fork. In Mexican cooking, <i>taco</i> is a generic name. It can contain almost anything. The

(Continued)

Figure 1 (Continued)

	commercial U.S. version consisting of ground beef, lettuce, and tomatoes is not commonly served in the same way in Mexico.
<i>tamale</i>	This savory Mexican, Cuban, and Central American dish may be wrapped in corn husks or banana leaves depending on its country of origin. The final “e” in “tamale” is not present in the Spanish singular of this noun: <i>tamal</i> .
<i>tequila</i>	This alcoholic drink, which is one of Mexico’s cultural symbols, is made from the fermented juice of the blue <i>agave</i> plant. The Mexican state of Jalisco is the primary producer of tequila. Although tequila can be abused, in Mexico, it is considered an aperitif and is usually consumed only in small quantities.
<i>tobacco</i>	The product as well as its name came from the Western Hemisphere, probably the Caribbean. In Spanish, the word is <i>tabaco</i> .
<i>tomatillo</i>	Mexican tomatoes can be red or green. The tomatillo is the green variety. It never turns red and is a different fruit from its red cousin. Tomatillos are used in cooking and are rarely eaten raw.
<i>tomato</i>	This popular fruit is known worldwide but was first cultivated by the Aztecs. The name comes from the original Nahuatl <i>tomatl</i> . In Mexico, to distinguish it from its green relative, red tomatoes are known as <i>jitomatess</i> .
<i>tuna</i>	In Mexico, <i>tuna</i> is the fruit of the prickly cactus, and <i>atún</i> is the name of the fish. In U.S. English, the cactus fruit is known as “cactus pear.”
<i>vanilla</i>	This is another New World condiment. The name in English is a slight variation of the Spanish original, <i>vainilla</i> .
<i>vaquero</i>	This word is commonly rendered in English as <i>cowboy</i> . In Spanish, it is more generic and could also be translated as “cowman.”
<i>vigilante</i>	The word comes from the Spanish verb <i>vigilar</i> , to keep watch. In English, it usually refers to a member of a group that seeks to enforce the law without official designation as law enforcement agents.

except in the case of *charros* and *mariachis*, whose hats are still well decorated for use on stage.

Josué M. González

Further Readings

Rodriguez Gonzalez, F. (2000). Spanish contribution to American English word stock: An overview. *American Speech* 75 (3), 292–295. Retrieved from http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/american_speech/v075/75.3rodriguez_gonzalez.html

SPECIAL ALTERNATIVE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAMS

See ENGLISH IMMERSION

SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH

Specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE) refers to academic content area instruction provided in English to English language learners (ELLs). Teachers of SDAIE classes provide ELLs with grade-appropriate content by using special techniques to make lessons understandable. They evaluate the students’ academic content knowledge, rather than their English language proficiency. When properly understood and implemented, SDAIE can be an extremely effective approach for older English learners. This entry presents a brief overview of the development of SDAIE, compares SDAIE and English language development (ELD), and suggests strategies to support SDAIE instruction.

Development of SDAIE

English as a second language (ESL) instruction has taken many forms over the years, and the goals of programs have changed. At one time, ESL instruction was designed to help students develop basic communicative competence in English. The focus was on the social language students needed to survive day-to-day in and out of school. Lessons emphasized vocabulary, grammar, and correct pronunciation. As a result, many ESL classes were taught much like foreign-language classes.

A major shift in recent years has been toward teaching the academic language of the different content areas rather than teaching social language. In ESL classes, students acquire English as they learn social studies, science, math, and language arts. Support for this content-based approach to language teaching comes from Stephen Krashen's theory of second-language acquisition. Krashen argues that we acquire a second language when we receive comprehensible input: messages we understand that are a little beyond our current level of competence. Students can learn academic content at the same time that they acquire English as long as the instruction is understandable.

Stephen Krashen and Tracy Terrell proposed the natural approach, a content-based method of teaching ESL, applied most often at the elementary level. Teachers use various techniques to make instruction comprehensible as they teach lessons on topics such as families, animals, or nutrition. Students' use of English is mainly oral until learners reach high levels of proficiency. Whereas the natural approach was widely used in elementary grades, educators in the upper grades found the content demand for their subjects was greater and students needed to be able to read and write as well as respond orally to instruction. In addition, teachers of older students used fewer techniques designed to make lessons understandable for ELLs.

Development of Sheltered Instruction

Older students, particularly at the middle school and high school levels, need to learn English and, at the same time, learn content. Teachers of older students often use techniques such as lecturing, and long reading assignments that prove difficult for students with limited English proficiency. These teachers generally have students for single subjects, and they see their job as teaching that subject, not as developing their students' English proficiency.

A program model for older students proposed by Krashen and others included a component called *sheltered content*. In this model, students are taught some subjects in their primary language, some in sheltered classes, and some in mainstream classes. As students become more proficient, they are transitioned from primary-language instruction to sheltered instruction, and then they are mainstreamed. For example, students might take social studies classes at first in their primary language. Later they would have a sheltered social studies class, and eventually they would be mainstreamed in social studies.

ELLs were grouped for placement in sheltered classes. The classes were sheltered in two respects. First, ELLs were sheltered because they did not have to compete with native-English speakers. Second, the content was sheltered because the teachers used techniques to make the English instruction more comprehensible. Sheltered instruction was a step in the right direction because in these classes, students were instructed in content area subjects, and they acquired English at the same time.

Three problems arose with sheltered instruction, however. The first was that teachers were often not adequately prepared to teach these classes. A high school biology teacher, for example, might be given a 2- or 3-hour in-service on sheltered techniques, and then be expected to work effectively with English learners. This was simply not enough time. The second problem was that content teachers were forced to slow down to make lessons understandable for ELLs. As a result, teachers of sheltered classes were seldom able to cover as much content as mainstream teachers did. In effect, academic content was sacrificed to meet language needs.

This led naturally to a third problem. Students who succeeded in sheltered classes often floundered when mainstreamed. They were generally behind in the content, and they had difficulty catching up because the mainstream teacher didn't use the techniques that the English learner still needed.

The real problem was that students were often placed in sheltered classes too soon. They simply needed more time to develop English language, cognitive, and academic proficiency. Virginia Collier and James Cummins, among others, have suggested that students need from 5 to 7 years to develop the language they need to compete academically. Older students often do not have 5 years before graduation or to pass exit exams, and few are given 5 years before

being completely mainstreamed. Primary-language instruction is essential for these students, but it is seldom available. Sheltered instruction helps, but it can't speed up the process.

A New Approach: ELD and SDAIE

The failure of ELLs to succeed in mainstream classes after sheltered instruction caused educators to rethink the goals of content-based ESL. Was the goal content or was it language? Should students in a sheltered biology class be learning English through studying biology, or should they be learning biology through the medium of English? Often, ELLs with different levels of English proficiency and different degrees of subject area knowledge were grouped in the same sheltered class. Students with relatively low levels of English proficiency could not learn as much biology as could their classmates with greater English proficiency. In addition, students with limited science background could not understand more advanced science instruction. On the other hand, it would be possible for students at intermediate-to-advanced levels of English proficiency to learn biology in a sheltered class if they have the necessary background knowledge of the subject.

A good way to think about what might be reasonable for these two different groups of students is to picture native-English speakers going to Japan next week. If their level of Japanese is low or nonexistent, they certainly would not want to be thrown into a sheltered biology class where they have to compete with native Japanese students. The teacher could use wonderful techniques to make the content comprehensible, but if she tried to cover the normal biology content, they probably would not receive a high grade in the course.

On the other hand, if the students have a reasonable level of proficiency in Japanese, they might succeed in the sheltered class. Of course, it's not just their knowledge of Japanese that would make a difference. Their success would also depend on how much biology they had studied in English. That knowledge would transfer to the new setting. Both content knowledge in the first language and level of proficiency in the second language influence success in learning content in a second language.

The problem with sheltered English was that students with quite different levels of English proficiency and primary-language education were lumped

together in the same class. No matter how well teachers used sheltered techniques, they couldn't succeed with these different types of students. This led educators to distinguish between two kinds of content-based ESL instruction. The first type of class, called English language development (ELD), is designed for students with lower levels of English proficiency or less primary-language academic development. In ELD classes, the focus is on learning English through content instruction suited to the level of the students' academic background. The second type of class, SDAIE, is for students with intermediate to advanced levels of English proficiency and grade-level academic development in the subject area. SDAIE classes are content classes taught using special techniques to make instruction comprehensible. Students are evaluated on their content-area knowledge. The primary goal of ELD classes is English language development, and the primary goal of SDAIE classes is academic development. In ELD classes, students are evaluated on their English language proficiency. A final difference between SDAIE and ELD classes is that SDAIE was developed for ELLs studying the academic content of different subject areas. This implies that SDAIE is intended to support students in the upper grades, middle school, and high school where the content is most demanding. Table 1 contrasts ELD and SDAIE.

Strategies to Make the Input Comprehensible

In SDAIE classes, the assumption is that language and content can be developed together if teachers use the needed techniques to make the input comprehensible. Teachers can use several techniques to make the academic content comprehensible:

1. Use visuals and realia (real things). Try always to move from the concrete to the abstract.
2. Scaffold content learning through the use of graphic organizers including Venn diagrams, webs, and charts.
3. Use gestures and body language.
4. Speak clearly and pause often, but don't slow speech down unnaturally.
5. Say the same thing in different ways (paraphrase).
6. Write key words and ideas down. (This slows down the language.)

Table 1 Distinctions Between ELD and SDAIE

Student characteristics	
<i>ELD</i>	<i>SDAIE</i>
English proficiency—beginner	English proficiency—intermediate to advanced
L1 academic proficiency—not considered	L1 academic proficiency—at grade level
Focus of instruction and evaluation	
<i>ELD</i>	<i>SDAIE</i>
Teach language through content with emphasis on language development	Teach grade-appropriate content using special techniques to make the language understandable
Evaluation focuses on language	Evaluation focuses on academic content
Most often used at	
<i>ELD</i>	<i>SDAIE</i>
Elementary or secondary school	Middle school and high school

7. Use media, PowerPoint presentations, overheads, and charts whenever appropriate.
8. Make frequent comprehension checks.
9. Above all, keep oral presentations or reading assignments short. Collaborative activities are more effective than lectures or assigned readings.

Preview–View–Review

The role of the first language is an important one in teaching language through content. SDAIE classes are not bilingual classes, but teachers can use students' first languages to provide access to the academic content. Preview–view–review is an important strategy to use. This strategy can work in classes with English learners from different primary-language backgrounds, and it can work whether or not the teacher speaks the students' languages. If the teacher, a bilingual peer, a bilingual cross-age tutor, a bilingual aide, or a parent can simply tell the English learners in their native language what the upcoming lesson is about, the students are provided a preview. This preview might be a few sentences explaining what is going to happen in the class that day or that period or it could be more extended. For example, in a world history class studying the causes of World War II, the teacher could preview the lesson by having a more proficient bilingual classmate explain in the students' native

language, "Today we are going to study about World War II. We are going to look at the major events that led up to the war." A more complete preview might be the reading of a book or a few paragraphs about the topic to be studied in the students' native language(s). The teacher could also ask students to form same-language groups and, speaking in their first languages, brainstorm what they know about World War II and then report back to the class in English.

During the view, the teacher conducts the lesson in English using the strategies listed earlier to make the input comprehensible. With the help of the preview, the students can follow the lesson better during the view and acquire both English and academic content. Finally, the teacher would plan a short time of review during which students again use their native language. When no first-language resource people are available, students who speak the same first language can meet in groups to review the main ideas of the lesson and then report back in English. Students who are literate in their first language might read something in their native language that supports the concepts and then summarize in English, or they might investigate a topic on the Internet in their first language. Preview–view–review is a way to use the first language as a resource for second-language content instruction. Figure 1 outlines the technique.

The preview–view–review technique provides a structured way to alternate English and native-language

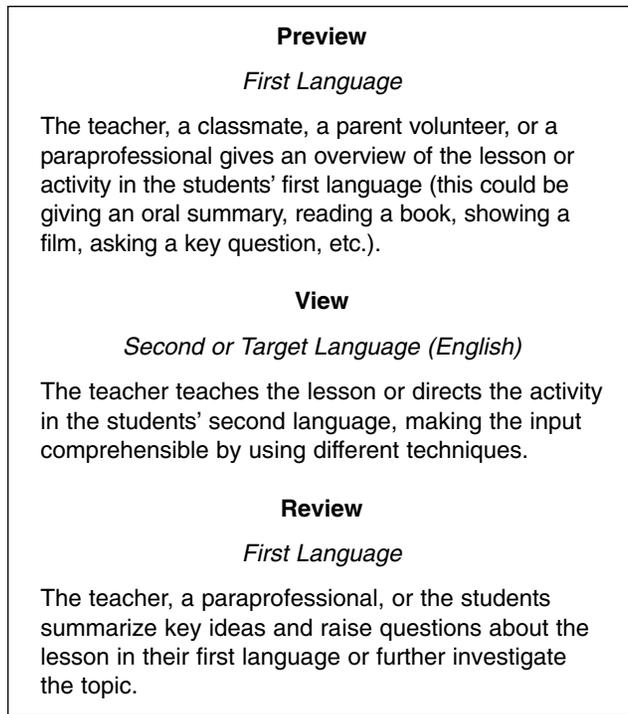


Figure 1 Preview–View–Review

instruction. Students are given access to the academic concepts they need to know and, at the same time, acquire English.

ELLs face a challenge in trying to learn academic content in a new language. SDAIE classes can be an important support for these students. In successful programs, ELLs are placed appropriately in either ELD or SDAIE classes, and teachers use a variety of techniques to make the content comprehensible. Well-implemented SDAIE classes support ELLs and help them to learn the essential content they need to succeed in school.

Yvonne S. Freeman

See also English Immersion; English or Content Instruction; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Learning a Language, Best Age; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Collier, V. P. (1995). Acquiring a second language for school. *Directions in language and education*, 1(4). Retrieved from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/directions/04.htm>
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters.

- Freeman, Y. S., & Freeman, D. E. (1998). *ESL/EFL teaching: Principles for success*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Krashen, S. (2003). *Explorations in language acquisition and use*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Krashen, S. D., & Terrell, T. D. (1983). *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. Oxford, UK: Alemany Press.
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2001). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long term academic achievement: Final report*. Berkeley, CA: Center for Research, Education, Diversity & Excellence.

SPOLSKY, BERNARD (1932–)

The unifying theme in Bernard Spolsky's globe-trotting life is a profound concern for the language rights of indigenous populations that began when, as a young high school teacher in New Zealand, he became interested in the bilingualism of his Māori students. His energy and commitment are well known to his colleagues. Wherever he has been, he has initiated centers, organizations, or journals to affect knowledge and decisions related to language. His work has greatly influenced language education through his insights into language testing and the many factors affecting second- and foreign-language acquisition. More recently, he has focused on national language policies around the world. This entry traces his career.

Spolsky was born in New Zealand, where he earned a BA and MA in English from Victoria University in Wellington, and then set off to teach in England, Australia, and Israel. He pursued a PhD in linguistics at the University of Montreal and remained in Canada to teach at McGill University. Subsequently, he accepted the position of assistant professor of linguistics at Indiana University, where he also directed its English as a Foreign Language program and served as associate chair of the Research Center for Language Sciences. In 1968, Spolsky moved to the University of New Mexico as professor of linguistics, anthropology, and education, where he served as director of the innovative Navajo Reading Study, and dean of the graduate school.

In 1980, Spolsky returned to Israel as professor of English at Bar-Ilan University. He has remained in Israel ever since, but has continued to influence research, education, and public policy throughout the world. After having served as chair of Bar-Ilan's English Department, he served as dean of the university's

faculty of humanities. As of 2007, Spolsky is an emeritus professor of English and founding director of the Language Policy Research Center. His retirement does not preclude his continuing to serve as senior associate at the National Foreign Language Center (Washington, D.C.) and editor-in-chief of two influential journals, *Language Policy* and the *Journal of Asia TEFL*.

Spolsky has conducted and published research in language testing, second-language learning, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, language policy, and computers in the humanities. He has written or edited 24 books and published 200 articles and chapters. His books reflect the breadth of his expertise including, among others, *Language Policy* (2004), *The Languages of Israel* (with Elana Shohamy, 1999), *Concise Encyclopedia of Educational Linguistics* (1999), *Sociolinguistics* (1998), *Measured Words: The Development of Objective Language Testing* (1995), *Language and Education in Multilingual Settings* (1986), *The Languages of Jerusalem* (with Robert L. Cooper, 1991), *Educational Linguistics: An Introduction* (1978, 1981), *Case Studies in Bilingual Education* (with Robert L. Cooper, 1978), and *Frontiers of Bilingual Education* (with Robert L. Cooper, 1977). His book *Conditions for Second Language Learning: Introduction to a General Theory* (1989) was awarded the 1989 Kenneth W. Mildener Prize by the Modern Language Association of America and the 1990 Book Prize by the British Association for Applied Linguistics.

Spolsky's service to professional organizations is remarkable: He has served as president of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages Association, secretary-treasurer of the American Association of Applied Linguistics, president of the Israeli Association of Applied Linguistics, chair of the board of trustees of the Center for Applied Linguistics, and president of the International Language Testing Association. He has held numerous fellowships and visiting positions, including Guggenheim and Mellon fellowships. He has also served as senior research fellow at the National Foreign Language Center in Washington, and as visiting research fellow at the University of Auckland's International Research Institute for indigenous and Māori Education.

María Estela Brisk

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Language and Identity; Language Shift and Language Loss; TESOL, Inc.

Further Readings

- Bar-Ilan University (n.d.). Prof. Emeritus Bernard Spolsky Homepage. Retrieved from <http://www.biu.ac.il/faculty/spolsb>
- Spolsky, B. (1978). *Educational linguistics: An introduction*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Spolsky, B. (1981). *Educational linguistics: an introduction*. Hiroshima: Bunka Hyoron. (Japanese translation by T. Makino)
- Spolsky, B. (Ed.). (1986). *Language and education in multilingual settings*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Spolsky, B. (1989). *Conditions for second language learning: Introduction to a general theory*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Spolsky, B. (1995). *Measured words: The development of objective language testing*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Spolsky, B. (1998). *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Spolsky, B. (Ed.). (1999). *Concise encyclopedia of educational linguistics*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, B., & Cooper, R. L. (Eds.). (1977). *Frontiers of bilingual education*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Spolsky, B., & Cooper, R. L. (Eds.). (1978). *Case studies in bilingual education*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Spolsky, B., & Shohamy, E. (1999). *The languages of Israel: Policy, ideology and practice*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

STANFORD WORKING GROUP

The Stanford Working Group on Federal Education Programs for Limited-English-Proficient Students (hereafter SWG) was created in 1992 in California under the leadership of Diane August and Kenji Hakuta to address emerging policy issues in the education of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students in the context of standards-based education reform. Members of the SWG included practitioners, researchers, policy specialists, and advocates. Though diverse in their backgrounds, the group held a common view that efforts to reform education had often ignored the special needs of LEP students especially under services funded by the federal government under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). The long-range goal of the group was broad:

to position the public discourse on bilingual education and services to LEP students to incorporate the most recent thinking and research in educational reform. The spirit of the group's effort is best described as advocacy through an organized attempt at improving the quality of the public discourse—a discourse that might be characterized as often discordant—on education reform and inclusion of LEP students. This entry describes the work and contributions of the SWG to the field of bilingual education.

The work was driven by a key observation that became increasingly evident with the approaching 1994 reauthorization of ESEA: LEP students were at best an afterthought in the education reform movement. This conclusion was supported by the fact that very few of the leaders in the education reform movement could articulate—beyond the recitation of a routine pledge that the movement addressed “all students”—how this group, composed at the time of 3.3-million school-aged children of limited English proficiency, might be productively included. In addition, members of the SWG noted that the key concepts and language of “systemic reform” were absent from the repertoire of many advocates and educators principally concerned with LEP students.

During its work, funded over 5 years by several big foundations, including the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the SWG developed major policy and legislative recommendations for the reauthorization of the ESEA and its subsequent implementation. The SWG also convened stakeholders, experts, and policymakers on a variety of policy and research issues surrounding LEP students, and issued recommendations for federal, state, and local policymakers.

Several characteristics of the SWG's composition deserve comment. The membership of the group extended beyond the individuals and organizations traditionally associated with bilingual education and policy advocacy on behalf of LEP students. This reflected the group's desire to incorporate broader reform efforts into their considerations of LEP education. Moreover, although members came from a variety of organizations, they participated in this project as individuals, not as representatives of their respective groups.

This latter characteristic of the SWG had disadvantages and advantages. The primary disadvantage was that the individual members making recommendations did not have an organized political constituency; thus, to ensure that the report had significant legislative

impact, its recommendations had to be supported by those that possessed such constituencies. Viewed from the opposite perspective, however, this was a source of strength. Because members participated as individuals, the findings and recommendations were independently derived and relatively unconstrained by institutional affiliations. This independence also enabled the group to look for greater coherence among disparate pieces of the legislation. In addition, the relatively small size of the group enabled it to analyze issues in far greater depth than could be accomplished in a larger group.

Blueprint for the Second Generation

The SWG's first product was a document titled *Federal Education Programs for Limited-English-Proficient Students: A Blueprint for the Second Generation*, released in June 1993. This document became the basis for a diverse array of follow-up work in the policy, advocacy and research arenas.

Blueprint was driven mainly by legislative proposals, namely ESEA within the context of Goals 2000, a prior landmark legislation setting the stage for standards-based reform. The document identified two overarching principles:

1. Language minority students must be provided with an equal opportunity to learn the same challenging content and high-level skills that school reform movements advocate for all students.
2. Proficiency in two or more languages should be promoted for all American students. Bilingualism enhances cognitive and social growth, competitiveness in a global marketplace, national security, and understanding of diverse peoples and cultures.

In its review of the legislative and programmatic records of existing federal programs, SWG noted that a mind-set persisted within these that saw LEP students' languages and cultures as academic deficits rather than as potential strengths. Federal and state policies thus operated from the damaging assumptions that “disadvantaged” language minority students were incapable of learning to high standards and that they would be distracted from learning English when taught in the native language. Despite the strong educational research and practice evidence that showed these assumptions were faulty, the mind-set permeated legislation, policy, planning, and practice.

In addressing these programmatic issues, the Working Group adopted the view that a necessary part of the change was to address fragmentation of educational services. For example, it noted that states played a limited role in Title VII projects, which in turn were rarely coordinated with Chapter 1, migrant education, or other federal, state, or local efforts, leading to scattered resources, partial rather than holistic attention to students' needs, and lack of accountability. Often, this meant that resources were dispersed, students' needs were only partially addressed, and no one was held fully accountable. Generally, SWG noted that the education of LEP students was not conceived as part of any larger mission, and that programs to address their unique needs tended to remain ghettoized within state educational agencies, local educational agencies, and schools. The SWG made recommendations in three areas.

The first set of recommendations addressed how the federal government should actively encourage state education agencies to play new leadership roles in school reform, and how state efforts on behalf of LEP children must be part of a *comprehensive plan* for system wide reform.

The second set of recommendations concerned Chapter 1, ESEA (re-titled as Title I in the reauthorization), and noted that existing programs overemphasized remediation of basic skills rather than higher order skills and that there was fragmentation of services and isolation of Chapter 1 programs from the general school program and failure to target funds to sufficiently affect the condition in high poverty schools and districts. Key recommendations included requiring a state education plan that would include provisions to ensure that LEP students have access to the same challenging curriculum and instruction as all other children, increasing access to Chapter 1 programs through targeting funds to high-poverty schools or districts, and requiring that all eligible LEP students be equitably selected for Chapter 1 services.

The third set of recommendations concerned Title VII (re-titled as Title III), and urged that Title VII be made more effective in its second generation by working in tandem with new federal efforts to guide and support states to ensure that LEP students meet high performance standards. Key recommendations included redefining the role of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA); enhancing and improving the state's role in planning, coordination, program improvement, evaluation, dissemination

of effective practice, and data collection; and reformulating the types of grants awarded to schools and school districts to encourage innovation and to limit fragmentation of services.

Starting in June 1993, the group carried its work into the political arena, engaging in discourse with key advocacy groups (the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the National Association for Bilingual Education, the National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, the Hispanic Education Coalition, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the National Council of La Raza), major "mainstream" associations concerned with education (Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the National Association of State Boards of Education, principals' associations, Council of Great City Schools, and the National Governors' Association), and other professional organizations with an interest in education (American Psychological Association, American Educational Research Association, and Society for Research in Child Development).

During subsequent years, the group carried the discourse several steps further, in addition to continuing the discourse at the political level. These steps are described here.

Political Discourse, Continued

With the formal appearance of the administration's proposal for the ESEA, titled the "Improving America's Schools Act," the group prepared an analysis of the bill with respect to the recommendations of the *Blueprint*. The group also prepared an analysis of H.R. 6, Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (the version that was passed by the House), in anticipation of questions that it expected to receive during conference. In all cases, the group was careful to offer its analysis as "objective" comparisons of the bills and the recommendations in the *Blueprint*, and avoided the perception of being "lobbyists" for any particular position. Perhaps as testimony to the fact that the group was perceived by legislative staff as an objective resource for their efforts to balance a difficult political issue, members were invited, in the case of the House subcommittee hearings, as a "balance" between the Hispanic Caucus and the Republican witnesses (July 22, 1993), and in the case of the Senate

subcommittee, as the only witness to testify regarding bilingual education (April 14, 1994).

What was interesting to the group at the time about the discourse in this arena was the extent to which the political process continued to engender the fragmentation of programs (especially the division between Chapter 1 and Title VII programs), and the degree to which the question, “But are these kids learning English?,” continued to dominate the question, “Are these kids learning academic content?” Academics, researchers, and policy analysts had no difficulty in appreciating the problems of program fragmentation and the question of English as the dominant, driving force of the debate. But legislative staffers, and their bosses tended not to weigh these “intellectual” considerations on the same scale as issues of constituency and the symbolic politics of sentiments about immigration.

Another important discourse the group contributed to in the legislative arena was on the topic of the Emergency Immigrant Education Act (EIEA). Legislators became acutely focused on this issue as politicians, especially in states heavily affected by immigration, began using the issue to help focus their upcoming election bids. In collaboration with the Urban Institute, the group held a conference that brought together federal, state, and local education officials and other interested parties. This meeting helped identify and discuss the distributional and service issues that confronted legislators considering changes to the act. Legislative staffers reported that the discussions and recommendations that resulted from this meeting were critical in the reauthorization process.

Discourse With the “Education Establishment”

The “education establishment” at the time was the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), by far the most enthusiastic among the Washington education establishment about systemic reform, as embodied in Goals 2000. The SWG collaborated with CCSSO to obtain a grant from the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation to conduct a survey of inclusion of LEP students in state systemic reform initiatives. This effort added to the survey design that CCSSO had already developed, but that did not explicitly address LEP students. Foundation funds provided staff time to develop the proposal and work with CCSSO staff in designing the survey. This work yielded valuable information,

enhanced the capacity of CCSSO to address the needs of LEP students, and highlighted the issue of LEP student inclusion in systemic reform to state education agency staff because CCSSO was making the effort to collect this information.

Discourse on Standards and Assessment

As SWG members discovered in their participation in the multiple discourses on education reform and inclusion of LEP students, the “traditional” advocates for bilingual education—for example, those definable as recipients of Title VII grants (now Title III)—were among the last of the participants to be included in the discourse on standards and assessment. Through additional funding from the OBEMLA (now the Office of English Language Acquisition) and the Department’s Goals 2000 Management Council, the SWG sponsored a series of two meetings on this topic, especially focused on Goals 2000 and the somewhat confusing move toward the setting of national content standards, and what they meant for LEP students. Many of the individuals at the meeting had heard about the issue of standards and assessment, but had not actively participated in a broad discussion of its implications for LEP students. For many, it was the first time that they had discussed the many difficult issues.

Based on these meetings, a consensus document, *For All Students: Limited-English-Proficient Students and Goals 2000*, was developed that included contributions from a wide range of authors. This document was disseminated to a wide range of audiences, including state teams working on Goals 2000. It was also disseminated by the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education so that it could reach all professionals working on federally funded bilingual education projects.

Discourse With State and Local Educators of LEP Students

The SWG held regional meetings in Texas and the New England region (primarily Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island) to discuss systemic reform and its impact on LEP students. Each meeting was attended by about 60 state and local educators, where they were briefed on federal initiatives in systemic reform, and asked to articulate local and state level concerns about the inclusion of LEP students.

Among the concerns the group heard, for example, was the unavailability of appropriate assessments, of adequate resources, and of appropriate staff development for both teachers and principals.

Discourse With Civil Rights Advocates

The SWG convened a group of advocates with a civil rights perspective to discuss and achieve consensus on state and local responsibilities in addressing the needs of LEP students. Participants included more than 20 persons representing some of the more important organizations involved in some aspect of education legislation at the federal level. Participants discussed current law concerning school districts' responsibilities with regard to LEP students, Chapter 1 requirements regarding LEP student eligibility and services, and current state and local policy and practice in serving LEP students. Participants reached consensus on changes in Chapter 1 legislation, strengthening the role of the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) in enforcing Title VI and the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA), and the importance of further research and development efforts in improving programs and practices for LEP students.

Discourse With Researchers

SWG members worked with Deborah Phillips of the National Board on Children and Families of the National Academies of Science to develop a panel study on research on the education and development of bilingual children. The panel study, titled *Improving Schooling for Language-Minority Children*, was published in 1997 by the National Academy Press and has been widely disseminated. Its findings have been influential in informing educators, researchers, and policymakers about the education of language minority students.

Diane August and Kenji Hakuta

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Hakuta, Kenji; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments

Further Readings

August, D., & Hakuta, K. (Eds.). (1993). *Federal education programs for limited-English proficient students: A blueprint for the second generation*. Stanford, CA:

Stanford University, Report of the Stanford Working Group.

August, D., & Hakuta, K. (1997). *Improving schooling for language-minority children*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

August, D., Hakuta, K., & Pompa, D. (1994). *For all students: Limited English Proficient students and goals 2000*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for bilingual education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Services No. ED379922)

STATUS DIFFERENCES AMONG LANGUAGES

Human languages do not all share equal status or standing. Some are spoken more ubiquitously than others, although many have been given an officially high status in particular countries. According to Daniel Abrams and Steven Strogatz, the status of a language can often be determined by the social and economic opportunities it offers its speakers. In a bilingual or multilingual society where social prestige and power are not distributed evenly, each language is generally assigned a different function and allocated a different status. Languages that monopolize official and public functions have high status, but languages reserved for more private domains have low status. For example, in the British colonial era in Hong Kong, English was the high-status language of territorial administration such as in government and legal affairs, and Cantonese, the native language of Hong Kong people, was the low-status language of everyday life. This phenomenon is known in linguistic science as *diglossia*, two languages (one high and one low) performing distinct communicative functions in the society without overlapping. Often, languages compete with each other for specific domains in the society. Research in Hong Kong revealed a clear language shift after its decolonization in 1997. This finding illustrates that the status of a language is fluid and may change from high to low, or vice versa, for different reasons. Michael Clyne proposes three main factors that cause changes in the status of languages: (1) individual factors, including generation, age, exogamy, gender, socioeconomic mobility, and proficiency; (2) group factors, including community size, culture, religion, premigration experience, and situation in the homeland; and (3) general factors of time

and place. The change of language status in a community may be caused by one or more of the factors described earlier.

When two or more languages compete against each other in a community, the one with the greatest number of speakers, and that also offers the best opportunities to its speakers, will prevail over other languages and achieve a higher status. Other languages are relegated to a low status and may become endangered and, eventually, disappear altogether. According to Christopher Pountain, a low-status language dies every two weeks. Pountain believes that by the end of the 21st century the number of languages in the world will diminish from about 6,000 to about 1,000.

With a continuous influx of immigrants from all over the world, the United States is a linguistically diverse society. According to the U.S. 2000 Census, the top five most spoken languages in U.S. homes, in descending order, are English, Spanish, Chinese, French, and German. Even though the immigrants bring great diversity of languages into the nation, the speed of new immigrants assimilating into monolingual English speakers seems faster than the spread of other languages. Among the top five languages spoken, 81.3% of the population speaks only English. Looking at the numbers of speakers of all languages, English overwhelmingly dominates other languages and is accorded the highest status in U.S. society. The social and economic opportunities the general public perceives as the advantages that English language can bring to them, along with the language policies favoring English use, may well explain the fast and extensive adoption of the English language in other societies.

In recent years, as evidenced by a strong movement to make English the official language of the country, there has been a growing nativism concerning English. English is considered the language of business, aviation, and scientific research nationally and internationally. Globally, English is the preferred language of communication in many modes. It is dominant on the Internet and has become the official language of many multilingual countries. Although the United States currently has no official language, it is largely monolingual, with English being the de facto national language. With language policies favoring English overwhelmingly, some 30 states have adopted English as their official language. In addition, English is the language of official and legal affairs nationally. For example, one must demonstrate the ability to read, write, and speak English to become

a naturalized citizen. The English-only movement, which advocates that English be the sole official language of the United States, is militant about keeping the high status of English. Even the written tests for drivers' licenses once commonly available in any of several languages are disappearing; several states now require that the driver test be done in English. In Arizona, it is against the law for undocumented immigrants to take English language courses that are supported with public funds. Bilingual education too has now been discontinued in several states, partially as a reaction against undocumented immigrants.

Spanish is considered a high-status language in many parts of the world except in the United States where it is decidedly low status. According to Pountain, there were 332 million native Spanish speakers worldwide in 1999, overtaking the number of native English speakers of 322 million. Spanish is a prestige language internationally, especially in the large number of countries where it is an official language. It is one of the official languages of the United Nations, the European Union, and other international organizations. However, Spanish has a much lower status in the United States despite being the second most commonly spoken language in the country, with no fewer than 30 million speakers.

Advocates of the English-only movement perceive the Spanish language as an intrusive threat to the socioculture of the United States. As a result of this perceived threat, public use of the Spanish language has been restricted, and the status of Spanish continues to erode. Although the hegemony of English worldwide would suggest that the Spanish language poses no threat to English, the perception that Spanish threatens the use of English in the United States persists for reasons that are unsubstantiated. Complicating the status picture for Spanish in the United States is that Spanish speakers are often associated with *Spanglish*, a linguistic admixture (code switching) that is often viewed as a low-class dialectical variation of Spanish. Spanglish is often spoken by young people and working-class persons. Even though the use of Spanglish is a fascinating linguistic phenomenon, requiring a high level of proficiency in both English and Spanish, it suffers from poor acceptance by English and Spanish speakers alike.

The languages with the lowest status in the United States are the Native American languages, taken as a group, and Haitian Kreyol (sometimes *Creole*), the latter associated with the poorest country in the

Western hemisphere. Low-status languages often become endangered languages, in turn resulting in the phenomenon of language loss. Evidence of this can be drawn from the rapid decline of speakers of Native American languages in the nation. Of more than 300 languages originally spoken before the contact with Western culture in the early 1500s, only 175 of the languages are still spoken in the United States.

The status of a language is so dynamic that it can change from high to low status in a relatively short time. Before the U.S. annexation of Hawai'i, the Hawaiian language, the only Native American language on the islands, was powerful and prestigious. As a result of the U.S. annexation in 1959, Hawaiian has now been largely displaced by English. The number of native speakers of Hawaiian is about 0.1% of the statewide population. Even though the native speakers of Hawaiian who live on the islands have remained fairly isolated and have continued to use Hawaiian almost exclusively, the number of native speakers of Hawaiian has diminished drastically. According to Michael Krauss, no one under the age of 70 could still speak Hawaiian in 1996, except 200 Hawaiian residents of a small, isolated island.

According to James Crawford, the causes for a language becoming a low-status language and possibly an endangered language can be categorized into two types of factors: external forces and internal changes. In the case of the Native American languages in the United States, the external factors include the proliferation of English language media, language policies disfavoring Native American languages, and attempts at cultural genocide. In the late 1880s, the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) adopted a policy to "civilize" the Indians by eradicating native languages and substituting English on Indian reservations. As part of this effort, the BIA mandated English-only instruction in all Indian schools. The rationale of the policy was to repress indigenous languages so the Indians could become "civilized."

The internal factors of a language receiving a low status are native speakers' language attitude and choices. Language choices and attitudes are influenced by external changes, such as social changes. For example, moving away from reservations and intermarriage with other language groups are external changes that affect the language choices of Native Americans. Other factors include economic forces and mass media. These social changes force the native speakers of a low-status language to question the value of their

language versus that of the dominant tongue. If the native speakers of a low-status language decide to speak it in certain domains, teach it to the next generations, and promote the language in their communities, the low-status language will be more easily maintained or even move to a higher status from its current position. If the native speakers of a low-status language cease to use the language and do not pass it down to the next generation, the language will likely become not just a low-status language but, more seriously, an endangered language. For bilingual educators, the question of the relative status of languages is important. This is especially true in the United States, where no language matches English in status. Hence, English has a decided advantage in education whereas all other languages are less favored by students and parents because they are associated with a lower status in society.

Koyin Sung

See also Language Policy and Social Control; Language Shift and Language Loss; Social Bilingualism; Spanish, the Second National Language

Further Readings

- Abrams, D. M., & Strogatz, S. H. (2003, August). *Linguistics: Modelling the dynamics of language death*. Retrieved from <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v424/n6951/abs/424900a.html>
- Clyne, M. (2003). *Dynamics of language contact*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Crawford, J. (1996). Seven hypotheses on language loss: Causes and cures. In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages*. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.
- Krauss, M. (1996). Status of Native American language endangerment. In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages*. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.
- Pountain, C. (1999). Spanish and English in the 21st century. *Donaire*, 12, 33–42.

ST. LAMBERT IMMERSION STUDY

The story of the St. Lambert "experiment" in Canada began in the early 1960s during a time of rising tensions between the Anglophone (English-speaking) and Francophone (French-speaking) communities in

the province of Québec. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, Canada in general, and Québec in particular, constituted what the novelist Hugh MacLennan called “two solitudes.” One could effectively live one’s life in Montreal, for example, almost entirely in English with hardly an occasion in which one absolutely needed to communicate with someone in French about social, occupational, recreational, or other matters. But change was in the air. A variety of political initiatives were under way during the 1960s to legislate French as the official “working language” of the province, and many parents—particularly those whose children attended English-medium schools—were concerned that the second- or foreign-language programs in the public schools did not adequately prepare their children to acquire the communicative skills they would need to participate effectively in Québec society in the future. This entry describes the implementation of this program, and its contributions to bilingual education research.

St. Lambert Bilingual School Study Group

A number of parents in the suburban community of St. Lambert, Québec, formed the St. Lambert Bilingual School Study Group to explore alternative educational options that might be pursued to enhance the bilingual proficiency of their sons and daughters. The parents read widely, and they consulted with local specialists in the area such as Wilder Penfield, a neuroscientist at the Montreal Neurological Institute who had conducted important research on relevant topics such as the development of speech and its underlying brain mechanisms. Also involved was Wallace Lambert, a psychologist at McGill University who had conducted extensive research on social and cognitive aspects of bilingualism.

After a good deal of investigation and discussion, the parents persuaded the South Shore Regional Protestant School Board, the local administrative unit for their children’s school, to begin an experiment—one in which groups of Anglophone children would be immersed in a kindergarten program in which all communication and instruction (except for matters related to health, safety, and security) would be conducted in French. The parents and the school board enlisted the cooperation of Wallace Lambert and Richard Tucker to assess the implementation and the outcomes of the program, and in this way, a long-term

partnership began between the school board and the Language Research Group, a rotating group of faculty members and students in the psychology department at McGill University in Montreal.

Design of the Bilingual Program

The immersion program that was begun in this setting in fall 1965 called for Anglophone children to attend kindergarten and then Grade 1 classes in which virtually all instruction (language arts as well as content material) was provided in French. The youngsters proceeded through an instructional program that gradually introduced English Language Arts and the teaching of content material in English beginning in Grade 2 and moved on to an approximately equal allocation of instructional time in French and English by Grades 5, 6, and 7. That is, by Grades 5, systematic instructional time during each day was devoted to English Language Arts, French Language Arts, with some content instruction (e.g., Science and History) in English and some content instruction (e.g., Math and Geography) in French. At secondary school (which in those days ended in Grade 11 in the province of Québec), the balance shifted in favor of English with some content-based instruction still being offered in French together with a French Language Arts program.

Framework for Assessing Student Progress

At the very beginning, a commitment was made to assess the affective, cognitive, and linguistic development of the participants over time and to compare their progress with two other groups of students—a randomly assigned counterpart control group of English-speaking youngsters who participated in English-medium instruction, and a matched control group of French-speaking youngsters who attended a French-medium school located in a nearby neighborhood. The initial matching accounted for parental education and socioeconomic status as well as for the participating children’s initial nonverbal IQ. The lead cohort of students, and their control counterparts were carefully monitored, as was a second follow-up group of youngsters who began their education in fall 1966. The Canadian government, through a series of research grants, funded what became a 12-year program of research to document the effects of program participation on these students.

Effects of Bilingual Instruction

To make a complex story brief, the data revealed over time effects or patterns of development that might not have been predicted by a series of cross-sectional snapshots taken at any one point or even at multiple points in time. The data revealed, among other things, that over time, the immersion youngsters developed significantly greater cognitive flexibility, creativity, and nonverbal intelligence than did their monolingually instructed English or French control counterparts; they also developed a broader, more positive, and more charitable view toward other people, values, attitudes, and traditions than their counterparts did; and they developed a basic level of bilingual language proficiency that prepared them for a broader array of educational or occupational options than their monolingually educated counterparts. In general, repeated research has shown that the second-language receptive skills of the program's students were more "nativelike" than were their productive skills, although they certainly possessed adequate communicative competence and confidence.

The results of this research also demonstrated that longitudinal studies of this type were absolutely essential for documenting the cumulative benefits associated with the instructed development of bilingual proficiency. A cross-sectional snapshot taken at any particular moment would likely not have revealed the cumulative richness of this educational innovation.

Spread of Immersion Education Across Canada

As the students in the lead cohort moved from one grade level to the next, new cohorts entered the program. Each year, Lambert and Tucker and their students assessed the progress of the students and their control counterparts and presented the results of their findings, in nontechnical terms, to members of the school board, to parents at meetings of the local home and school associations, and to various professional organizations. As the students progressed, and as word of the findings began to spread to various communities, similar programs were begun in the city of Montreal itself (within the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal) as well as in Toronto and throughout other regions of Canada. Researchers at other Canadian universities such as Merrill Swain, James Cummins, and their colleagues at the University of Toronto began similar studies in their communities and

again found remarkably consistent and positive results. The programs spread fairly rapidly to other regions of Canada with financial support for the underpinning research in the early days provided by the Canada Council and the office of the Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada.

Spread of Immersion Education to the United States

During the early 1970s, numerous visitors from the United States came to observe immersion classes, including Russell Campbell from UCLA who spent a sabbatical at McGill University with Lambert and Tucker visiting immersion classes and participating in the work of the Language Research Group. When he returned to California, Campbell worked with parents and community leaders in Culver City, California, to implement the first Spanish immersion program. Other early programs in the United States were begun as well following visits to St. Lambert, such as those within the Montgomery County, Maryland, Public School System.

Lambert and Tucker spoke frequently at professional meetings in the United States and told the story of their research. The message that they brought was that bilingual education for North American youngsters should not be viewed as problematic or troublesome or as something likely to result in an educational or intellectual deficit but, rather, that bilingual education could be cognitively, socially, and academically enriching for those who participated. They described the desirability of helping all children develop what Lambert referred to as "additive" bilingualism. The distinction that Lambert made between "additive" and "subtractive" bilingual education was a particularly important one. He noted that support and education should optimally be provided in the language most likely to be neglected within the community at large and, in some cases, even in the home. Thus, he argued convincingly that for many immigrants to the United States, the home language (Spanish or Chinese or Haitian Creole) would likely be neglected with a push to immerse children in English—a move that would result in "subtractive" bilingualism with the ultimate loss of the home language and the accompanying cognitive and social benefits. For such children, additive bilingualism would result from immersing them initially in instruction in their first language and gradually adding the second language (English) to their repertoire, whereas for English-speaking children, early immersion in the second language with the gradual introduction of

English would produce optimal benefits. This distinction, and the programmatic consequences, were acknowledged by many and led, in part, to the growth of “bilingual education” for many students for whom English would become an additional language and for immersion education for others for whom English was the first language.

Immersion Programs Today

Over time, the original St. Lambert program’s popularity spread and now similar programs exist in every Canadian province and in at least 28 states. In the mid-1980s, a slightly different type of program was begun in the United States—so called two-way or dual-immersion programs. In these programs, any given class is a composite of approximately 50% English-speaking children who wish to learn *xxx* (let us say Spanish) and 50% Spanish-speaking children who wish to learn English and develop academic language proficiency in their first language, Spanish, as well. In these programs, as children progress through the curriculum at various grade levels, they study English (or Spanish) language arts, English (or Spanish as a second language), and then together study some content material in Spanish (e.g., geography) and some content material in English (e.g., history). These programs have proven popular in many parts of the country. The Center for Applied Linguistics, a nonprofit organization in Washington, D.C., maintains a publicly accessible, up-to-date, informative database of immersion programs.

G. Richard Tucker

See also Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Center for Applied Linguistics, Recent Focus; Cummins, James; Dual-Language Programs; English Immersion

Further Readings

- Center for Applied Linguistics. *Directory of foreign language immersion programs in U.S. schools*. Retrieved from <http://www.cal.org/resources/immersion>
- Center for Applied Linguistics. *Directory of two-way bilingual immersion programs in the U.S.* Retrieved from <http://www.cal.org/twi/directory>
- Cloud, N., Genesee, F., & Hamayan, E. (2000). *Dual language instruction: A handbook for enriched education*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinle & Heinle.
- Genesee, F. (1987). *Learning through two languages: Studies of immersion and bilingual education*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Genesee, F., Lindholm-Leary, K., Saunders, W., & Christian, D. (2006). *Educating English language learners: A synthesis of research evidence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnson, R. K., & Swain, M. (1997). *Immersion education: International perspectives*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lambert, W. E., & Tucker, G. R. (1972). *Bilingual education of children*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Lambert, W. E., & Tucker, G. R. (1982). Graduates of early French immersion. In G. Caldwell & E. Waddell (Eds.), *The English of Québec: From majority to minority status* (pp. 259–277). Lennoxville: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture.
- MacLennan, H. (1945). *Two solitudes*. Toronto, Ontario, CA: Collins.
- Penfield, W., & Roberts, L. (1959). *Speech and brain-mechanisms*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

STRUCTURED ENGLISH IMMERSION

See ENGLISH IMMERSION

T

TANTON, JOHN H. (1934–)

John H. Tanton, population control activist and conservationist, is also a well-known figure in anti-immigration and English-only advocacy. A retired ophthalmologist, he is the oldest among the three children of Hannah and John Tanton, born on February 23, 1934, in Detroit, Michigan.

Before he became an advocate and supporter of anti-immigration issues, Tanton initially focused his attention on public policy concerning the environment and population issues. His early passion for the environment was greatly influenced by his life growing up on a farm. He considered his life to be ordinary until the family moved from the city to the country when he was nearly 10 years old. During that time, while many people were trying to escape the rigidity of farming, the Tantons did the opposite, trading their life in the city for a more laid-back and comfortable farm setting. While in high school, Tanton and his future wife, Mary Lou Brown, whom he married in 1958, were already involved in natural resource conservation. He continues to be actively involved in conservation, for which he received the Chevron Conservation Award in the Citizen Volunteer Category in 1990.

In 1960, Tanton graduated from the University of Michigan medical school, finishing seventh in a class of 200 students. The Tantons moved to Petoskey, Michigan, where he got his first job as an ophthalmologist in 1964 at Burns Clinic. He continued to actively participate in organizations like Northern Michigan Planned Parenthood, Zero Population Growth (ZPG), and Sierra Club Population Committee, which

advocates population minimization and control. In the mid-1970s, while president of ZPG, he suggested a national dialogue on immigration but was declined by some board members, who refused to make a crusade of immigration restrictions. This led to the establishment in January 1979 of the country's first anti-immigrant policy institute, called the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), in Washington, D.C., which he cofounded and assumed the chairmanship of.

In the early 1980s, together with other members of the FAIR board, Tanton founded a White nationalist organization called WITAN, a name derived from the Old English *witenagemot*, which means "meeting of wise men." A controversial WITAN memo written by Tanton (as reported in the Web site <http://www.tolerance.org>), included derogatory references to Latinos. Tanton warned the United States of the threat that Hispanics represent to the land because of their high birthrates. In the memo, Tanton stated, "Perhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down!" Upon learning of the controversial memo, Linda Chávez, a former high-ranking official in the Reagan administration and a well-known Republican conservative columnist, immediately resigned from her post as the president of U.S. English organization. Chávez considered the memo to be anti-Hispanic and anti-Catholic. Tanton had helped to found U.S. English when he shifted his interest from immigration to language. He cofounded the group with the late Senator S. I. Hayakawa of California, who proposed the establishment of English as the official language of the United States.

In 1994, Tanton resigned from U.S. English, although he continued to maintain his interest in opposing the movement toward multilingualism in the United States. He and former board members of U.S. English created another organization, called ProEnglish, whose purpose is to ensure that English be declared as the official language of the United States.

Currently, Tanton is the publisher of *Social Contract Press*, which he founded in 1990. He served as the editor for the first 8 years of this quarterly journal, which was well-known for its promotion of the highly racist book *The Camp of Saints*, by French author Jean Raspail. This book, according to the *Right Web* Web site, influenced Tanton's thinking about immigration, culture, national sovereignty, and population control. *Right Web* also considered Tanton to be the founder of the modern anti-immigrant movement in the United States.

Lani Asturias

See also Chávez, Linda; English-Only Organizations; Hayakawa, S. I.; Nationalization of Languages

Further Readings

Crawford, J. (1992). *Hold your tongue: Bilingualism and the politics of English only*. New York: Addison-Wesley.

Crawford, J. (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Right Web. (2004, September 29). *John Tanton*. Retrieved from <http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/1360>

Rohe, J. F. (2002). *Mary Lou & John Tanton: A journey into American conservatism*. Washington, DC: FAIR Horizon Press.

Tolerance.org. (n.d.). *The puppeteer*. Retrieved from http://www.tolerance.org/news/article_hate.jsp?id=554

state's department of education. However, there are some common characteristics related to teacher licensure across the country. This entry describes the historical development of bilingual certification in the United States and outlines the requirements in content and procedures across states today.

To be licensed to teach in any state, teachers must have a bachelor's degree, complete a state-approved teacher preparation program, and pass state examinations. Most, but not all, states have bilingual certification for teachers who work with English language learners (ELLs), and the number continues to grow as the population of ELLs spreads throughout the country. A bilingual teaching credential may consist of a license for that specific purpose or an endorsement to an existing license that expands the teacher's scope of licensure, adding the bilingual dimension. In actual practice, there is no functional difference between the two processes.

According to the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition (NCELA), 28 states and the District of Columbia offer bilingual/dual-language teacher certification or endorsements. Seventeen of these states have legislative requirements or state board requirements that teachers in bilingual classrooms must have bilingual certification. The remaining states carry out the credentialing process through administrative regulations.

Bilingual teachers generally are certified elementary or secondary teachers who complete regular teacher preparation programs and subsequently complete additional requirements to obtain a bilingual certificate or endorsement. Depending on the state, candidates for the bilingual endorsement generally take 12 to 21 university credits in addition to the regular elementary or secondary requirements. The additional study includes coursework in foundations of bilingual education, bilingual teaching methods, and second-language acquisition. Most states also require a language proficiency test in the language in which the candidate intends to teach. Because English as a Second Language (ESL) is a component of bilingual education and is included in the course of study, bilingual education teachers are usually credentialed to teach ESL as well. Hence, in most states, the requirements to become a bilingual education teacher exceed those of traditionally credentialed monolingual teachers.

Because state requirements dictate the program offerings at colleges and universities that prepare teachers for certification, this entry includes a brief

TEACHER CERTIFICATION BY STATES

In the United States, each state has the authority and responsibility for issuing and upgrading teacher licenses at the elementary and secondary levels and for special student populations. Because this function is decentralized, licensure varies from state to state and changes occur frequently. The most accurate and current information regarding specific certification requirements in a particular state is best obtained from each individual

discussion of teacher preparation programs across the country. The intent is to show how bilingual credentialing and teacher preparation fit in the national context and respond to societal needs and events.

Historical Background

During the 20th century, teacher preparation and credentialing in the United States grew more variegated and complex as educators responded to societal needs and demands for quality control in teaching. As public expectations for teacher knowledge and skills became more sophisticated, teacher preparation evolved from local apprenticeships through normal schools to bachelor's degree programs, including liberal arts, subject area specializations, and pedagogy. The states' oversight increased with codified requirements and assessments for those who wanted to teach. Credentialing was intended to assure districts and the public that teachers had good knowledge of subject matter, pedagogy, and child or adolescent development. In the case of bilingual certification, which didn't appear on scene until the 1970s, the credentials were intended to ensure that teachers were prepared to teach a particular population as well, namely, the population of ELLs, also known as limited-English-proficient (LEP) students.

Bilingual programs as they are configured in today's public schools started appearing in the 1960s. Prior to that time, speakers of languages other than English used their native languages in American schools to varying degrees and according to local tolerance levels at any given time. Things began to change in the early 1960s following the arrival of Cubans fleeing the Castro revolution. The goal of the first bilingual schools in Florida in the 1960s was to produce bilingual/biliterate students whose families were expecting to return to their native country. These initial instances of bilingual schooling were quickly followed by other bilingual education programs that had goals different than the production of biliteracy.

Bilingual Program Goals

As bilingual programs developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the first large-scale efforts to establish bilingual schools were made possible by Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968. These programs sprang from a desire to remedy schooling for language minority children who had

been left to "sink or swim" in English-only classrooms, so programs took on a remedial purpose. They were seen as a way to overcome language barriers that had led to chronic lack of academic achievement on the part of language minority students. Advocates also stressed valuing the cultural and linguistic heritage of students and allowing children to use their native languages to learn content areas and literacy concurrently with learning English. The idea of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy was valued by bilingual educators but not necessarily by policymakers. In fact, federal and state legislation framed bilingual education as the most expedient way of teaching content to students who didn't know English and having them become proficient in English as quickly as possible. Everyone acknowledged the importance of learning English in the United States, and so the programs took on the role of transitioning students from using their native languages to becoming proficient in English. As numerous programs emerged, they were classified as *transitional*, *maintenance*, or *dual-language programs*, depending on their goals: transitioning to English; maintaining native languages; or developing bilingualism in two student populations, native English speakers and speakers of a language other than English. Today, the vast majority of programs are of the transitional type, but dual-language programs have become more and more popular.

Issues in Certification and Licensure

The sudden demand in public schools for bilingual teachers resulted in a wide range of qualified teachers staffing bilingual classrooms. Fully certified teachers who were also bilingual were difficult to find, and no one really knew what should constitute teacher preparation for bilingual classrooms. At the outset, there was no established body of research and content for preparing teachers to teach in the new programs. There was a scramble among classroom teachers and teacher educators to determine what bilingual teachers should know and be able to do. Teachers who staffed those early bilingual programs essentially pioneered the content of teacher training, and in the 1980s, more research about how children learn a second language, about methods for teaching content in a second language, and about bilingualism became available. In somewhat of a chain reaction that included demands from public schools for bilingual teachers that pushed institutions of higher education to develop bilingual

teacher certification programs, states began to adopt certification requirements and regulations for bilingual teachers. Today, all states that require bilingual certification programs also have college- and university-based bilingual teacher preparation to support those programs with appropriate personnel. The National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, funded by the Office of English Language Acquisition in the U.S. Department of Education, offers the most comprehensive listing on its Web site of institutions with bilingual teacher preparation programs, by state and degree. For specific information on each state's certification programs and teacher preparation information, the best sources are the respective official Web sites of the various state departments of education. States with the highest numbers of ELLs, such as California, Texas, New York, and Illinois, tend to have the most options for bilingual teacher preparation programs in their respective colleges and universities. In some cases, certificates and licenses from one state may be accepted in other states. In *Certification and Endorsement of Bilingual Education Teachers: A Comparison of State Licensure Requirements*, Eva Midobuche compared credential requirements of states with large ELL populations. Some portions of that report are still valid, although some of it is now obsolete.

Bilingual Teacher Education

The 1968 Title VII legislation supporting bilingual education programs in the nation's schools did not speak to teacher preparation or certification. By the reauthorization of 1974, however, it was clear that states needed to establish teacher preparation programs. Funds were therefore allocated to public schools and to colleges and universities for teacher education. Some universities in states with significant numbers of language minority student populations began offering courses in bilingual education in the early 1970s, eventually offering full programs for certification as their own capabilities in this area matured.

Because of the transitional orientation and the expressed goals of federal legislation, training and teacher preparation for teachers in bilingual programs also stressed knowledge of and valuing the cultural heritage of children and stressed teaching ESL, but with uneven emphasis on developing biliteracy and bilingualism. The civil rights mandates of the 1960s and the court support for language minority rights in

the 1970s and early 1980s also influenced the content and goals of bilingual programs in public schools and therefore of teacher preparation programs as well. The mandate from the courts to remedy the situation for LEP students gave bilingual teacher preparation a remedial orientation. More often than not, teachers approached their jobs with this orientation. It should be noted that certification requirements and teacher preparation programs are the same regardless of what kind of bilingual programs are in school districts or what language populations are served. The only difference tends to occur in the language proficiency examinations. Historically, much of the demand for bilingual teachers has been for Spanish/English, but programs in other languages, such as Chinese, Vietnamese, Hmong/Lao, Korean, and indigenous Native American languages, are also needed and offered in various states.

A survey of member institutions conducted in 2001 by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) found that 22% of member institutions (93) offered bilingual certification programs and the majority of those programs were at the bachelor's-, postbachelor's-, or master's-degree levels (58%). The study also concluded that state requirements dictated program/course offerings. A comparison of these results with an analysis of state licensure requirements by the former National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (formerly NCBE, now NCELA) showed that teacher preparation programs emphasized the areas of pedagogy and cultural foundations, while linguistics received less emphasis. The study found that most universities do not require a demonstration of language proficiency in languages other than English but most states do require passing language proficiency examinations, chiefly Spanish, for credentialing teachers in bilingual education.

Emergency/Provisional Licenses

Given the difficulty of finding teacher candidates who were proficient in English and in the native language of ELLs, many teachers assigned to bilingual classrooms were not fully certified teachers. In those situations, school districts have often resorted to hiring people with bilingual skills but with no preparation for teaching. In short, they do not distinguish between *bilingual* teachers and *bilingual education* teachers. In some areas, states have been slow to require bilingual certification and have allowed school districts to hire

people with “emergency” or provisional licenses. The ranks of bilingual teachers have historically included an inordinately high percentage of teachers who were hired provisionally and then required to complete teacher preparation programs.

“Highly Qualified” Teacher Status

After passage of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in 2002, with its requirement for highly qualified teachers, states are now under pressure to do away with emergency licenses. In general, under NCLB, a highly qualified teacher must have a bachelor’s degree, full state certification, and demonstrate competency in each core academic subject taught. States are charged with assessing competency in core subjects and in professional knowledge. According to NCLB, core subjects are English, reading/language arts, mathematics, science, history, civics/government, geography, economics, the arts, and foreign languages. Bilingual teachers are basically elementary and secondary classroom teachers who teach all of these subjects and therefore must be fully qualified per NCLB. The pressure is on for bilingual teachers to be certified in the subjects and grade levels they teach but not necessarily in bilingual methodologies or second-language acquisition. NCLB outlines minimum requirements related to content knowledge and teaching skills but gives states the option to develop their own definitions of “highly qualified” as long as those definitions are consistent with NCLB. This leaves states some leeway to determine highly qualified status for bilingual teachers.

As the new century moves into high gear, states are in such a bind to fully qualify their teachers that they are not yet ready to let go of emergency licensure. The struggle to obtain “highly qualified” status is exemplified by states, like Illinois and Texas, that have provisions allowing bilingual teachers to continue working on provisional licenses in core subjects but in which there is continued debate about the quality of bilingual teachers who cannot pass language proficiency assessments. Further, other than language proficiency examinations in Spanish, most states have not developed assessments specifically for bilingual certification. California was the first state to adopt specific assessments for language testing and bilingual content for certifying bilingual teachers.

At this writing, most states have not yet attended to what “fully qualified” means, specifically for bilingual teachers and teachers who teach English to students

who do not speak it as a first language. However, because states with large bilingual programs are likely to have high numbers of emergency-licensed teachers, they are under pressure to upgrade the qualifications of bilingual teacher population in core subjects. This, in turn, puts pressure on teacher education programs to address certification in core subjects, but not necessarily in the bilingual certification specialization.

Effect of Increase in ELLs

Besides the NCLB legislation, which profoundly affected assessment of academic achievement in schools and whose definitions for highly qualified teachers now impact state licensure and teacher preparation efforts, other trends and legislation since 2000 have affected credentialing for bilingual teachers. The rapid increase in the numbers of language minority students and in the numbers of different languages represented throughout the country has increased the demand for bilingual teachers. States that used to have relatively few ELLs now need to deal with certifying teachers to work with bilingual and ESL programs. The five states with the greatest growth in ELL populations since 1995 are South Carolina (714%), Kentucky (417%), Indiana (408%), North Carolina (371%), and Tennessee (370%). All have ESL certification, and Kentucky and Indiana have bilingual certification requirements as well. The numbers alone have resulted in a scramble to learn about teaching second-language learners, and states in the South are developing programs to address their needs. Whether these programs turn out to be bilingual programs or strictly English development programs will be determined by the highly political debates over immigration and the use of languages other than English in classrooms. This, in turn, will determine what states require in terms of teacher certification and what institutions of higher education will offer in teacher preparation coursework.

Effects of Antibilingual State Legislation on Bilingual Certification

Another phenomenon affecting bilingual teacher certification is that of state propositions that limit bilingual instruction in public schools. California, Arizona, and Massachusetts have all passed such legislation. This may cause prospective teachers to question the need or usefulness of going through bilingual teacher preparation programs. It is still not clear what the long-term

effects of these propositions will be on bilingual teacher certification. No state has eliminated the bilingual credentialing requirements, nor have universities done away with the teacher preparation programs. School districts continue to need and demand teachers with training in teaching a linguistically and culturally diverse population, so teachers with bilingual certification are in very high demand. Further, with the elimination of many bilingual classrooms after the passing of the propositions, ELLs are now more dispersed and assigned to “regular” classrooms, in which teachers are not likely to be bilingual certified. This has enormous implications for teacher preparation programs. In Arizona, for example, the state requires that all teachers have an endorsement in structured English immersion, so teacher preparation programs now have to include training for teaching ESL through structured English immersion in programs for all teachers.

This can be problematic, as can be seen in the 2001 survey of the AACTE mentioned above. Survey results indicated that less than one-sixth of the colleges of teacher education studied required preparation for mainstream teachers regarding the education of ELLs. The possibility of more legislation limiting bilingual instruction and the increasing numbers of ELLs may result in the expansion of training that was once reserved for bilingual teachers to all mainstream teachers.

Alternative Bilingual Certification

Even though most bilingual teacher preparation programs have been offered at state or private colleges and universities, there are a growing number of alternative paths to teacher certification, including bilingual certification. Programs are now being offered by community colleges, distance learning agencies, state departments of education and for-profit institutions. More professional organizations and credentialing agencies are also beginning to address standards for quality bilingual and ESL teachers. For example, the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) and Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) have developed a set of standards that universities and states can use in setting requirements. National certification groups such as the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) also are including knowledge about second-language acquisition as a requirement for teacher education programs.

To summarize, bilingual credentialing was not something that was well researched and then followed by teacher preparation programs with established knowledge about what bilingual teachers needed to know and be able to do. Instead, it developed by trial and error, and the first bilingual teachers were essentially “swimming or sinking” in terms of learning about effective practice in bilingual classrooms. The growing cadre of researchers in bilingualism, second-language acquisition, and instructional methodologies contributed to the knowledge base and helped inform teacher preparation.

The bilingual/ESL credentialing in the United States developed to address specific needs of LEP student populations. For bilingual and ESL teachers, their certification has historically been directly tied to that group of students. However, this is not necessarily the way it has to be, since bilingual teaching could be a way of teaching all students a second language regardless of their native languages. Native English speakers could learn a second language in bilingual classrooms taught by bilingual certified teachers, and this could expand the scope of bilingual programs to include everyone. This idea is becoming more popular through dual-language bilingual programs, though colleges and universities are short of teaching personnel who can develop and implement such programs on a wide basis.

Toni Griego Jones

See also Bilingual Teacher Licensure; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; Teacher Preparation, Then and Now; Teacher Qualifications; TESOL, Inc.

Further Readings

- Menken, K., & Antunez, B. (2001). *An overview of the preparation and certification of teachers working with limited English proficient (LEP) students*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, ERIC Clearinghouse on Teaching and Teacher Education. Available from <http://www.ncele.gwu.edu/pubs/reports/teacherprep/teacherprep.pdf>
- Midobuche, E. (1999). Certification and endorsement of bilingual education teachers: A comparison of state licensure requirements. In J. M. González (Ed.), *CBER occasional papers in bilingual education policy* (pp. 1–62). Tempe: Arizona State University, Intercultural Development Research Association.

Web Sites

All Education Schools: <http://www.alleducationschools.com>
 American Federation of Teachers: <http://www.aft.org>
 Association for Career and Technical Education:
<http://www.acteonline.org>
 Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence:
<http://www.cal.org/crede>
 National Association for Alternative Certification:
<http://www.alt-teacher.org>
 National Association for Bilingual Education:
<http://www.nabe.org>
 National Association for the Education of Young Children:
<http://www.naeyc.org>
 National Center for Alternative Certification:
<http://www.teach-now.org>
 National Center for Education Information:
<http://www.ncei.com>
 National Council of Accreditation for Teacher Education:
<http://www.ncate.org>
 National Education Association: <http://www.nea.org>
 Recruiting New Teachers: <http://www.rnt.org>
 Teacher Education Accreditation Council:
<http://www.teac.org>
 Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
 (TESOL, Inc.): <http://www.tesol.org>
 Teach for America: <http://www.teachforamerica.org>
 U.S. Department of Education: <http://www.ed.gov>

TEACHER PREPARATION, THEN AND NOW

Researchers have found that the single most important factor in academic achievement and student learning is the quality of instruction students receive. Because teachers are directly responsible for instruction, teacher preparation is critically important. To keep pace with new knowledge concerning the needs of diverse learners, teacher preparation programs must change periodically. This entry traces some of the changes undergone by teacher preparation programs from a historical perspective and then focuses on one state, California, to illustrate the enormity of the task faced by nearly every other state.

At an earlier point in U.S. history, teaching was considered temporary employment, and teachers were generally male. Industrialization and the growth of the nation in the 1800s affected all institutions, including

schools. Teaching became a full-time endeavor, and as men moved to the factory floor, women soon dominated the schools in every capacity. Almost concurrently, a new era for teacher preparation began. Teachers were required to attend *normal colleges*, whose sole function was to educate prospective teachers.

Educational history evidences that what teachers should know and be able to do is highly dependent on the social contexts and economic conditions of communities and even of the country. Furthermore, teacher preparation is highly sensitive to political groups and other forces in society, including businesspeople, politicians, professional organizations, and interest groups.

Lau v. Nichols and Teacher Education

The use of political power to influence educational policy has been well documented. Unfortunately, interest groups do not necessarily lobby for educational changes that benefit all young people or promote democratic principles, social justice, or ensure equal access to learning. Changes in teacher education requirements reflect this reality in many ways. Until the 1974 Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols*, the assumption within the educational system was that children and their families bore most of the responsibility to learn English. Their failure to do so, it was assumed, meant that they would not be able to participate fruitfully in the experience of formal schooling. The *Lau* decision turned that assumption on its head. The Court was clear that if the schools were to require English for graduation, as is the case in California, then the schools had a responsibility to teach that language to its students. Only in this way could it be ensured that English language learners (ELLs) would have a chance at learning the content of instruction, not merely the language of the dominant group.

Lau did little to affect the preparation of teachers around the nation. Although it was eventually realized that the intent of the Court could not be met without changing the ways teachers are trained, it has taken time to change the highly regulated undergraduate programs that future teachers must undergo before they enter the classroom as credentialed teachers. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 and its requirements calling for “highly qualified teachers” has also contributed to this realization, if not directly to the structure of teacher education. Still, there remains some

distance to go before the “sink or swim” imperative is eliminated from schools that serve ELLs.

At the turn of the 20th century, teaching moral and civic values was considered a major responsibility of the teacher, and using English properly (in its verbal and written forms) was a skill emphasized in both teacher preparation and performance. Child labor laws and compulsory education, along with immigration, impacted schools with English learners of European descent. Schools and teachers focused on cultural assimilation of students, with the rapid acquisition of English as a primary goal. Teacher preparation courses thus reflected the importance of converting impoverished European immigrants (English learners) into English-speaking citizens ready to work in the nation’s shops and factories. For the most part, early teacher preparation models did not include or focus on techniques to best teach English learners and, like today’s methods, did not incorporate or use the children’s home languages or cultures in their instruction. English, as mentioned previously, was learned by the “sink or swim” method, and often students drowned academically as a result.

Decentralized Licensing and the Rise of the Emergency Teaching Credential

Many education historians and scholars today suggest that schooling practices and teacher preparation models have remained fundamentally unchanged over the past century. First, normal schools and colleges disappeared altogether or merged into the rapidly growing American system of higher education. Colleges of education took their place, and graduate schools of education ensured that the research function of the major universities was also embraced by teacher education institutions. Second, teaching now requires licensure or credentialing, resulting in teachers having to meet specific requirements. The United States, unlike most industrialized countries, does not require of teachers a uniform test for licensing. The decentralized system of education allows each state to serve as the authority for licensure and certification. Most states require a bachelor’s degree, whereas some states require a fifth year or master’s degree. The completion of an approved, accredited education program, a minor or major in education (particularly for prospective teachers in elementary education), a major in the subject area they plan to teach (for middle or high school

teaching), a strong liberal arts preparation, and passing a state-approved test that states use as part of the teaching licensure certification process) are common requirements in most states.

Most states do not require teachers to have a foreign-language background or to speak the same language their students speak. Prior to the passage of antibilingual legislation in California, teachers were required to have a minimum exposure to a second language and had approximately 17 ways in which to meet this requirement. Today, adaptation or differentiation of instruction replaces communication and rests on the basic assumption that a teacher is prepared to teach English learners without using their language as long as the delivery of the instruction is modified in some way.

The high demand for teachers results in emergency hiring to staff classrooms and the need to develop and justify the numerous alternative teacher preparation and certification models that are intended to address the teacher shortage. These alternative schemes allow individuals to enter classrooms and teach without any prior knowledge, experience, or preparation. The expectation is that the teacher will eventually obtain the necessary education to become fully certified. In the 1990s, a dark side of this alternative teacher preparation emerged. California became one of the states in which emergency credentialing was rampant, and there were estimates that more than 10% of teachers were issued emergency credentials during the 1990s. Researchers described those schools, staffed predominantly with emergency-credentialed teachers, as dysfunctional, and this organizational dysfunction gravely affected English learners. Districts and schools dominated by teachers with emergency credentials tend to be those with significant populations of ELLs and children from low-socioeconomic backgrounds (frequently the same children). Emergency credentialing thus exempts teachers from teacher preparation prior to teaching, and there is ample evidence to suggest that teachers, students, and communities fall short when this alternative route is used. Emergency credentialing was not just a California problem, as teaching without preparation became a pervasive norm throughout the nation.

The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) aimed to eliminate this lack of adequate teacher preparation by requiring “highly qualified teachers” in all classrooms by 2005–2006. Federal law requires teachers to document that they have subject matter

competence in the areas to which they are assigned, and school districts are accountable when hiring teachers who are not qualified. NCLB defines “qualified teachers” narrowly, as it requires teachers to know only the subject area they will be teaching. Despite the fact that a growing proportion of students in the United States are English learners, there is nothing in the legislation that requires teachers to be qualified to teach English to this student population or to know other pertinent pedagogical information related to teaching (e.g., cultural background, family/community, and effective pedagogy). According to NCLB, anyone who can demonstrate knowledge in science, for example, is qualified or prepared to teach science.

Current Teacher Preparation Models

Today, most teacher preparation models are based on research and share common goals. These goals are grounded in educational research and include specifying what teachers should know in order to teach and identifying what teachers should be able to do:

- Have knowledge of the subject(s) they are teaching
- Have pedagogical knowledge and the ability to teach, including the use of technology
- Plan, differentiate, monitor, and assess student learning
- Perform as professional colleagues
- Participate in ongoing professional growth opportunities

Teacher preparation models are more specific in articulating, describing, and providing examples for new teachers of what “quality teaching” entails.

Contemporary models are also more inclusive, acknowledging that teachers must be prepared to teach a heterogeneous population of students with mixed academic abilities. This includes diversity in socioeconomic background, linguistic background, ethnicity, race, religion, and sexual orientation. Increasingly, teaching is recognized as a complex process whereby the teacher must also know about the child, the family, and community. These ideas redefine the classroom, school, and community as one learning community in which teachers, students, and families teach and learn together. Ethical principles of the profession are also discussed in many teacher education models, as teachers are held to moral and ethical practices in their work. Finally, learning and human growth are part of a life process, and the education of teachers is viewed in a similar way.

In California, the standard certification model also includes successful passing of the CBEST (California Basic Educational Skills Test), a standardized examination of basic skills; the completion of coursework in the teaching of reading; passing the RICA (Reading Instruction Competency Assessment), a standardized examination for elementary level teachers emphasizing phonic instruction; and coursework in the U.S. Constitution. These general requirements satisfy the criteria to receive a 5-year preliminary credential. Embedded within this teacher model are specific expectations for teaching performance and preparation. California’s Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CCTC) developed the California Standards for the Teaching Profession (CSTP) and legislated a standardized set of expectations about the expertise and preparation that are to be required of beginning teachers. These standards include (a) engaging and supporting all students in learning, (b) creating and maintaining effective environments for student learning, (c) understanding and organizing subject matter for student learning, (d) planning instruction and designing learning experiences for all students, (e) assessing student learning, and (f) developing as a professional educator. These standards cover broad domains of teaching and are each further divided into indicators to demonstrate the facets of each standard.

More recently, California’s Senate Bill 2042 legislated teacher preparation requirements by legislating teachers to complete Teaching Performance Assessments (TPA) that are composed of four tasks. Each task, as part of a prospective teacher’s preparation requirement, expects a teacher to design instruction for all students, including two focus student groups (e.g., ELLS and special education students). Based on NCLB legislation, however, teachers are not required to be bilingual (in any language), eliminating the possibility of using primary language and cultural resources children may bring to the classroom.

Major factors influencing instruction include the standards-based movement and high-stakes testing. Accountability in the quality of instruction is measured exclusively on gains in standardized scores, and this emphasis on testing is having a major impact on how teachers teach and ultimately on the quality of instruction. Instruction that revolves around standardized testing implies regressing to a curriculum emphasizing facts, memorization, little or no problem solving, and basically teaching to the test. This type of instruction also assumes all students know English, learn the same

way, and have similar academic backgrounds. Needless to say, this has major implications for the relevance of teacher preparation models grounded in educational research. Unless fundamental and permanent changes take place in school policies, instruction, and the purpose of education, we can expect continuing changes in teacher preparation as we move deeper into the 21st century. For now, these changes continue to ignore the specific needs of more than one fifth of the student population—those of ELLs.

María V. Balderrama

Editor's Note: For specific information on teacher preparation requirements in your state, contact your state's commission for teacher credentialing or the Web site of the respective state Department of Education.

See also Bilingual Teacher Licensure; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III; Teacher Certification by States; Teacher Qualifications; Technology in Language Teaching and Learning

Further Readings

- Balderrama, M. V., & Díaz-Rico, L. T. (2006). *Teacher performance expectations for educating English Learners*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Richardson, V. (Ed.). (2001). *Handbook of research on teaching* (4th ed.). Washington, DC: American Education Research Association.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2001). *No Child Left Behind Act*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/index.html>

TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS

Several decades of practical experience in implementing bilingual education programs and research into bilingual teacher effectiveness have provided rich and detailed descriptions of the knowledge, skills, and abilities of competent bilingual teachers. The field of bilingual teacher education has achieved status as a legitimate field of academic study and research. Policy analyses and studies by Patricia Gándara, Julie Maxwell-Jolly, Anne Driscoll, Eva Midobuche, Kate Menken, and Beth Antunez, investigating the academic needs of language minority students, have consistently

found that bilingual teachers are the most highly qualified to advance their learning toward meeting academic standards in language, literacy, and content learning. Gándara and Russell Rumburger concluded that bilingual teachers provide the most cost-effective instruction in staffing schools with populations of English language learners (ELLs) because this classroom configuration reduces the need for ancillary instructional and support staff to supplement or augment the teaching abilities of monolingual teachers. The demand for highly qualified bilingual teachers and the availability of teacher education and alternative teacher education programs to license them have been subject to the ongoing tensions between changing demographics and the political viability of bilingual education.

The purpose of this entry is to describe the ideal characteristics of bilingual teachers and to examine, in a general way, the congruence between these qualifications and the content of bilingual teacher education programs.

As bilingual certification programs are accredited under new laws and policies, controversies arise regarding standards for preparation and institutional accountability for teacher quality, especially in regard to teachers' proficiency in the language of instruction. The California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CCTC) claims these issues are debated within the context of changes in the availability and demand for bilingual programs implemented according to different theoretical and pedagogical models of program design and classroom instruction. In other words, standards attempt to define and describe what knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes bilingual teachers must possess in order to effectively address the academic needs of students in classrooms in which two languages are used as media of instruction.

Domains of Bilingual Teacher Competencies

Research drawn from Diane August, Kenji Hakuta, María Brisk, Ana María Rodríguez, and others, including theoretical and school-based research and professional judgment, establishes a relationship between bilingual teachers' qualifications and bilingual programs' effectiveness. There are three areas of learning that schools are responsible for in educating language minority students: language, literacy, and content learning. Teachers' levels of expertise with bilingual

learners either support or impede the potential of schools to implement bilingual programs through a progressive, sequential curriculum that is theoretically coherent and well-grounded in how bilingual learners utilize their primary language (L1), acquire a second language (L2), and progress through the grades in learning academic skills and subject matter. Effective bilingual classroom teaching requires a high level of theoretical and technical knowledge of approaches, strategies and techniques for designing appropriate curricula, planning a sequence of lessons, organizing the classroom, utilizing and developing instructional materials, and grouping students for learning tasks.

Menken and Antunez state that various sets of standards for bilingual teacher certification and lists of competencies have been compiled by institutions and organizations with a stake in the professional development of bilingual teachers. According to CCTC, the analyses of bilingual teachers' attributes and competencies attempt to be comprehensive and thorough in categorizing and defining the knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes of effective bilingual teachers for

purposes of teacher-credentialing program design and/or examination. These standards and competencies are based on the premise that bilingual teachers share a set of "generic" competencies that are foundational to effective teaching in any and all contexts. Generally, a second tier of competencies is outlined for all teachers of ELLs without regard to whether the teacher is bilingual in the students' primary language (L1) or monolingual in English (L2) or whether teachers instruct linguistically homogeneous groups of students using their L1 as a medium of instruction. A third tier of competencies is articulated for teachers who use the students' L1 as a medium of instruction in any of several bilingual education (dual-language) programs targeted for students who speak the same L1 and share common cultural characteristics. The three-tiered approach to bilingual teacher credentialing is evidenced in the California Bilingual Cross-Cultural Language and Academic Development credential structure (BCLAD) (see Table 1).

Bilingual teacher competencies are categorized into general areas of theoretical knowledge and

Table 1 California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CCTC) and Bilingual/Cross-Cultural Language and Academic Development (BCLAD) Credential Requirement

<i>Common Core BCLAD and CLAD Credential Requirements</i>	<i>Competencies Acquired and Demonstrated Through:</i>
1. Language structure and first- and second-language development	Linguistics courses, including first- and second-language acquisition and structure of the English language
2. Methodology of bilingual, English language development, and content instruction	Methods courses in English language development (ELD), specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE), and second-language literacy
3. Culture and cultural diversity	Multicultural education Foundations of bilingual education Infusion of multicultural philosophy and concepts in foundations, educational psychology, literacy, and content area methods courses
<i>BCLAD Candidate Credential Requirements</i>	<i>Competencies Acquired and Demonstrated Through:</i>
4. Methodology for primary-language (L1) instruction	Methods courses in teaching Spanish reading/language arts
5. Culture of emphasis	Content methods courses taught in Spanish
6. Language of emphasis	Spanish proficiency examination

Source: Mora (2000).

technical/pedagogical skills. Although there are common elements specific to bilingual teaching that appear consistently in these standards and competency documents, there are areas of bilingual teacher effectiveness identified in the research that are less frequently addressed or omitted from these analyses. Brisk hypothesized that an additional goal of bilingual education is to achieve sociocultural integration of language minority students. In general, standards focus predominantly on the technical knowledge required for effective bilingual instruction and less on the areas within the sociocultural, affective, and philosophical domains of bilingual schooling within the context of the American public schools. Karen Cadiero-Kaplan concludes the ideological or philosophical dimensions of teaching language minority students are emerging in compilations of bilingual teacher competencies, although their inclusion or exclusion depends largely on political exigencies that govern bilingual education in particular states.

The following domains of teacher competencies appear consistently in the research literature: (a) primary-language (L1) proficiency, (b) bilingual education program structure and design, (c) L1 and English linguistics, (d) bilingualism/L2 acquisition and L2 language pedagogy, (e) biliteracy/L2 literacy pedagogy, (f) L1/L2 academic content pedagogy, and (g) L1 culture and cross-cultural knowledge.

Menken and Antunez found that over 50% of bilingual teacher credential programs included coursework in these areas: (a) second-language acquisition and teaching and linguistics, (b) bilingual teaching methods, and (c) cultural and linguistic diversity. However, less than half of the teacher education programs included courses in (a) bilingual assessment, (b) literacy and biliteracy instruction, and (c) methods in teaching in the content areas in L1 or L2. The standards proposed in California in 2006 for credentialing teachers of ELLs and phasing out the BCLAD credential focus heavily on these less frequently developed areas of competencies. Gándara and colleagues consider that the greater emphasis on competencies for teaching academic content reflects changes in the levels of responsibility of monolingual teachers for the academic achievement of ELLs in English-only classrooms, particularly at the upper-elementary and secondary levels. James Crawford maintains the increased focus on bilingual teacher abilities in biliteracy and L2 literacy teaching may be the result of growth in enrollments in dual-immersion programs. Diane August and Timothy Shanahan argue that another factor in the

inclusion of more standards and course content related to the literacy learning of bilingual students is the expanding body of research in cross-linguistic and second-language reading. Although these are often omitted from descriptions of bilingual teacher competencies, philosophical, ideological, and attitudinal factors are also addressed in the theoretical research. The term *ideological clarity*, claim Cadiero-Kaplan and Christina Alfaro, appears in the research literature to describe the philosophical predisposition of bilingual teachers related to effective advocacy for language minority learners. Below is an analysis of the essential domains of knowledge, skills, and abilities of bilingual teachers in relationship to effective program implementation and classroom practices.

Bilingual Teacher Language Proficiency

There is a consensus in the field that bilingual teachers must be fluent in the primary language of the students to a degree where they can communicate effectively with students and teach the academic curriculum with confidence and ease in the students' primary language as well as in English. Most frequently, the primary language of ELL students is Spanish. Michael Guerrero asserts that the language proficiency of bilingual teacher candidates can be assessed either through a Spanish language proficiency test completed at their credentialing institution or through state examination. In California, for example, Domain 6 of the BCLAD credential and certificate requirements is satisfied by passing an examination in "the language of emphasis" in listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

A vital component of overall language proficiency is the bilingual teacher's abilities in "academic Spanish" and the ability to read and write accurately and fluently in the language. There is less agreement in the field about minimal levels of language proficiency that should be required for bilingual teacher licensure. The greater the amount and academic level of Spanish required in a bilingual program, the higher the levels of academic language proficiency demanded of bilingual teachers. Proficiency tests are designed to validate pre-service and in-service teachers' competencies in academic Spanish or other languages for imparting instruction in transitional models of bilingual education in which instruction in students' L1 is phased out as they become proficient in English. The CCTC claims characteristics of higher levels of proficiency include knowledge of the history, civilization, and

literature of countries in which the target language is spoken. Standards of language proficiency are highest for dual-immersion and bilingual maintenance programs, while lower levels of proficiency are deemed acceptable for transitional bilingual programs, testify Jill Kerper Mora, Joan Wink, and Dawn Wink. Generally, an advanced-intermediate level of proficiency, equivalent to a level 3.5 on the 5-point Foreign Service Institute scale, is considered minimal. Language proficiency examinations test for bilingual teachers' competence in the language of the classroom and basic content area vocabulary, as these are related to students' academic achievement in L1 literacy and subject matter knowledge. According to Kerper, there is evidence that second-language learners of Spanish can be as effective as native-Spanish-speaking bilingual teachers if they are well-versed in the academic language needed for classroom instruction.

In 2006, the licensure agency in California, CCTC, proposed the restructuring of the bilingual teacher language proficiency examination, combining some aspects of bilingual teacher competency testing with the California Teacher of English Learners (CTEL) test for teachers of other languages as academic subjects. This policy action was controversial because, in essence, it established through the rigor of the qualifying examination an equivalent standard of language proficiency for bilingual teachers who use the language as a medium of instruction in predominantly K–6 classrooms as the standard for teachers of foreign languages. Since there is limited research to support specific levels of language proficiency for bilingual teachers, declares Guerrero, the outcome of policies to raise standards for bilingual teachers is uncertain. The determining factor may be the impact of language proficiency policies on the availability and supply of bilingual teachers for transitional and dual-immersion programs and classrooms.

Bilingual Education Program Design

There are many models of bilingual education programs, which vary in linguistic and academic goals and objectives and the purposes and extent of use of two languages as mediums of instruction. Bilingual teachers know the means of implementation of different models of dual-language instruction at the program and classroom levels. These teachers are instrumental in the design of comprehensive and theoretically sound curricula with guidelines for teachers as to the functions and roles of L1 and L2 at each grade level and recommendations as to the amount of time

devoted to instruction in each language. Programmatic planning also involves decisions about appropriate student groupings based on assessments of language levels and academic needs to target instruction. To achieve programmatic goals, bilingual teachers must also make myriad pedagogical decisions regarding language use during classroom instruction and in interaction with students. Bilingual teachers know the implications of teachers' and students' language choices and apply principles of learning that lead to high levels of bilingualism and academic achievement in L1 and L2. This expertise requires a thorough understanding of the relationship and interactions between academic content and skills learned in students' L1 and their growth in language proficiency in L2 over time. Bilingual teachers also know how and when to modify their language use to adapt to students' learning styles and levels of comprehension.

L1 and English Linguistics

Knowledge of applied linguistics is critical for bilingual teachers because they teach language directly and indirectly through English as a Second Language (ESL) or English Language Development (ELD) instruction and through literacy teaching. For example, bilingual teachers teach phonics or word formation in reading instruction based on knowledge of the structure of English. They also utilize comparative and contrastive linguistics to instruct bilingual learners in comparing and contrasting their L1 and English, which leads to students' enhanced awareness of how languages function. Bilingual teachers also apply knowledge of linguistics in designing activities for transferring skills from L1 to L2 in biliteracy instruction.

Bilingualism/L2 Acquisition and L2 Language Pedagogy

Expert bilingual teachers know the progression of L2 acquisition in terms of increments of growth toward full proficiency in the second language and factors that promote or impede bilingual development. They apply these principles in developing appropriate learning activities that are targeted and modified according to students' actual levels of proficiency and the goals of instruction. This requires knowledge of instructional approaches and methods for direct language teaching for listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Mora maintains that bilingual teachers' repertoires for addressing language pedagogy include

English as a second language or foreign language and ELD approaches.

Biliteracy/L2 Literacy Pedagogy

Bilingual teachers teach reading and writing in students' L1 and L2 through sequential or concurrent models of dual-language instruction. The underlying premise is that L1 literacy skills transfer to literacy in L2 and are enhanced by cross-linguistic interaction in literacy learning in both languages. Mora also states that highly effective bilingual teachers know how to make transference explicit and systematic and to design instruction considering the impact of L2 oral language proficiency and levels of literacy in students' L1 or L2 literacy achievement. Skilled bilingual teachers also coordinate different grouping patterns and the use of L1 and L2 instructional materials so that ELLs achieve full literacy in two languages.

L1/L2 Academic Content Pedagogy

Bilingual teachers are responsible for teaching academic content predominantly in students' L1 in the early grades in transitional and dual-immersion models of bilingual instruction and increasingly in L2 as students' L1 instruction is phased out and they transition into all-English instruction. In most program models, content learning in L2 is not delayed until students achieve full L2 proficiency or bilingual teachers teach all academic subjects in structured immersion classrooms. The challenge for teachers is to make abstract and complex concepts and vocabulary comprehensible for ELLs with low levels of English proficiency and to integrate language, subject matter knowledge, and critical thinking skills, termed *academic English*, declares James Cummins. According to Mora, bilingual teachers are equipped to utilize an approach called Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE) or sheltered instruction to modify and adjust subject matter through, for example, visuals, graphic organizers, and realia (objects from real life used in the classroom) to differentiate instruction for students with different levels of L2 proficiency.

L1 Culture and Cross-Cultural Knowledge

Bilingual teachers possess general knowledge of cultural concepts and perspectives as well as specifics about the cultural backgrounds and historical and

contemporary practices of the students they teach. The function of this knowledge base is to place bilingual education in its sociocultural and political context in such a way as to enhance students' academic achievement and social integration. This includes an understanding of the dynamics of cultural power and status and the interactions among and between cultural groups based on inter- and intragroup commonalities and differences. Cummins alleges that good bilingual teachers act as cross-cultural role models and mediators to support language minority students' formation and negotiation of their bicultural identities, termed *transformative pedagogy*. Cultural knowledge is also vital for bilingual teachers to carry out the role of liaison between students' parents and communities and the schools.

There is ample consensus in the academic discipline of bilingual education regarding the qualifications of effective bilingual teachers. The relative value placed on different domains of competence has evolved and shifted as policies regarding bilingual programs and dual-language instruction have altered the roles and influence of bilingual teachers in the context of language minority education in the public schools. Bilingual teacher licensure programs can be expected to respond to these trends, while maintaining the knowledge base and body of sound pedagogical practices that have been validated through research.

Jill Kerper Mora

See also Additive and Subtractive Programs; Bilingual Teacher Licensure; Linguistics, an Overview; Measuring Language Proficiency; Transformative Teaching Model

Further Readings

- Alfaro, C. (2006). Developing ideological clarity: A case study of teaching with courage, solidarity, and ethics. In K. Cadiero-Kaplan, A. Ochoa, N. Kuhlman, E. Olivos, & J. Rodríguez (Eds.), *The living work of teachers: Ideology and practice* (pp. 41–68). Covina: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- August, D., & Hakuta, K. (Eds.). (1997). *Improving schooling for language minority children: A research agenda*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- August, D., & Shanahan, T. (Eds.). (2006). *Developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the national literacy panel on language-minority children and youth*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Brisk, M. E. (1998). *Bilingual education: From compensatory to quality schooling*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cadiero-Kaplan, K. (2004). *The literacy curriculum and bilingual education: A critical examination*. New York: Peter Lang.
- California Commission on Teacher Credentialing. (2006, November-December). *Proposed standards for California Teachers of English Learners Certificate Program: Knowledge, skills, and abilities for the California Teacher of English Learners* (Examination). Sacramento, CA: CCTC Professional Services Division.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Gándara, P., Maxwell-Jolly, J., & Driscoll, A. (2005). *Listening to teachers of English language learners: A survey of California teachers' challenges, experiences, and professional development needs*. Santa Cruz, CA: Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning. Available from http://www.cftl.org/publications_latest.php
- Gándara, P., & Rumburger, R. (2006). *Resource needs for California's English learners*. University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute. Available from http://lmri.ucsb.edu/publications/07_gandara-rumberger.pdf
- Guerrero, M. D. (1999). Spanish language proficiency of bilingual education teachers. In J. M. González (Ed.), *CBER explorations in bi-national education* (Number 2, pp. 1–51). Tempe: Arizona State University, Intercultural Development Research Association.
- Kerper, J. (1985). *A study of the congruence between bilingual education program guidelines for language use, teacher language use policy, and teacher language use patterns in the classroom*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Houston, TX.
- Menken, K., & Antunez, B. (2001). *An overview of the preparation and certification of teachers working with limited English proficient (LEP) students*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, ERIC Clearinghouse on Teaching and Teacher Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 455231)
- Mora, J. K. (2000). Staying the course in times of change: Preparing teachers for linguistically diverse classrooms. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 51, 345–357.
- Mora, J. K. (2001). Effective instructional practices and assessment for literacy and biliteracy development. In S. R. Hurley & J. V. Tinajero (Eds.), *Literacy assessment of second language learners* (pp. 149–166). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Mora, J. K. (2006). Differentiating instruction for English Learners: The four-by-four model. In T. A. Young & N. L. Hadaway (Eds.), *Supporting the literacy development of English learners: Increasing success in all classrooms* (pp. 24–40). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Mora, J. K., Wink, J., & Wink, D. (2001). Dueling models of dual-language instruction: A critical review of the literature and program implementation guide. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25, 435–460.
- Rodríguez, A. M. (1980). Empirically defining competencies for effective bilingual teachers. In R. V. Padilla (Ed.), *Theory in bilingual education: Ethnoperspectives in bilingual education research* (Vol. II, pp. 372–387). Ypsilanti, MI: Department of Foreign Languages and Bilingual Studies.
- Walton, P. H., & Carlson, R. E. (1997). Responding to social change: California's new standards for teacher credentialing. In J. E. King, E. R. Hollins, & W. C. Hayman (Eds.), *Preparing teachers for cultural diversity* (pp. 222–239). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Zúñiga-Hill, C., & Yopp, R. H. (1996). Practices of exemplary elementary school teachers of second language learners. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 23(1), 83–97.

TECHNOLOGY IN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING

Technologies of various kinds have been used to support the teaching and learning of a second language, the preservation of heritage languages, and research that provides new insights into how to best teach in more than one language, as is the case in bilingual education. Every week, it seems, another new advanced interactive technology appears that renders some of its predecessors obsolete. Advanced interactive technologies of interest to researchers and practitioners in bilingual education include computer-assisted language learning (CALL), Internet-based applications (e.g., e-mail, World Wide Web applications, telephony, multimedia, streaming video), and digital and analog audio and video.

Because of the rapid introduction of new technology tools, it is nearly impossible to keep up with the various features of specific technologies. It is even more difficult to report on them in an encyclopedia such as this one before they have been replaced by other even more advanced technology. This article focuses on the ways advanced technologies support bilingual education research and practice, rather than on the technologies themselves.

Technology in Second-Language Acquisition Research

Second-language acquisition researchers are not generally known to rely heavily on technology to serve their research. Nonetheless, there are a few instances of computer technologies used to elicit data for research on cognitive and linguistic dimensions of bilingualism. Technology has not generally played a large role in other linguistic research dimensions, though some sociolinguistically oriented studies show that CALL provides for more language production than is normally the case in many face-to-face second-language learning environments. In addition to typical statistical research software applications, researchers rely on a number of specialized software applications to analyze *interlanguage*, the name given to a linguistic system devised by a language learner who is not yet proficient and is attempting to approximate the target language. Interlanguage preserves some of the features of the first language and incorporates these features into the target language. It also reflects the status of the learner's heritage language as a resource to learning the second language and reveals possible causes of errors experienced in the second-language acquisition process.

The sources of many technologies used in second-language acquisition research are psychology, acoustic linguistics, and psycholinguistics. Psycholinguists have employed various technologies to manage and measure a variety of tasks and techniques to elicit language-related behaviors, for example, eye movements, or other behaviors associated with human language production or processing. These tools have been adapted to serve other purposes, including, for instance, data collection regarding the ability of language learners to judge grammatical correctness, recognize similar meaning between sentences, respond orally to various language prompts, and recognize words.

Technology has also been used to support experimental research in second-language learning. In tightly controlled laboratory studies, computers have been used to present input and to elicit and register responses, with or without noting subject reaction times. In applied second-language-acquisition research, the computer has replaced traditional audio and video collection systems in the language laboratory because of the ease with which digital audio and video data can be managed and analyzed with computer-based software applications. This emerging use of technology is itself an opportunity for more extensive investigation

of multimedia technology's efficacy in applied linguistic research.

As new tools enter the market, technology will become an ever more useful tool for research, evaluation, and assessment of bilingual learner characteristics. Technology-supported assessments can provide an account of what the bilingual student is learning, both in language and in academic content areas. Technology also provides for flexible assessment systems with multiple indicators to assess student progress through all four modes of communication (speaking, listening, reading, and writing). In addition, these systems can be useful in diversifying assessment from a comparative orientation between students to one that also includes a focus on individual students' progress over time.

Technology in Bilingual Education Practice

Researchers, such as Daniel Villa, have investigated culturally and linguistically appropriate uses of various technologies in conjunction with the education of language minority groups for language teaching, preservation, and maintenance. For instance, preserving an oral history in ancestral indigenous languages in searchable digital audio or video is a powerful first step to providing authentic artifacts to support the transmission of the ancestral language from one generation to the next. Such a practice affirms the speakers of the language by mining from local resources instead of relying solely on imported artifacts from sources that may denigrate local cultural norms. Examples of the latter include importing Spanish as spoken in Spain and Latin America to the exclusion of Spanish as it is spoken in U.S. immigrant communities or importing technologies to record the indigenous language of people whose cultural norms oppose the writing down or recording of their language without carefully negotiating with the local community who will do the work and for what purpose. Though technology is a useful tool in bilingual education, these examples show the importance of acknowledging local cultural norms in decision making for integrating technology into bilingual education, so that the intended outcomes are consistent with the desired outcomes for the community.

Jean Leloup and Robert Ponterio also report affective and other benefits of the use of advanced technologies in reducing anxiety and increasing motivation among language learners. For example, the use of e-mail for interaction has been found to improve student

attitudes toward learning a second language as reflected by measures of lower anxiety, higher interest, and greater student participation. The use of CALL tools has been found to help learners become more aware of their errors and better equipped to self-monitor and correct them in the future. These authors also suggest that language produced in CALL environments is of better quality than what language learners produce orally in face-to-face classroom settings. The research literature is not unanimous, however, with respect to the effectiveness of advanced technologies in the development of writing skills in a second language.

For second-language learners, using technology to engage in authentic learning experiences may lead to improved language skills, increased vocabulary, and the ability to share feelings and feel accepted in a new environment. Activities pursued by second-language learners with their parents deepen children's thinking. Multilingual Web- and computer-based technologies are helpful in breaking down the barriers to multilingual communication among schools, families, and students. For example, online machine translation services, though not perfect, offer enough support to help schools, families, and students collaborate more effectively. Other online Web-based tools provide for connections with others and access to additional educational resources across the globe. For instance, English language learners (ELLs) in the United States can use the Internet to explore and reconnect with people in their countries of origin, while increasing their knowledge of their new country. It should be noted, however, that these tools assist but do not necessarily replace face-to-face interaction and communication.

Asta Svedkauskaite, Laura Reza-Hernández, and Mary Clifford report that some have raised questions about physical and developmental effects on students, such as posture and eye problems, and possible "addictive effects" of technology that some maintain may lead to social isolation. Critics also point out high equipment expenses and question the wisdom of diverting resources from other materials and programs to buy new technologies. Nonetheless, many critics point out that quality software with bilingual support supplements skills development activities for language learners. However, constant use of drill-and-practice approaches for skill development does not necessarily ensure English language acquisition. Technology applications for content-based English language learning are better candidates for ensuring that

ELLs not only learn English but also to acquire it for practical and academic purposes.

What tends to confuse our understanding about technology and language learning is the variety of ways in which both are conceptualized. For example, what may be considered an appropriate use of technology from a psychologically oriented linguistic perspective with a primary focus on cognitive processes may be interpreted differently from a sociologically oriented linguistic perspective that takes a more group-oriented view. The use of educational technology for drill and practice may be useful for some students, but not necessarily for all. Technologies that support collaboration and provide students with access to content and other local and global resources may be useful in addition to drill-and-practice applications for other students. Hence, it is important to consider the particular need of the language learner and match that need with a technology that addresses it.

The North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, now known as REL Midwest, based in Chicago and Naperville, Illinois, and Washington, D.C., has devised a multidimensional taxonomy that provides insights into relationships between complexity in learning, engagement in learning, authenticity, and various technologies for teaching and learning with ELLs. It also provides for consideration of the breadth and depth of learning activities that technology can support in bilingual education settings (see Figure 1).

Technology applications for drill and practice support the development of basic skills and fit with normally accepted didactic instructional approaches for this purpose, with little regard to connecting instruction with real-world applications for the skills. Whereas this level of learning may be helpful in developing fundamentals that will support more complex learning activities later, it is not the only technology application of value to learners in bilingual education settings. Nonetheless, in many schools with large numbers of language minority students, drill and practice is the extent to which advanced technologies are used to support learning.

Diversifying advanced technologies and matching an increased range of technologies with specific educational purposes will also increase the level of engagement of students in language learning, preservation, and maintenance. The use of online research tools places language learners in touch with content, frequently in their heritage language, that will help them increase content knowledge while learning a second language and maintaining their heritage language

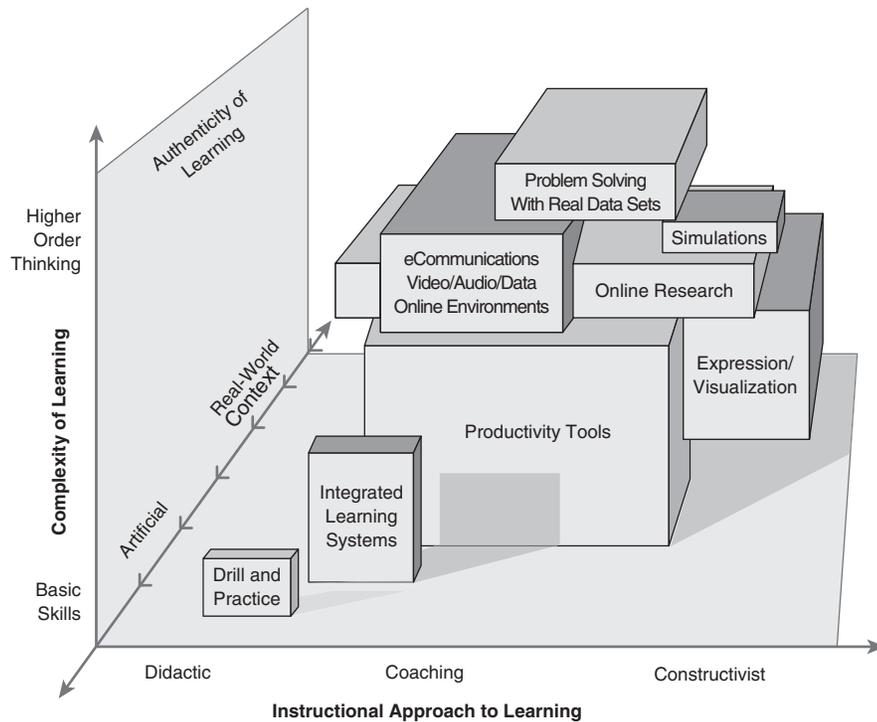


Figure 1 Range-of-Use Technology Chart

Source: EnGauge. Available from <http://www.ncrel.org/engage>. Copyright © 2006, Learning Point Associates. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission.

as well. The use of telecommunications technologies (e.g., e-mail, voice-over-Internet-protocol telephone with or without video, data), productivity tools (e.g., word processors, spreadsheets, presentation software), and expression/visualization tools (e.g., mind mapping and graphic organizing software) will appeal to students' affective development, and computer-based simulations and problem-solving tools with real data sets (e.g., games and secondary research), develop higher-order thinking skills in ELLs in real contexts. Because the technology has the capacity to incorporate learners' heritage languages from their homelands, not only is their acquisition of a second language for academic purposes accelerated, but their familiarity with the heritage language is also maintained and affirmed. Technology also helps the teacher (a) share responsibility for student learning with colleagues in other countries and (b) participate in local, national, or international online and other computer-mediated professional development options well tailored to their needs. When carefully orchestrated to serve particular curricular and instructional purposes, second-language learners and their teachers

can benefit from the full range of technology applications, especially when technologies have the authentic multilingual capacity to enable learners to draw from content matter in their native languages, while joining in academic discourse using English.

Future Directions

A rich array of research literature on relationships between advanced technology and language learning is now taking shape in many professional journals in the areas of bilingual education, English as a second language (ESL), and second-language learning, including an online journal, *Language Learning & Technology*. A challenge will always exist for a meaningful enough body of research literature to be useful to subsequent generations of

researchers and practitioners who use ever-advancing technology to support bilingual education research and practice.

The rapid pace at which more powerful technologies replace older ones makes it important to analyze not only differences in student performance, bilingual education, and ESL teacher preparation but also differences in the technology tools used to mediate teaching and learning in more than one language. Tending to this additional level of complexity in the research arena will provide for clearer insights that can be useful to bilingual educators and learners, as yet-to-be-discovered interactive technologies give rise to thinking about currently unimaginable educational possibilities in classrooms and other educational settings.

Elsie M. Szecsy

See also Audio-Lingual Method; Communicative Approach; Heritage Language Education; Interlanguage; Measuring Language Proficiency; Modern Languages in Schools and Colleges

Further Readings

- Bishop, A. (2000). *Technology trends and their potential for bilingual education* (Issue Brief No. 7). Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. Retrieved August 31, 2006, from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/issuebriefs/ib7.htm>
- Bruce, B., & Levin, J. (1997). Educational technology: Media for inquiry, communication, construction, and expression. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, 17, 79–102.
- Hulstijn, J. H. (2000). The use of computer technology in experimental studies of second language acquisition: A survey of some techniques and some ongoing studies. *Language Learning & Technology*, 3(2), 32–43. Retrieved August 31, 2006, from <http://llt.msu.edu/vol3num2/hulstijn/index.html>
- LeLoup, J. W., & Ponterio, R. (2003). *Second language acquisition and technology: A review of the research*. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED FL03–11)
- Morrison, S. (2002). *Interactive language learning on the Web*. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED FL-02-12). Retrieved September 6, 2006, from <http://www.cal.org/resources/digest/0212morrison.html>
- Svedkauskaite, A., Reza-Hernández, L., & Clifford, M. (2003). *Critical issue: Using technology to support limited-English-proficient (LEP) students' learning experiences*. Chicago: North Central Regional Educational Laboratory. Retrieved September 5, 2006, from <http://www.ncrel.org/sdrs/areas/issues/methods/technlgy/te900.htm>
- Villa, D. J. (2002). Integrating technology into minority language preservation and teaching efforts: An inside job. *Language Learning & Technology*, 6(2), 92–101. Retrieved November 29, 2006, from <http://llt.msu.edu/v016num2/villa/default.html>

TESOL, INC.

The acronym TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) can have three different meanings: It can refer to the professional association based in the United States, to the specific profession of practitioners that provide English language instruction to students of diverse linguistic backgrounds, or to the field of study itself. This entry

focuses on the description, historical background, and status of TESOL, Inc., the organization.

Headquartered in the state of Virginia, TESOL was founded in 1966 in New York and established its mission to ensure excellence in English language teaching to speakers of other languages. Practitioners, scholars, policymakers, administrators, and publishers in the field of English instruction are part of the TESOL membership audience. TESOL also has affiliations with 97 associations at the national and international levels and state affiliate organizations with the same or similar names in 47 states. Among international affiliates, 18 are in North, Central, and South America; 20 are in Europe and Eurasia; 9 are in Asia and Oceania; and 6 are in Africa and the Middle East. As indicated by its slogan, “A global education association,” TESOL was established with the purpose of reaching members from all over the world.

Through its activities and resources, TESOL supports and fosters improvements in different aspects of teaching English. It provides space for discussion, interaction, and the production of knowledge for researchers and practitioners through various publications and its annual convention. *TESOL Quarterly*, a research-oriented, peer-reviewed journal, has been in print since the organization was founded and has made a significant contribution to the field. TESOL also publishes newsletters and magazines aimed at diverse audiences. TESOL's annual convention is usually held in March and provides opportunities for members to interact, discuss, and share ideas on research and practice and to assess the implications of their work in policy making.

TESOL's functions also include the support, development, and regulation of the profession itself. One of TESOL's initial aims was to ensure that there were guidelines and steps toward the certification and professional quality of practitioners in the field. It has published a wide variety of materials on professional preparation, reference, classroom practice, and assessment and has developed resources for teaching English worldwide. TESOL has also provided space in publications, conventions, and its Web site for career services and employment resources. Special programs such as TESOL's summer institutes also contribute to the professional development of English instructors. TESOL continues to play a key role in advocacy on issues that affect practitioners and students in the profession.

The impulse to create this organization arose from concerns about the education of culturally and

linguistically diverse populations around the world. Many of the founders of TESOL worked in government agencies and in the academy. This tradition continues. Often, members participate in policy-making forums. Its officers and members provide information and testimony to the U.S. Congress concerning laws that impact bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) education. Position statements and papers are developed that address issues related to English language teaching, such as support for language rights and multiculturalism, and professional quality for students and teachers.

Historical Background

James E. Alatis, of Georgetown University, served as executive secretary and director for TESOL from its establishment until 1987. His involvement and leadership in the development of the organization positioned him as a renowned historian and record keeper of TESOL's evolution. In a series of published papers Alatis has described TESOL's early history, growth, and challenges over three decades. Alatis explains that TESOL was created out of three main concerns discussed by members of several organizations in the early 1960s: the need for an organization that addressed the issues of English instruction practice for linguistically diverse students in the United States, a publication for practitioners and scholars in the field, and a roster or national register of qualified teachers in the field. The collaborating organizations joining forces to create TESOL were the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), the Modern Language Association of America (MLA), the National Association of Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA, now Association of International Educators), and the Speech Association of America. All of these institutions were in some way related to English instruction and study, but none was exclusively dedicated to an audience of nonnative English speakers.

After a series of planning conferences and meetings, the association was established at its first annual conference in New York in March 1996. Participants in these meetings included representatives of the organizations mentioned above, along with scholars from several linguistics departments, such as the University of Minnesota; the University of Michigan; Princeton; Georgetown; and Teachers College, Columbia University.

Personnel from U.S. government agencies were also involved, such as the New York City Board of Education, the California State Department of Education, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The coining of the organization's name took into consideration several aspects of TESOL's aims and interests. Alatis clarified that the chosen name did not include the words *American* or *National*, as some of its founding organizations did, because it wanted to provide an international scope and reach in its membership. It also used the term *English to speakers of other languages* (ESOL) to refer to the students it aimed to reach. This term incorporated both ESL students, those learning English in countries where English is spoken as a native language, and English as a foreign-language (EFL) students, those learning English in countries where English is an additional, nonofficial language. TESOL functioned as an umbrella term for national and international audiences.

In the first 20 years of the organization's life, its growth and involvement in several aspects of ESOL education were remarkable. In 1966, the association started with 37 members; by 1975, 5,000 members were registered. By 1986, TESOL members numbered about 11,000. There was an increase in members from abroad, largely from Canada and Japan (22.7% in 1975, increasing 2% more in 1986), along with a growing list of affiliates within and outside the country.

During TESOL's first 10 years, the development of bilingual education in the United States was one of the areas in which TESOL practitioners and officers played a key role. In 1967, testimony was presented by the TESOL office at the congressional hearings leading to the enactment of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA): the Bilingual Education Act. In this way, TESOL initiated important collaborations with key political figures interested in language issues and programs. Several publications addressing professional practice in bilingual and bicultural education had been part of TESOL's commitment to bilingual education, along with position papers establishing the organization's stance in support of bi- and multilingualism.

As the organization continued to grow, its publications, conventions, and participation of members and officers in events with important implications for language instruction gained a significant place for the TESOL profession. However, as Alatis remarked, the challenge of TESOL's international role was clear by

the end of the 1980s in terms of financial and administrative resources to reach all members across borders.

TESOL in the 21st Century

After its 40th anniversary in 2005/2006, reflection and analysis of the state of the art in the association and profession indicated the following: Some trends remained from the organization's foundation in terms of membership and structure. Most of the members registered by June 2006 were from the United States (77.8%), with 147 countries represented in the remaining 22.2%. Japan and Canada still held the largest percentages of TESOL's memberships abroad, and the United States, California, Florida, and New York were the states with the largest number of members.

TESOL members can join several special interest groups (SIGs), which meet in the annual conventions and publish periodical newsletters. Some SIGs address ESL instruction at the elementary, secondary, and higher-education levels; adult education; and bilingual education. Other SIGs include applied linguistics, the group with most members in 2006; refugee concerns; teacher education; and material writers. Groups with more specific needs in English instruction are also included in areas such as English as a foreign language and English for specific purposes. Some classroom methodologies have also been considered in their own sections, such as second-language writing or speech, pronunciation, and listening. TESOL communities also include a group of caucuses, sharing social, linguistic, and cultural identities. These include a caucus on part-time employment concerns; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and friends; and nonnative English speakers in TESOL.

The publication of position statements and papers on several issues concerning the TESOL profession remains one of the association's main commitments. Since the enactment of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, TESOL has published several statements addressing its impact on the academic achievement of ESOL students, fair assessment practices, and teacher qualification. Position statements also advocate for professional treatment and equity for TESOL practitioners, focusing on employment conditions and the opposition to discrimination practices or exploitation based on race, ethnicity, and/or having a native language other than English.

Regarding issues that have international implications, TESOL advocates for immigration services and

policies that ensure a respectful and efficient treatment of international students. It also supports a comprehensive immigration reform that respects human rights and does not penalize immigrant families and the professionals that provide support and assistance to them. TESOL's values and statements reflect its position in support of multilingualism, language rights, and the value of language varieties and dialects, such as African American Vernacular and world Englishes.

In an era of globalization and increasing use of communication technologies, challenges continue to arise in the internationalization of the association. In 2006, Suresh Canagarajah, editor of *TESOL Quarterly*, pointed out some directions needed for TESOL to become a global institution in the transition to and acceptance of new paradigms and frameworks. He called for the need to teach English for global purposes, taking into consideration local languages, needs, and interests. With new varieties of English being recognized worldwide, the notions of competence or correctness do not necessarily depend and belong only to countries in which English is the native language. Collaboration and negotiation need to take place across borders, validating the voices of those involved in TESOL in diverse contexts.

Silvia C. Noguero

See also Alatis, James E.; Bilingual Teacher Licensure; Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; Official English Legislation, Position of English Teachers on; Teacher Qualifications; World Englishes

Further Readings

- Alatis, J. (1976). The past as prologue. *TESOL Quarterly*, 10, 7–19.
- Alatis, J. (1987). The growth and professionalism in TESOL: Challenges and prospects for the future. *TESOL Quarterly*, 21, 9–19.
- Alatis, J. (1996). *The early history of TESOL*. Retrieved from http://www.tesol.org/s_tesol/seccss.asp?CID=674&DID=2768
- Canagarajah, S. (2006). TESOL at forty: What are the issues? *TESOL Quarterly*, 40, 9–34.

Web Sites

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL, Inc.): <http://www.tesol.org>

TEXAS LEGISLATION (HB 103 AND SB 121)

The Bilingual Education and Training Act (also known as Senate Bill 121) was enacted by the 63rd Texas Legislature and signed into law by Governor Dolph Briscoe in June 1973. Although not the first of its type in the United States, this legislation was a turning point in the education of Mexican American students and other language minority children in the state of Texas. The groups targeted for special intervention were students from a population who had suffered decades of educational neglect and underachievement in the public schools because of their inability to compete in the traditional English-only system. Although a portion of the act carried provisions for adult education, the legislative language requiring K–12 bilingual education was new and unprecedented. The centerpiece of the law was the mandate requiring bilingual (mainly Spanish-English) instruction in any Texas public elementary school enrolling 20 or more children of limited English ability in any grade level. The provision in the law that a language other than English could be used to provide subject matter instruction was especially significant because it effectively eliminated the long-standing English-only teaching requirement imposed by a 1918 Texas law.

Even though Senate Bill 121 provided the legal mandate for bilingual education, at least two districts, the Laredo United Consolidated Schools (now Laredo United Independent School District) and the San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD), had begun to experiment with bilingual education several years prior to the approval of the formal mandate. SAISD had also experimented with a form of vocational bilingual education at Lanier High School aimed at developing bilingual secretaries for the fast-growing international marketplace. The designers of the Lanier project were Josué M. González and Abelardo Villarreal. In addition, the district had been the main venue of the University of Texas Oral Language Research Project spearheaded by university professors from the Austin campus. The research project applied the audio-lingual method to the teaching of English and science in the elementary schools. The method proved only partially successful and resulted in important modifications to the knowledge base for teaching English to English language learners (ELLs).

Fueled by the alarming 80% to 90% drop-out rates among Mexican American students and by studies at

the St. Lambert school in Canada showing the value and utility of bilingual education, the nascent models of dual-language instruction also began to take form in Texas. Leading the state's pioneering efforts were United Consolidated Schools superintendent Harold C. Brantley and innovative teachers Dolores Earle, of Laredo, and Gloria Zamora, of San Antonio. Spanish was used in these early programs, as in later programs of bilingual education, essentially to build the self-concepts of children and to facilitate their learning of English as the eventually exclusive medium of learning. Subsequently, under the leadership of superintendent José A. Cárdenas, the Edgewood Independent School District launched the first districtwide effort to teach bilingually.

Other programs evolved in various school districts and in various pedagogical forms across the state before the enabling legislation authorized them: Corpus Christi, Kingsville, McAllen, Del Rio, and El Paso all operated without legal support and in violation of the 1918 English-only law. By 1968, approximately 10 programs had been implemented in the state. Faced with the urgency to legitimize these early programs, Texas State Representative (later Senator) Carlos Truán and Senator Joe Bernal banded together in support of the first bilingual education bill in the state. The bill labeled HB 103 became law in 1969. It provided "that bilingual instruction may be offered or permitted in those situations when such instruction is educationally advantageous to the pupils." In retrospect, HB 103 was designed as a purely enabling piece of legislation. It did not contain the special provisions for mandatory bilingual education and funding requirements found in the later SB 121. Nevertheless, it served a useful purpose not only in affording school officials the opportunity to design special language programs for ELLs in the schools but, equally important, in providing them with the administrative clearance necessary to tap into the newly authorized federal funds available under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).

A convergence of several social, legal, and political factors enabled Senator Truán and other state proponents of bilingual education to secure the needed support from the 61st and 63rd Legislatures for special programs for language minority children. The civil rights movement of the 1960s and the Great Society programs promulgated by President Lyndon B. Johnson, for example, greatly altered many people's perceptions of ethnic minorities in the United States. It was also during this period that institutionalized

segregated schooling ended, political mechanisms designed to obstruct minority group voting collapsed, and it became unpopular to be publicly ethnocentric. Very significantly, equality of educational opportunity for linguistically and culturally diverse learners was recognized as a worthy and highly desirable goal for public education. It was within this national context that bilingual schooling emerged as an alternative approach to the conventional English-only and culturally monolithic system of education. Political events in Texas continued to evolve in ways that were favorable to the continued development of bilingual education.

The legal support and need for bilingual education were further established by the ruling issued on January 8, 1981, by Judge William Wayne Justice in the *United States v. Texas* federal court case. This case, filed by the G.I. Forum and the League of United Latin American Citizens, challenged the adequacy of the state's efforts to respond to the needs of limited-English-proficient (LEP) children. After hearing expert testimony from educators and others across the state and reviewing numerous court documents regarding school programs for Mexican American children, Judge Justice ordered the Texas Education Agency "to take further steps, including further bilingual education, if needed, to satisfy . . . their affirmative obligation . . . and enforce the right of these linguistically deprived children to equal educational opportunity."

Senator Carlos Truán used the *United States v. Texas* ruling as the primary catalyst to solidify and augment the basic legislative provisions of the state's bilingual education program. His efforts culminated in the passage of SB 477 in the 1981 session of the Texas Legislature. In addition to the requirement allowing the use of native-language instruction in a more expanded form, the revisions in the new and updated law included language similar to that of Judge Justice's decision requiring the Texas Education Agency to monitor the quality of bilingual and ESL programs offered to the state's ELLs.

Although the Texas bilingual education legacy has been associated with Spanish speakers, the most widespread language community in Texas, the state's programs have more recently expanded to include the needs of other language groups, such as the Vietnamese, Korean, and Pakistani (Urdu language) communities. Although limited funding for the growing number of programs and second-language learners persists as a major concern for advocates of bilingual education, interestingly, new and different forms of

dual-language education continue to emerge. Guided by the state policies and flexibility encouraged in federal education laws to experiment with a variety of program designs, many school districts in the state are creating new forms of bilingual education promoted as two-way or one-way immersion bilingual programs. These programs, few in number but quickly expanding, involve both traditional populations of LEP children along with proficient English speakers, each group learning a second language in an enrichment school environment. Many of these programs have been able to shed the pejorative transitional, remedial, or compensatory characterization typical of the original generation of bilingual programs.

In general, Texas has experienced a relatively positive response to bilingual education during the same time that other states, such as Arizona, California, and Massachusetts, have experienced language restrictionism. As a result of a Texas court case, *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981), a compliance order crafted for one school district in South Texas was later adopted by the Office for Civil Rights as the compliance standard to be used throughout the country in Grades K–12.

Rodolfo Rodríguez

See also Affirmative Steps to English; English for the Children Campaign; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Truán, Carlos

Further Readings

- Andersson, T., & Boyer, M. (1970). *Bilingual schooling in the United States* (Vols. 1 and 2). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Castañeda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (1981).
- Gómez, S. (1967). The meaning and implications of bilingualism in Texas schools. In D. M. Estes et al. (Eds.), *Improving educational opportunities for the Mexican-American* (pp. 42–63). Austin, TX: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.
- Rodríguez, R., Ramos, N. J., & Ruiz-Escalante, J. A. (1994). *Compendium of readings in bilingual education: Issues and practices*. San Antonio: Texas Association for Bilingual Education.
- San Miguel, G., Jr. (1987). *Let all of them take heed: Mexican Americans and the campaign for education equality in Texas, 1910–1981*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- United States v. Texas, 506 F. Supp. 405 (E.D. Tex. 1981).

THRESHOLD HYPOTHESIS

The threshold hypothesis was originally introduced by James Cummins in 1976 and Pertti Toukomaa and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas in 1977 as a theoretical model for explaining the effects of bilingualism on academic success in children, and it was later popularized by Cummins's further work in the United States. It has been shown that bilingualism has numerous positive cognitive effects for bilingual individuals, although these effects do not always translate into school success. The threshold hypothesis suggests that the effects of bilingualism are actually mediated by the degree of age-appropriate competence in each language, rather than the state of being bilingual. In practical terms, this suggests that children who are developmentally competent in both languages, often termed *balanced bilinguals*, would experience positive cognitive advantages of being bilingual, whereas children who are developmentally competent in only one of their two languages, often termed *dominant bilinguals*, would experience neither positive nor negative effects. Finally, children whose competence in both languages is neither developmentally nor age appropriate, often termed *limited bilinguals*, would experience negative cognitive effects.

Cummins subsequently expanded his threshold hypothesis by proposing the concept of *developmental interdependence* to explain the relationship between attainment levels in the first and second languages. According to this theory, the level of a bilingual individual's development of the first language—and literacy skills in the first language in particular—ultimately affect ability and literacy in the second language.

Degrees of Bilingualism

The threshold hypothesis, as noted above, relies on the concepts of limited, dominant, and balanced bilingualism. A *balanced bilingual* individual is someone who is more or less equally competent in both languages and whose competence in each language reflects that of a similarly-aged monolingual individual. For instance, a student who is able to complete a third-grade curriculum in both English and Spanish would be identified as a balanced bilingual. A *limited bilingual*, on the other hand, is a person who does not have age-appropriate, nativelike competence in either language. Children who are designated as limited

bilinguals are sometimes referred to as *non-nons* or *semilinguals*, having been identified by a school assessment as speaking neither their home language nor English. There are problems with these simplistic definitions. The identification of non-nons and the concepts of limited bilingualism and semilingualism have been disputed as overly simplistic and inaccurate. Similarly, it is unlikely that exact equality of fluency in two languages can be determined in a practical way in order to ascertain that a person is balanced in the use of two languages. Finally, a *dominant bilingual* is a person who has achieved nativelike, age-appropriate competence in one language but not the other. This is a broad category with limited utility, since it covers such a broad band of speakers.

According to Cummins and others, balanced bilinguals are frequently the products of education programs that supports *additive bilingualism*. An additive approach to bilingualism entails the maintenance of the first language so that the second (or subsequent) language is acquired in addition to the home language. Bilingual education programs such as two-way immersion/dual-language and heritage language programs are useful in promoting additive bilingualism. Conversely, limited bilinguals are frequently involved in education programs that promote *subtractive bilingualism*, whereby the second (or subsequent) language is acquired as a replacement of the first language and no education resources are provided for the maintenance of the first language. Examples of subtractive bilingual programs include submersion, sheltered English immersion, and transitional bilingual education programs.

Though bilingualism is frequently seen as an absolute state in which a speaker is as competent in each language as a monolingual speaker, this ideal is rarely realized in practice. Bilingual individuals tend to be dominant in one of their languages, and this dominance can change over time, depending on changing social situations or the subject matter being discussed. For instance, a Mandarin-English bilingual who is dominant in English may become dominant in Mandarin after working in Beijing. A young Hispanic immigrant to the United States is likely to become bilingual first in “school talk” than in other areas. Bilinguals tend to use each of their languages in different contexts, which often necessitate different vocabulary and interaction styles. One example of this in the United States would be a child whose home language is Vietnamese but who attends school in an

all-English program. The child would need to develop academic language along with surface fluency in English but would not naturally develop academic language in Vietnamese unless enrolled in an academic program in Vietnamese. Cummins does somewhat address this phenomenon as it relates to school through his basic interpersonal communication skills/cognitive academic language proficiency (BICS/CALP) distinction, although BICS/CALP focuses on development in the school language.

The Hypothesis

Research has shown that bilingualism often has positive cognitive outcomes, such as enhanced metalinguistic awareness and cognitive flexibility. Despite these positive effects, becoming or being bilingual does not necessarily guarantee academic success, and the threshold hypothesis attempts to account for the relationship between degrees of bilingualism and cognitive/academic effects. According to the theory, the cognitive effects of bilingualism are a product of the type of bilingualism achieved, as shown in Figure 1, from Cummins's 1979 article. In further exploring the threshold hypothesis, it is important to realize that nativelike competence should be age appropriate, such that the language abilities of a 5-year-old Spanish-English bilingual are equivalent to the language abilities of monolingual Spanish and English 5-year-olds.

When only the lower threshold of bilingualism is reached, meaning that a bilingual individual does not have nativelike competence in either language (see discussion of semilingualism above), then the cognitive effects of bilingualism would be negative. At this point, school assessments would likely identify the child as a non-non, and the child would likely have difficulty in school in either language. When the second threshold is reached, the bilingual individual is dominant in either one of his or her languages but has not achieved nativelike competency in both. The cognitive effects of bilingualism at this point would be neither positive nor negative. In this case, the child should be able to succeed in the classroom in the dominant language. Finally, when the second threshold is surpassed, the bilingual has become a balanced bilingual with nativelike competence in both languages and would enjoy the positive cognitive effects of bilingualism. A child at this level is able to attend to school tasks in either language and is considered to have gone through a process of additive bilingualism.

Educational Implications

The educational implications of the threshold hypothesis are fairly clear, as the theory indicates that becoming a balanced bilingual is the only way to achieve the positive cognitive effects of bilingualism, which entails an additive bilingual education program

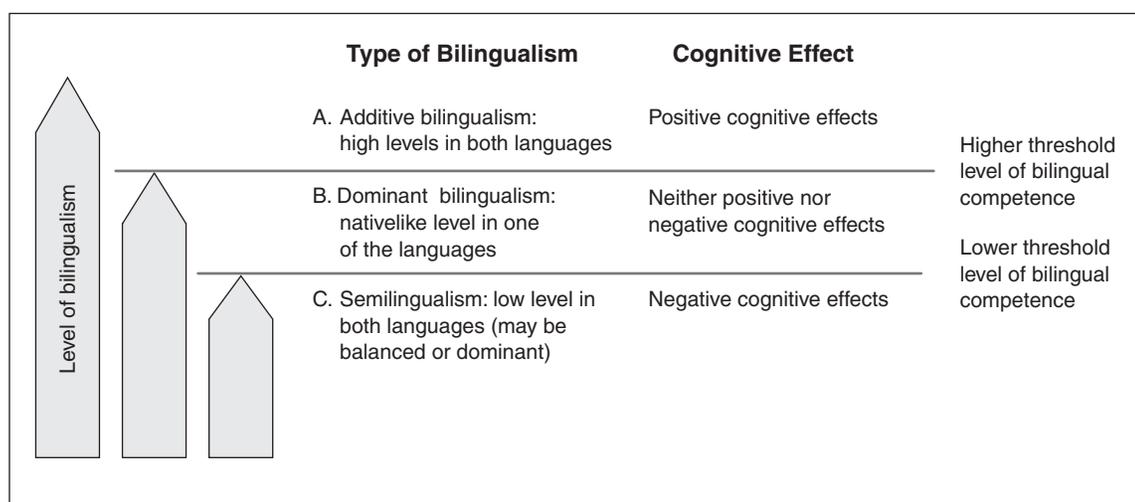


Figure 1 Cognitive Effects of Different Types of Bilingualism

Source: Cummins (1979, p. 230); adapted from Toukoma & Skutnabb-Kangas (1977). Reproduced with permission of Sage Publications.

(also known as *maintenance* or *developmental model*) that supports development of both languages and their constant use. In the case of language minority children, this means that schools should offer sustained, high-quality content and literacy instruction in the child's first language alongside academic and language development instruction in the child's second (or subsequent) language. It also suggests that education programs that foster development of only one of a bilingual individual's languages are not acting in the best interest of the bilingual child, since only a state of balanced bilingualism provides positive cognitive effects. The threshold hypothesis clearly advocates for additive bilingual education programs for minority language children that support the maintenance and development of the home language as well as rigorous development of the school language.

Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis

Cummins further elaborated the threshold hypothesis with the introduction of the *developmental interdependence hypothesis*, which offers an explanation for discrepancies in academic achievement and second-language (L2) development between language minority and language majority students in immersion programs. Studies have repeatedly shown that first-language (L1) development and academic success of language majority students are not adversely affected by an L2 immersion environment, whereas language minority students tend to experience greater academic success in an educational environment that promotes both L1 and L2 maintenance and development. In a 1979 article, Cummins argued that this was a result of the degree of L1 attainment, specifically in terms of literacy readiness skills, which are defined as vocabulary concept knowledge, metalinguistic insights, and decontextualized language. Essentially, Cummins argues that students who are more prepared to read in their first language will be more prepared to start reading in their second (or subsequent) language, once heavy exposure to that language, such as in an immersion program, begins.

It is important to note that the developmental interdependence hypothesis is stated in the general terms of L2 attainment levels being partially affected by L1 attainment levels at the time that L2 is introduced for study by a particular student. However, attainment levels in language learning refer very specifically to

literacy readiness skills, not overall language ability or surface fluency. One reason for this is that children, barring a language delay or impairment, have achieved an adultlike grammar by the time they start school at the age of 5 or 6, though their vocabulary is still growing. It follows that the level of L1 language ability at a particular age should not differ across languages and therefore could not affect L2 attainment, which does not explain the differences in academic success between language minority and language majority students in immersion programs. To a great extent, literacy readiness skills are a product of the home and prekindergarten environments, so that middle-class language majority students generally enter school with more reading readiness skills than other groups, such as language minority children who have experienced interruptions to their schooling. Even though both groups enter immersion programs, language majority students receive more support in learning to read in their L1 through school, home, and media environments and generally succeed more academically than their language minority counterparts, who typically enter school with fewer literacy skills in an environment that does not support incipient L1 literacy levels. For these reasons, the developmental interdependence hypothesis also suggests that language minority students are best served by educational programs that develop L1 literacy ability before focusing on L2 literacy.

Criticisms of the Threshold Hypothesis

One clear criticism of the threshold hypothesis is the reliance on the notion of semilingualism in defining the lower threshold. Not only is this a deficit approach to understanding a bilingual's abilities, but semilingualism is usually determined by a young child's performance on a standardized language assessment, which reflects many other issues beyond language ability, such as educational, cultural, and personality factors and variations. Semilingualism itself is disputed on a theoretical and policy level, especially since being identified as a semilingual can have long-lasting repercussions in a child's academic career.

In addition, the threshold hypothesis does not account for the known fluidity of bilingualism and instead relies on absolutes such as balanced and dominant bilingualism, as discussed above. For the same reasons, the implementation of the threshold hypothesis

is problematic, as the thresholds themselves are not clearly defined. The path from monolingualism to bilingualism appears to be a continuum, not a set of discrete stages, so that establishing concrete boundaries between different thresholds becomes somewhat arbitrary. To determine which threshold a bilingual individual has reached, researchers would need to assess something beyond cognitive effects, since cognitive effects are the outcome rather than the indicator. However, no clear set of criteria has been established for determining degrees of bilingualism, as bilingual ability is influenced not only by cognitive and language factors but also by broader social, political, economic, and educational circumstances.

Kara T. McAlister

See also BICS/CALP Theory; Cognitive Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Cummins, James; Dual-Language Programs; English Immersion; Heritage Language Education; Language Dominance; Native English Speakers Redefined; Primary-Language Support; Semilingualism; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs

Further Readings

- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (Eds.). (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 22 (2), 222–251.
- Cummins, J. (1994). Primary language instruction and the education of language minority students. In C. F. Leyba (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework* (2nd ed., pp. 103–117). Sacramento: California State Department of Education.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- MacSwan, J. (2000). The threshold hypothesis, semilingualism, and other contributions to a deficit view of linguistic minorities. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 22, 3–45.
- Petrovic, J. E., & Olmstead, S. (2001). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire* [Book review]. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25, 3.
- Toukomaa, P., & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1977). *The intensive teaching of the mother tongue to migrant children at preschool age* (Research Report No. 26). Tampere, Finland: University of Tampere, Department of Sociology and Social Psychology.

TITLE VII, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, FUNDING HISTORY

See OFFICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND MINORITY LANGUAGES AFFAIRS; APPENDIX F

TITLE VII, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, KEY HISTORICAL MARKER

The law known as the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, or Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, was without a doubt the most important state or federal legislation in support of bilingual education in the United States. Over the 30 years of its existence, Title VII was the vehicle for distributing federal funds for bilingual education in all states plus Puerto Rico; Washington, D.C.; and American territories. In addition to funding public schools, Title VII also provided support for research, teacher training and retraining, technical assistance, a national information clearinghouse, curriculum materials development, and other aspects of program design and implementation. Little wonder that the work of this funding program received much attention and scrutiny by critics of bilingual education almost from its inception.

While initial funding was small, Title VII offered grant makers great flexibility over what to fund, provided by statutory language allowing funds to be distributed for program operations but also for “planning and taking other steps” to support innovative programs of education. The record shows that the act was used, imaginatively, for a number of important improvements. The same flexibility was used by administrations of both parties to slow down or accelerate aspects of the program that were preferred or disdained by the various commissioners and secretaries of education over the life of the program, an example being the hostility toward the program that prevailed during the years William J. Bennett served as secretary of education. During this period, programs of English-only instruction were favored over those that relied on home languages other than English. Conversely, during the Clinton administration, funding decisions

avored programs in which the non-English home language was used in a program design known as *dual-language immersion* or *two-way bilingual*.

Background

At the time the U.S. Congress took up the Title VII amendment to the ESEA, only a few projects in bilingual education existed around the country. Arguably, widespread experience with the concept of bilingual education was not what motivated the Congress to action. The concept had yet to prove itself on a large scale, and other factors were at play. First, state administrators of the major funding source for poor children, Title I of ESEA, were often inattentive to the language barrier between schools and ethnic minority children. Title I, a formula-driven source of federal funds, tended to focus on the needs of African American children in urban areas and poor White students in small towns and rural Appalachia. Latino and other language minority children did not receive much attention, even though the primary requirement of poverty was often met by those children and the schools they attended.

An important factor that may have contributed to the passage of Title VII as a focused discretionary program was the beginning of political activism by Latinos in California, Florida, New York, and Texas. “Viva Kennedy” clubs had delivered large numbers of votes for the Democratic Party in 1960. President Johnson had a strong base of support among Mexican Americans in Texas, and his party was losing support due to the mishandling of the war in Vietnam. It was time to return to “the base” of the party. Lyndon Johnson had befriended many political leaders in South Texas for years. His closeness to Mexican American voters was a factor that had led to his election to the U.S. Senate in 1948. Johnson had won the Democratic primary, in which vote fraud in a Mexican American town gave him an 87-vote margin over his opponent. “Box 13,” as the scandal came to be known, had allowed Johnson to move from the House of Representatives into the U.S. Senate. Overall, support for the Title VII bill was good, and the sponsoring senators had strong support in their respective states. In short, passage of the bill was not difficult because there was no organized opposition. There is no evidence that the bill was an attempt to repay political favors by one party or the other. But the bill’s bipartisan sponsorship was an indication that the bill was meant to appeal to the growing minority

constituency in the three states with the largest numbers of Latino voters.

Concern over low school attainment and the high drop-out rates of language minority children also contributed toward the legislative push that resulted in Title VII of the ESEA. Education leaders in Washington, D.C., had been looking for viable programmatic initiatives they could promote that would allow Title I to remain focused on poor schools in rural areas and inner cities. In 1966, the National Education Association (NEA) sponsored a symposium in Tucson, Arizona, ostensibly to look into better ways of teaching Spanish to students with Spanish surnames in the Southwest. Much of the discussion seems to have focused on successful examples of bilingual education as a way to continue the development of the home language of Hispanic students. It was to be the first of many such conferences devoted to bilingual education. The NEA put bilingual education on its legislative agenda, and within 2 years, the federal government had adopted it as a new program initiative under ESEA.

Provisions

During the period in which ESEA was the primary funding mechanism for the federal government, financial support for education occurred at one of three levels. Small programs were regarded as *demonstration programs*, designed to show the possibilities in particular ideas or approaches. The next-higher level of funding was for *capacity-building* efforts, chiefly in states and school districts. Programs in this category were appropriated at a higher level on the premise that the innovations they offered had proven themselves to be effective. They were considered worthy of replication and therefore targeted to reach more of the eligible children who could benefit from them. Concurrently, such programs were expected to build the schools’ capacities to deliver special services effectively and efficiently. Finally, large programs such as Title I, which distributed billions of dollars annually, were said to be *full-service* or *entitlement programs*, and all eligible clients were assumed to be covered. Title VII never reached the level of funding needed to serve all eligible children. It did, however, move from being a demonstration program into the category of capacity building. From a modest beginning of \$7.5 million, the program’s appropriation level grew to well over \$200 million by the time the program ended in 2002. A separate effort known as the Stanford Working Group

project was launched in the 1990s to improve the delivery of Title I services to English language learners (ELLs), including financial support for bilingual instruction.

While Title VII was enacted in 1968, no funds were appropriated at the time of enactment. Only a small appropriation of \$7.5 million was made available for the subsequent fiscal year. In its initial form, the Title VII legislation was simple and uncomplicated. The act gave the secretary of health, education, and welfare and the U.S. Commissioner of Education wide discretion to fund schools and projects that held the promise of improving the education of ELLs. In many of these projects, non-English languages were used, but this was not always the case because the legislation did not require it. Generally, the nation's schools approached bilingual education cautiously. From the outset, the emphasis was on overcoming the perceived disadvantage that was assumed to accompany the use of languages other than English at home. The goal of maintaining and improving children's home languages was rarely actively promoted. Title VII grants were critically important in promoting the adoption of bilingual education in hundreds of schools nationwide, but they were most effective in promoting transitional bilingual education (TBE) at the expense of language preservation, which the legislation implicitly allowed. Grants were also made to support the development of curriculum materials in languages other than English, a concept not yet embraced by commercial publishers of that time. Major research efforts and large programs of teacher education followed after changes were made to the legislation in the reauthorization of 1974.

Early Years

Title VII was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on January 2, 1968. For the federal fiscal year that followed, no funds were appropriated. Beginning with the 1970 fiscal year, Congress made \$7.5 million available to be distributed chiefly to school districts. As programs of various types were launched under Title VII auspices, it soon became apparent that the knowledge base needed to create successful programs was insufficient. University-based researchers, who often work ahead of the wave to generate new knowledge, were, generally speaking, caught unprepared. Initially, practitioners relied mostly on research support from the field of linguistics, but as research efforts

broadened, research began to trickle in from other social science disciplines. None of the research seemed to contradict the wisdom of using two languages in teaching these children. But practitioners soon realized that the supposed "language barrier" between schools and certain language groups was much more complex than had been assumed.

Critics of the program were quick to point out that the goals of the Title VII program were unclear. Noel Epstein, a journalist who wrote one of the early criticisms of bilingual education generally and Title VII specifically, asserted that the program suffered from "the Columbus syndrome," which Epstein described as sailing forth without maps or charts, in hopes of running into something.

Retrospectively, and viewed from the knowledge base of the 21st century, it appears that expectations for these early programs may have been too high, given an approach that was not yet mature and often operated in hostile environments. The interventions (treatment variable) inherent in those programs were not dramatically different from what had taken place before in those classrooms. The same teachers taught in the new programs, often without additional preparation. Low expectations for language minority students had not changed. Most important, the schools had little effect on one of the greatest causes of poor achievement: poverty. Many immigrant and second-generation students suffered then, as they do now, from the effects of multigenerational poverty and low education levels of parents. Transitional bilingual education was necessary but not sufficient to cure the deep-seated problems of inequity protracted over several generations. Early program evaluations did not explore those effects and causes of poor achievement.

There were vocal critics of the program from among the language minority groups themselves, who were unhappy that Title VII did little to encourage children to continue to develop and improve their ancestral languages. Indeed, the opposite sentiment seemed to prevail. To avoid challenges from Congress, administration personnel promoted the concept that participation in programs funded by Title VII should be limited in time to the shortest periods possible. At the time the Title VII legislation was reauthorized by Congress in 1974, the idea of rapid exit was incorporated into the legislation. While the program was still in its infancy, a major evaluation of its effectiveness was commissioned to the American Institutes for Research (AIR). Not surprisingly, the results of the

AIR evaluation were mixed, and the critics of bilingual education used the findings to argue for a quick end to the program or, at minimum, a quick exit by participating students. This caused proponents to argue that this policy sent the wrong message to students and families that their various home languages were good enough to use in schools, but only for a short time.

National Politics and Title VII

Opponents of bilingual education had long been resentful of the role of Title VII in promoting bilingual education in the nation's schools. Epstein, an early critic, spurred the debate with his book *Language, Ethnicity, and the Schools*. Epstein revived the nativist idea that ethnic and language groups did not have the right to ask the public schools to promote their languages and cultures by including them in school practices and curriculum. English, they claimed, was the only language that should be promoted in school, ignoring the fact that instruction in and through other languages had been the norm rather than the exception in other periods of American history.

The debate over mandating, funding, or even tolerating instruction in languages other than English intensified in 1980 with the publication by the U.S. Department of Education of a "Notice of Proposed Rulemaking" (NPRM) aimed at a cogent and enforceable implementation of the Supreme Court ruling in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974). Secretary of Education Shirley Hufstедler had been involved with the *Lau* litigation starting in the early 1970s, when she served on the U.S. Appellate Court for the Ninth Circuit in California. This was the panel of judges who had reviewed and upheld the original district court ruling in *Lau*. Hufstедler had been the only judge on the review panel who had voted to reverse the ruling, but two other judges had refused. Later, Hufstедler's position was vindicated by the Supreme Court in its reversal of the lower court in 1974. Now, as the newly appointed first U.S. Secretary of Education, Hufstедler ordered that an NPRM be published in the *Federal Register* by the department's Office for Civil Rights.

Administrative hearings were held, and the NPRM was published in August 1980, 3 months before the presidential election in which Ronald Reagan unseated Jimmy Carter. A firestorm of protest erupted because the *Lau* NPRM mandated the use of bilingual instruction under certain circumstances for correcting the problems identified by the Supreme Court in *Lau*.

Because bilingual education had been prescribed in the original remedies ordered for the San Francisco schools on remand, the proposal to use bilingual education was in keeping with antecedents in the case. The NPRM was issued at a time when the presidential campaign by Ronald Reagan was focusing on deregulation by the federal government as a campaign pledge. School districts that had happily accepted Title VII funding to operate programs of bilingual education now strongly objected to having the program mandated. Title VII, because it was so intimately connected to the *Lau* enforcement effort, was seen as part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

Through the Reagan years, the program limped along with little support from the administration. It was strongly supported once again by President Clinton but fell out of grace under the administrations of both President George H. W. Bush and President George W. Bush. With the exception of the presidency of Richard Nixon, Title VII fared poorly under Republican presidents. With the creation of President George W. Bush's initiative known as the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), Title VII ceased to exist, and federal support of bilingual instructional programs ended. Under NCLB, federal funding flowed through the states to local schools, as distinguished from direct grants as was the case under Title VII. Decisions to fund bilingual education were decentralized and authority given to the chief state school officers as to whether or not to continue to support such programs.

Impact and Legacy

For 30 years and at a rate of several million dollars annually, Title VII provided incentives to school boards, universities, and nonprofit organizations to adopt bilingual education as an alternative to English-only education. A generous doctoral fellowship program and master's-level training funds allowed many of the professors working in bilingual teacher education to complete their studies. A small but important program known as the Deans' Grant Program allowed universities to place graduates of doctoral programs into faculty positions at a time when universities were finding it difficult to make new hires. Research and technical assistance centers established with Title VII support later broadened their scope and funding sources to continue to provide services to school districts even after Title VII itself had passed into history. A valuable clearinghouse on bilingual education

served the information needs of practitioners for years and continues to provide services today, albeit with a narrower focus on English language acquisition. In all of these activities, a generation of program managers, evaluators, policy analysts, researchers, and trainers honed their skills.

Conclusion

Without Title VII of the ESEA, it is unlikely that bilingual education would have become as common or controversial as it did in the 1980s and 1990s. The legislation clearly met its capacity-building goal. Only once before, through the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, had the federal government invested sizable sums to promote the study of languages other than English. That act, however, had very different purposes. While NDEA actively sought to improve the teaching of languages other than English, Title VII often deemphasized the retention of those same languages if they were not learned in school. Thus, while critics such as Epstein accused the program of promoting “affirmative ethnicity,” others bemoaned its unabashed efforts to teach English without actively safeguarding the languages that ethnic and immigrant children brought with them from home. This bifurcation of goals and objectives plagued the program until its ultimate demise in 2002. At that point, its English teaching thrust was integrated into the NCLB legislation, and the goal of maintaining minority languages ended, at least for the moment.

Josué M. González

See also Bennett, William J.; Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s; Epstein, Noel; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Maintenance Policy Denied; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; National Defense Education Act of 1958; National Education Association Tucson Symposium; Program Effectiveness Research; Stanford Working Group; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967 Senate Hearings; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments; Appendix B

Further Readings

Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).

Crawford, J. (2002). *Obituary: The Bilingual Education Act, 1968–2002*. Retrieved from <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jwcrawford/T7obit.htm>

Epstein, N. (1977). *Language, ethnicity, and the schools*.

Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership.

Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

Matteson, J. (1999). Texas bandits: A study of the 1948 democratic primary. *Historia*, 8. Retrieved from <http://www.eiu.edu/~historia/1999/texas99.htm>

Nondiscrimination in Programs Receiving Federal Financial Assistance from the Department of Education, 45 Fed. Reg. 52052–52076 (1980).

Stewner-Manzanares, G. (1988). *The Bilingual Education Act: Twenty years later*. (National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education: Occasional Papers in Bilingual Education No. 6.) Available from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/classics/focus>

TITLE VII, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, 1967 SENATE HEARINGS

On January 17, 1967, Senator Ralph Yarborough, Democrat from Texas, introduced the Bilingual American Education Act in the U.S. Congress. The introduction of Senate Bill 428 led to the first congressional hearings on bilingual education and the passage of the Bilingual Education Act, an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. Title VII, ESEA, was meant to provide federal assistance to local education agencies for the development of bilingual education programs. While few people could have guessed it at the time, it was to become the largest and most important funding source for bilingual education in the history of the nation. This entry summarizes some of the topics that were discussed at these hearings and the knowledge base and background of the hearings’ participants.

Senator Yarborough’s introduction of Senate Bill 428 came just 3 years after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and marked an expanding focus of the civil rights battle to include national origin alongside race and color. With an initial seven bipartisan cosponsors joining Senator Yarborough, S. 428 gained cosponsors once the hearings began before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, on May 18, 1967, in Washington, D.C.

The senators backed S. 428 in hopes of improving educational outcomes for Spanish-speaking children and youth. But the original bill was sharply focused on Mexican Americans in the Southwest and Puerto

Ricans in New York. It was not intended to cover all language groups. It is likely that the chief sponsors of the bill—senators from Arizona, California, Texas, and New York—saw some political advantage in voting for a measure that would be warmly welcomed by increasingly active Latino voters in their respective states. Not surprisingly, the hearing record indicates a lack of specificity on what could be accomplished through bilingual education. Given the limited research available on that subject, that too came as no surprise.

Testimony and Provisions

At the hearings, which were also held in Texas, California, and New York throughout the spring and summer of 1967, the merits of bilingual education were not significantly put into question; but the value of bilingual education was also not recognized beyond improving communication between teachers and non-English-speaking students. Most witnesses were connected with advocacy organizations, most notably Mexican American and Puerto Rican advocacy interests, or came from the school establishment, namely, school administrators interested in improving the education of language minority students. A number of witnesses were local and state-level politicians, chiefly Democrats who had supported John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, the liberal wing of the party to which Yarborough also belonged.

By today's standards and given today's knowledge base concerning bilingual education, many of the witnesses showed little understanding of what was being forged via the legislation, a lack of vision of what bilingual education could accomplish, and even how the proposed funds might be used. For example, absent from the hearings was testimony on the knowledge base of what was known about language incompatibility, how language incompatibility could be overcome, and the educational infrastructure needs. There were notable exceptions. Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder, Chief of the Modern Language Section of the U.S. Office of Education, presented powerful testimony about research that revealed a link between bilingualism and low marks on intelligence tests and that this relation was widely supported by governing, academic, and school establishments in the United States. He drove home his point by saying "there is a 5-foot shelf of books developed in this country bearing upon that point." However, he added that research never showed that bilingualism was the cause of low marks on

intelligence tests. He and other academics reported that more accurate research, which accounted for key variables such as household income, showed that bilingualism was a great asset and that bilingual students could be expected to outperform monolingual students. While some witnesses were lukewarm in their support, witnesses and members of the subcommittee showed clear support for the following ideas throughout the hearings: (a) The best way to teach children is through the language they understand best, presumably their mother tongue; (b) literacy in one language facilitates literacy in another; (c) knowing two languages is superior to knowing one; and (d) the debasing or rejecting of a student's native tongue, not the language itself, works negatively on self-esteem and promotes dropping out and low educational attainment. Gaarder touched on this latter idea when he mentioned that research "shows the unfortunate consequences when the child's mother tongue is ignored or deplored and otherwise degraded" (S. 428, p. 48).

While the merits of bilingual education were not fully expressed nor seriously challenged, the goals and objectives of bilingual education were somewhat disjointed. Some witnesses, including Senator Yarborough, said that Spanish was a great national treasure, but rather than being maintained through efforts such as bilingual education, Spanish was being squandered. According to Yarborough, Spanish speakers represented a neglected segment of the U.S. population who should be invested in through quality schooling. Several witnesses reported that much effort was being wasted on attempts to erase Spanish from U.S. youth, while at the same time money was being spent to teach or reteach adults Spanish for work in which the use of Spanish was needed. Some pointed out that the Spanish of those who learned the language as adults was inferior to those who developed it from childhood and that this detail accentuated the wastefulness of current practice.

For other persons, including cosponsoring Senator Paul J. Fannin of Arizona, bilingual education in Spanish could be a stepping-stone for the acquisition of English and eventual suppression of Spanish. According to that idea, bilingual education should have the objective of teaching Spanish-speaking students in Spanish when they first enter school, so that they do not fall behind on school subjects, but Spanish-speaking students should be expected to become English dominant after a few years. Senator Fannin offered that it was his belief that only after becoming English dominant

would Spanish speakers be in a position to fully contribute to society, implying that the acquisition of English was more essential for positive social and economic outcomes, an idea that was uncontested at the hearings. Senator Fannin further suggested that English was the only language of the United States, to which Senator Yarborough retorted that when he and his staff visited areas south of San Antonio, Texas, it was clear to them Spanish was pervasive, as evidenced by the dominance of Spanish on the radio waves. Several witnesses added that if Spanish were pervasive in parts of the United States, full participation in society would call for English speakers to gain a mastery of Spanish in addition to Spanish speakers gaining a mastery of English. While perhaps well intended in their support for S. 428, Senator Fannin and others were establishing the legislative history that would eventually brand the federally funded version of bilingual education as a transitional program.

Despite uncertainty regarding the goals and objectives of bilingual education, there was general agreement that bilingual education was a good cause. Indeed, it was regarded as such a good idea that there was pressure to expand the bill's focus to other language groups and regions of the country. Given its broad support, bilingual education was seen as having the potential to garner higher levels of federal funding in the future. There was pressure from witnesses providing testimony but also from cosponsoring senators to expand the recipients of federal assistance from local education agencies to other entities, such as universities, vendors of educational goods and services, and state education agencies.

Senator Yarborough, chief sponsor of the bill, initially refused the call to expand the bill. Throughout the hearings, he pointed out the impracticality of expanding the bill given the tight budget constraints caused by the war in Vietnam. To increase the chance for passage of the bill, Yarborough argued, the dollar figures had been set small, at \$5 million for the first year, \$10 million for the second, and \$15 million for the next 2 years. Yarborough maintained that including all speakers of non-English languages throughout the United States would render the bill unfeasible, since the funding would potentially have to serve a population of several million persons and their first-generation descendants. He recommended that Spanish speakers, primarily Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in the United States, should remain as the primary focus of the proposed legislation.

Subsequently, other Spanish speakers and language groups could be added as additional funds became available. Yarborough stated that Spanish speakers were selected because they represented the largest number of non-English-language speakers, were mostly concentrated in certain areas, and based on education attainment figures were the most in need. Further, Yarborough and several witnesses claimed, Spanish speakers preceded English speakers in some parts of the country and were entitled to special consideration since they did not choose to shed their land and culture, including their language.

In resisting the request to expand the bill from local school districts to include other recipients, namely, state education agencies, Yarborough pointed out that existing laws already allowed state education agencies to invest in bilingual programs but that the testimony by several witnesses showed that state education agencies had invested very little in such programs. Yarborough likewise fought off other efforts to expand the bill, and the groundbreaking S. 428 was reported to the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on August 8, 1967. Congress ultimately did not resist the temptation to expand bilingual education, choosing instead to adopt the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, a House of Representatives version of the Bilingual American Education Act that included other languages besides Spanish, other Spanish speakers besides Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, and other regions of the country. Dropping the word *American* in the adopted act, as well as changing the focus from Spanish-speaking students to “children of limited English-speaking ability” resulted in a continued favored status for English and was vague on the activities that could be funded under the bill.

Postscript

The Title VII amendment to the ESEA was to last from 1968 to 2001, when it was replaced by Title III of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. For the rest of his life, even after retiring from the Senate, Ralph Yarborough pointed to the Bilingual Education Act and the law creating the Padre Island National Seashore as the two most significant legislative accomplishments of his career.

Mario J. Castro

See also No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs; Title VII,

Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments; Yarborough, Ralph

Further Readings

Bangura, A. K., & Muo, M. (2001). *United States Congress and bilingual education*. New York: Peter Lang.

Schneider, S. G. (1976). *Revolution, reaction, or reform: The 1974 Bilingual Education Act*. New York: Las Americas.

U.S. Senate. *A bill to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to provide assistance to local education agencies in establishing bilingual American education programs, and to provide certain other assistance to promote such programs*, S. 428, 90th Congress, 1st sess. 1 (1967).

TITLE VII, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, SUBSEQUENT AMENDMENTS

The enactment of Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), in 1968 was not the last word in establishing bilingual education policy for the nation. In fact, the original bill was modified several times in subsequent reauthorizations. Between 1968 and 2001, Title VII, ESEA (also known as the Bilingual Education Act), was reauthorized five times: in 1974, 1978, 1984, 1988, and 1994. The reauthorizations included additions and changes to the original legislation, which reflected the ambivalent political climate surrounding civil rights and language diversity. Both the use of the native language and the type of bilingual education programs offered were controversial issues since the inception of Title VII. The initial Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was intended to create experiments that promised to further the equity of educational opportunity for linguistically diverse children living in poverty. The core of the measure was a supplemental grant program for local education agencies to utilize for their non-English-speaking student population. No specific type of bilingual program was promoted. Indeed, the terminology describing the various types extant today did not exist in 1968. The subsequent reauthorizations of Title VII offered more delineated guidelines and eventually established a pattern of promoting greater local control over program implementation. Prior to it being replaced by the No Child Left

Behind Act of 2001, Title VII appropriations had risen to \$296 million and funded 1,095 programs, which accounted for 12% of all bilingual education programs in the United States.

1974 Reauthorization

Title VII was first reauthorized under Public Law 93–380, the Education Amendments of 1974. This reauthorization addressed most of the controversy that was occurring in the federal government over bilingual education. Although appropriations for Title VII, ESEA, had been increasing each year since 1968 (see Table 1), because of the lack of guidelines and voluntary participation, civil rights activists argued that an equal educational opportunity was not being offered to *limited-English-proficient* (LEP) students, also referred to as *English language learners* (ELLs). Two of the biggest influences on the 1974 reauthorization were the decision in the *Lau v. Nichols* court case and the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (EEOA). The Supreme Court decision in *Lau* and its subsequent enactment as a separate act of Congress through the EEOA clearly established that language barriers foreclose meaningful instruction and that special programs were required to remedy the problem. Advocates promoted bilingual education as one of the preferred designs for such interventions.

The 1974 reauthorization of Title VII continued the federal government's assistance for bilingual education, but a tighter definition of bilingual education was crafted. Students in these programs continued to be labeled as having limited-English-speaking ability (LESA). Bilingual education programs were specified to include instruction in both the native language and English to allow students to receive meaningful instruction and progress through school. Whereas transition to English was promoted, maintenance programs were not precluded. Program funding eligibility was extended through high school, although the primary focus remained on the elementary school level. Full bilingual/bicultural approaches became the priority for grants. Programs that offered only English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction were deemed to be insufficient. The poverty requirement was dropped, and the law was extended to incorporate all LEP students, regardless of home language. Native American languages were specifically incorporated into this authorization, and funding would be provided to the Secretary of the Interior to provide bilingual education to Native American

children. The federal government also took on a role in providing resources, such as teachers, curricula, and research, to aid local agencies in providing bilingual education.

Specific changes to Title VII in 1974 included establishing a variety of grants for bilingual education programs: establishment and operation programs and auxiliary and supplementary programs, such as adult education. Training programs were another significant addition to the reauthorization. Grants allowed for training teachers and paraprofessionals, technical assistance, and the operation of short-term training institutes. The reauthorization also allowed for the award of at least 100 fellowships in the field of education of teachers of bilingual education. The objective of this provision was to increase the number of professors in teacher training programs that could help reduce the nation's shortage of bilingual education teachers.

Administrative changes included adding an Office of Bilingual Education (OBE) within the Office of Education to handle the administration of Title VII grants. The National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education was established as a 15-appointed-member committee, and the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (now known as the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition) was created to develop, collect, and disseminate research and instructional material. Specific grant programs were provided for promoting research to enhance the effectiveness of bilingual education programs in schools.

In 1974, 383 school district projects, 15 training resource centers, 5 centers for material development, and 3 dissemination and assessment centers were funded. Funding appropriations increased to \$68 million. Compared with the 80 programs funded in 1969, there was a significant increase in the number and type of programs attributable to the changes in the 1974 reauthorizations. The 1974 reauthorization contained many additions and specifications at both the program and administrative levels. This particular legislation reflected the government's response to the demands of minority rights groups and the special needs of LEP students.

1978 Reauthorization

The Bilingual Education Act was again reauthorized in 1978 as part of Public Law 95-561. The act was extended, but the political climate threatened some of the programs that had been established in 1974.

Because of the *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court ruling, schools were required to establish programs to meet the English language needs of their LEP students, today known as *English language learners* (ELLs). Staff guidelines were written by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to facilitate *Lau*-related compliance reviews, which were conducted by its Office for Civil Rights. In a subsequent iteration and expansion, the guidelines became known as the "*Lau Remedies*." A number of problems arose over the *Lau Remedies* because critics objected to the fact that (a) the remedies appeared to favor bilingual education over other designs and (b) the Office for Civil Rights did not take the important step of publishing the remedies in the *Federal Register*, which would make them subject to congressional review. The guidelines also prohibited language-oriented segregation of LEP students, which some school districts felt was necessary. In a period of recession, school budgets were being cut at the same time costly bilingual programs were being established. Complaints concerning "unfunded mandates" were growing. Ever present was the criticism that federal dollars were being used to promote native-language maintenance instead of forcing students to learn English.

Unlike the 1974 act, the 1978 reauthorization established more clearly that bilingual education was to be *transitional* in nature. Programs funded by Title VII were expected to move LEP students to classrooms in which teaching was done in English and to do so as rapidly as possible. The use of the native language would be allowed in funded programs only "to the extent necessary" for students to acquire English. The ideal "extent necessary" was not specified in the act. Maintenance programs for the native language were not to receive funding. Another important step taken in the 1978 reauthorization was to expand the definition of LESA into "limited English proficiency," or LEP. Prior to this, students were identified as eligible for the program on the basis of speaking ability alone. The change to LEP was meant to include the written language as a basis of consideration for eligibility by a student. Under the new definition, many additional students became eligible for bilingual education programs funded by the act. The change in definition also meant that many more students would henceforth be designated as deficient in English.

Total funding in 1978 was \$135 million to 565 school districts, bilingual education service centers, graduate student fellowships, and teacher training programs for undergraduate students preparing to become

bilingual teachers. Dissemination and assessment centers (DACs) were changed to evaluation, dissemination, and assessment centers (EDACs) and were now required to assist school districts in evaluating the bilingual education programs funded under the act. Funding to school districts was limited to a period of 1 to 3 years, and school districts were required to provide assurances that programs would be continued with local funding after federal support ended under Title VII. These changes enacted in 1978 revealed that the attitude toward bilingual education was shifting. While important changes from 1974 remained in place, in the area of teacher training and research the emphasis was now clearly placed on transitional programs instead of maintenance. The federal government would also play a role in program evaluation, which had initially been provided by local and state education agencies.

1984 Reauthorization

Debates surrounding bilingual education and the role of the federal government were widespread in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The *Lau* Remedies lacked the legal basis of a federal regulatory document and were subsequently challenged. This led the Department of Education to propose a set of regulations that were to be published by the end of 1980. The proposed rules pushed for bilingual classrooms that transitioned students to English as quickly as possible. Questions concerning who was responsible for bilingual education, the state or the federal government, also surrounded these regulations. Another major issue surrounding bilingual education included school districts that often had LEP students who spoke any of more than 20 different languages. Compliance with the *Lau* Remedies, which were published in the *Federal Register* as a "Notice of Proposed Rulemaking" (NPRM), in August of 1980, could potentially require vast increases in spending for LEP students. This provoked a groundswell of protest from local school districts and state governments.

The presidential elections of 1980 intervened, and candidate Ronald Reagan used as his platform a reduction of federal rule making and "getting the government off our backs." The *Lau* NPRM fell victim to campaign promises and was abandoned by the new secretary of education. That year, the federal government reduced bilingual education funds by 25%. Clearly, the furor over the proposed *Lau* regulations influenced funding for Title VII of the ESEA.

The reauthorization of Title VII in 1984 attended to the need of local agencies to have greater power and flexibility in operating their bilingual education programs. The emphasis was on the states and local school districts building enough capacity to support programs for LEP students without having to rely on federal funds. The initial Title VII prohibited grants for teaching foreign languages, which meant that English-speaking children could not be incorporated into these programs. This policy changed in 1984. Grant programs were established that used a variety of teaching strategies. School districts had three types of grants available for use with LEP students: (1) transitional bilingual programs that allowed the use of their native language as necessary (these programs allowed up to 40% non-LEP students in them), (2) developmental bilingual programs that would support English acquisition as well as native-language maintenance, and (3) special alternative instructional programs that did not require their native language and implemented special services for English competency. The biggest change to Title VII during this reauthorization was the funding approved for these special alternative instructional programs, which could consist of an English-only environment. Four percent of funding could be allocated to these programs (10% would be allocated if appropriations reached \$140 million). Other additions to the act included a stipulation that parents play a bigger role in LEP students' education. Grants for academic excellence were also made available to support excellent programs that could serve as models. The reauthorization also called for at least 16 multifunctional resource centers to provide training, resources, technical assistance, and other services related to bilingual education.

Total federal funding for Title VII programs in 1984 was \$135 million. This amount was consistent with the 1974 appropriation but was a significant decrease from the 1980 amount of \$167 million. Funding was apportioned in the following way: 60% of total funding was to be set aside for financial assistance for instructional programs, 75% of this set aside was reserved for transitional bilingual education programs, and 4% to 10% was designated for special alternative instructional programs. The remaining 40% of the total funding was to be used for research, training and technical assistance, and administration.

1988 Reauthorization

In 1988, Title VII was reauthorized in the Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement

Act. This reauthorization made changes that addressed the growing public awareness concerning the diverse population of LEP students. Continuing with the policies established in 1984, it was decided that Title VII would be best utilized to provide initial support and then leverage state or local education agency funding to continue the program. Many of the changes in the 1988 reauthorization came out of the Bilingual Education Initiative of 1985 (BEI). Secretary of Education William J. Bennett, a nonsupporter of bilingual education, proposed the initiative. Based on the high drop-out rates of LEP students, the current systems in place were not meeting their educational needs. The BEI suggested allowing schools to determine the amount of native language employed in their programs, require a greater parental role in the form of advisory councils, require schools to demonstrate the feasibility of continuing their programs without federal funding, and remove the 4% to 10% cap on special alternative instructional programs. The BEI also stressed transitional programs that promoted fluency in English as quickly as possible.

The reauthorization of 1988 adopted many of the provisions of the 1985 BEI. Funds for instructional grant programs were disbursed as follows: 75% toward transitional bilingual programs and 25% toward special alternative instructional programs (SAIPs) (an increase from the 4% to 10%). A 3-year limit was also placed on LEP students in transitional or special alternative instructional programs, although under special circumstances, the student could remain in the program an extra 2 years. The legislation also required that parents be given information about their children's programs in a language they could understand, and family English literacy programs were made available to noncitizens who qualified for temporary resident status. New provisions placed a greater emphasis on training personnel and research; therefore, these areas received 25% of all appropriations. In addition, at least 500 graduate fellowships were to be awarded each year. Schools could also use the first 12 months of their grants toward pre-service activities. Other significant changes under this reauthorization included the termination of grants for instructional materials. Funding to support the National Advisory and Coordinating Council on Bilingual Education was also dropped.

In 1989, appropriations were set at \$152 million. The act specified that 60% of the total funding would be reserved for instructional programs (this included the 25% toward SAIPs). In addition, 25% of funding

was reserved for training activities. Finally, the minimum grant for state education agencies was raised from \$50,000 to \$75,000.

1994 Reauthorization

The final reauthorization of Title VII occurred in 1994 as part of the Improving America's Schools Act. The reauthorization was influenced by another legislative initiative, Goals 2000: Educate America Act. Goals 2000 developed national goals for LEP students but continued to place the control and responsibility for implementing and accounting of these programs in the hands of local education agencies. Again, this legislation was meant to provide more flexibility for programs. Based on initiatives from the National Education Goals of 1990, Goals 2000 provided resources for states to develop broad consensus standards. Both Goals 2000 and the Improving America's Schools Act aimed to provide equitable and quality education for all students.

Major changes to this reauthorization included establishing new bilingual education grant programs, removing mandatory research projects, and developing new categories for training grants. This legislation again promoted the use of native languages in funded programs, and funding applications that incorporated developmental bilingual programs were given priority. In particular, Native Americans were given special attention and were encouraged to develop language maintenance and preservation programs. Funding for SAIP remained capped at 25% unless there were special circumstances. This particular reauthorization demonstrated the temporary nature of the shift in the political atmosphere whereby maintenance bilingual programs were again promoted as the most effective instructional program for LEP students.

The appropriations for 1994 were \$201 million. By 2001, the last year of Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act, appropriations totaled \$296 million. Sixty percent of funds went toward 691 instruction programs, and 25% of funds were allocated to 361 grants awarded for professional development services. During this last reauthorization, which supported the maintenance of native languages, appropriations were drastically reduced, even as percentages for SAIP remained high (see Table 1).

The five reauthorizations of Title VII and the changes that occurred at every turn demonstrate the changing positions in the United States between assimilation and multiculturalism. While the initial changes to

Table 1 Appropriations by Year for Title VII (Reauthorization Years in Bold)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Appropriations</i>	<i>%s for SAIPs*</i>
1968	0	
1969	\$7,000,000	
1970	\$21,250,000	
1971	\$25,000,000	
1972	\$35,000,000	
1973	\$45,000,000	
1974	\$58,350,000	
1975	\$85,000,000	
1976	\$94,970,000	
1977	\$115,000,000	
1978	\$135,000,000	
1979	\$158,000,000	
1980	\$166,963,000	
1981	\$157,476,000	
1982	\$134,372,000	
1983	\$134,371,000	
1984	\$135,679,000	4%
1985	\$139,265,000	4%
1986	\$133,284,000	4%
1987	\$143,095,000	10%
1988	\$146,573,000	25%
1989	\$151,946,000	25%
1990	\$158,530,000	25%
1991	\$168,735,000	25%
1992	\$195,407,000	25%
1993	\$196,283,000	25%
1994	\$201,163,000	25+%
1995	\$156,700,000	25+%
1996	\$128,000,000	25+%
1997	\$156,650,000	25+%
1998	\$199,000,000	25+%
1999	\$224,000,000	25+%
2000	\$248,000,000	25+%
2001	\$296,000,000	25+%

Note: SAIP: Special alternative instructional program.

Title VII in 1974 established developmental programs that maintained native language, economic and societal pressure caused the tide to shift toward transitioning to English. Title VII complied with the generalized support for transitioning and was never able to shift back again. Although the latest version of Title VII in 1994 promoted the use of native languages, a high percentage of funding was still allocated to programs that would incorporate English-only methods. The English-only movement has gained considerable strength in the United States as the country becomes more and more linguistically diverse. Funding for bilingual education programs was a struggle to maintain each time the funding legislation has needed to be reauthorized.

Title VII of the Bilingual Education Act now exists in a very different form, as Title III, the English Language Acquisition Act, under the reauthorized ESEA of 2001, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB). Advocates of bilingual education tend to believe that with the advent of NCLB, bilingual education was left behind because NCLB does not specifically fund bilingual instruction programs directly to school districts. Support centers, fellowships, and training grants for bilingual teachers have all disappeared. In three states, Arizona, California, and Massachusetts, legislation has been passed, following vigorous promotional efforts by the organization English for the Children, that limits or eliminates bilingual education in those states. In several other states, mandatory bilingual education has ended, and only voluntary participation in such programs is allowed. In most of these cases, parents must be given the choice to have their children involved in bilingual education.

Larisa Warhol

See also English for the Children Campaign; Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967 Senate Hearings; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Becomes Title III, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs; Appendix F

Further Readings

Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. (90–247), 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No (93–380), 88 Stat. 503 (1974).

- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. (95–561), 92 Stat. 2268 (1978).
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. (98–511), 98 Stat. 2370 (1984).
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. (100–297), 102 Stat. 279 (1988).
- Crawford, J. (1997). *Best evidence: Research foundations of the Bilingual Education Act*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. Retrieved March 18, 2008, from <http://www.nclae.gwu.edu/pubs/reports/bestevidence>
- Improving America's Schools Act, Pub. L. No. 103–382 (1994).
- Schneider, S. G. (1976). *Revolution, reaction, or reform: The 1974 Bilingual Education Act*. New York: Las Americas.
- Stewner-Manzanares, G. (1988). *The Bilingual Education Act: Twenty years later*. (National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education: Occasional Papers in Bilingual Education No. 6.) Available from <http://www.nclae.gwu.edu/pubs/classics/#focus>
- Wiese, A., & García, E. (1998). The Bilingual Education Act: Language minority students and equal educational opportunity. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 22, 1–18.

TITLE VII, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, TEXT

See APPENDIX B

TITLE VII, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT BECOMES TITLE III, NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT OF 2001

On December 18, 2001, the 107th Congress passed the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) through fiscal year 2007. President George W. Bush signed the bill into law on January 8, 2002. NCLB incorporated and strengthened the standards-based reform effort begun under the 1994 amendments to the ESEA and added an accountability system requiring that all students become “proficient” by the year 2013.

Perhaps no program was changed as dramatically by this seventh reauthorization of ESEA as what was

known from the time of its enactment in the 1968 ESEA amendments as “Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act.” NCLB reflected a fundamental transformation in the relationship between the federal government and the states with regard to the education of English language learners (ELLs). As a result, not only did the number of students served and the funding mechanisms change, but the manner in which services to these students were to be planned, delivered, and evaluated also changed.

The passage of NCLB replaced Title VII with Title III, the centerpiece of which is a formula grant program to the states. While the ultimate goal of Title III is similar to that of its predecessor—improving “the education of limited English proficient children, by assisting the children to learn English and meet challenging State academic content and student academic achievement standards” (Section 3115(a))—Title III changes the manner in which this is to be accomplished.

Title VII was a competitive grant program that provided “seed” money for states, districts, and institutions of higher education to design and implement new and innovative programs for ELLs. In the 2000–2001 school year, for example, under this “demonstration” program, approximately \$449 million was distributed through 1,500 grants issued under 12 different grant programs. The bulk of these funds went toward capacity-building functions at the local and state level, including universities. Only a small fraction of the total ELL population—approximately 15%—received supplemental services through these Title VII programs.

Participation in Title VII was optional; school districts, community-based organizations, and institutions of higher education were eligible to submit proposals for seed money under Subpart 1 of the 1994 version of the law. This was done in order to develop and enhance their capacity to provide high-quality instruction to ELL children and youth and to help these children develop proficiency in English and, to the extent possible, in their native language. Another goal was to meet the same challenging state content standards and challenging state student performance standards expected for all children and youth.

Projects designed to develop, enhance, improve, reform, and/or upgrade relevant programs and operations were meant to increase the capacity of the school district to serve ELLs, and the districts were expected to continue the services after federal funding ended. Title VII programs were intended to demonstrate effective and innovative educational practices, not to

serve all ELLs in the nation. Grant amounts varied based on the proposed activities of individual projects; a small district with little experience with ELLs might receive a large grant to develop a new program employing a new approach, whereas a large district with many ELLs might receive a small Title VII grant to add a new component to an existing program.

In contrast, Title III is a formula grant program distributing funds to states based on the number of ELLs and immigrant students in each state. Although not every ELL in the United States is served under this “service” program, the number has increased significantly, and districts that had never received funding for language instruction educational programs are now doing so.

Goals and Purposes of Title III

The overall goals of Title III are to ensure that ELLs attain English language proficiency, develop high levels of academic attainment in English, and meet the same challenging state academic content and student academic achievement standards set by each state for all of its students. To accomplish these goals, each state must develop an integrated system of English-language-proficiency standards, assessment(s), and objectives that are linked to its state academic content and student academic achievement standards. More specific purposes of Title III include the following:

- Develop and provide high-quality language instruction educational programs to assist all ELLs in meeting the state-established Annual Measurable Achievement Objectives (AMAOs)—making annual progress in learning English, attaining English proficiency, and making adequate yearly progress (AYP) in reading/language arts and mathematics
- Assist state education agencies (SEAs) and local education agencies (LEAs) to develop their capacity to serve ELLs immigrant children and youth
- Promote parental and community participation in language instruction educational programs for parents and members of the community
- Streamline language instruction educational services into a program carried out through formula grants to states and LEAs
- Hold SEAs, LEAs, and schools accountable for annual increases in English proficiency and the core academic content knowledge of ELLs
- Provide SEAs and LEAs with the flexibility to implement scientifically based language instruction

educational programs that the agencies believe to be most effective for teaching English.

Part A of Title III, the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act, is composed of the following:

- *Subpart 1—Grants and Subgrants for English Language Acquisition and Language Enhancement*, covering formula grants to the states and subgrants from the states to eligible entities at the local district level
- *Subpart 2—Accountability and Administration*, including regulations regarding evaluations, achievement objectives and accountability, and reporting requirements
- *Subpart 3—National Activities*, providing for a national professional development program of competitive grants
- *Subpart 4—Definitions of “eligible entity”* within the Title III framework

Title III, Part A, Subpart 1, provides for the distribution of formula grants to states in allotments determined by the numbers of ELLs reported in the 2000 U.S. Census (80% of the formula) and the state-reported numbers of immigrant children and youth enrolled in U.S. schools (20% of the formula). States, in turn, make subgrants to local LEAs by allocating funds based on the ELL and immigrant student populations served in those LEAs. In addition, states are required to set aside a portion of their allotments, up to 15%, for subgrants to LEAs that have, when compared with the two preceding fiscal years, experienced a significant increase in the number of immigrant students.

The change from competitive, discretionary grants to performance-based formula grants means that many local districts that had never before received federal funding for ELL programs are now receiving such funding from states. In fiscal year 2003, states served more than 4 million ELLs through subgrants to local educational agencies using \$477 million distributed through the Title III State Formula Grant program. States served ELLs through more than 4,800 Title III subgrants. Based on data from the states, in the school year 2003–2004, there were approximately 5.1 million ELLs nationwide. Title III services reached approximately 80% of these students.

As a service program, rather than a demonstration program, Title III requires states to be accountable for the educational system addressing the needs of ELLs.

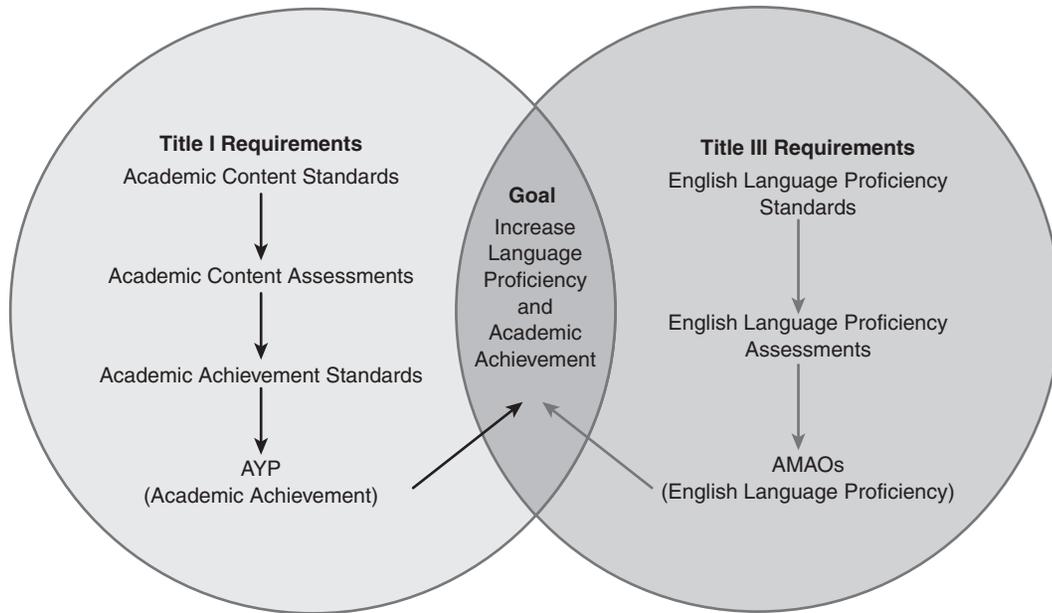


Figure 1 Separate and Common Goals of Title I and Title III

States and districts must not only develop integrated comprehensive educational systems that include ELLs but must also develop the infrastructure that allows them to collect and analyze achievement data on ELLs. Title III requires detailed plans and assurances, as well as new accountability measures to ensure that ELLs meet AMAOs in making progress in learning English and attaining English proficiency. Measurements of progress in these areas must be conducted annually, and biennial evaluation reports are required.

Under NCLB, the academic progress of ELLs is addressed under Title I, Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged, while their language needs are specifically addressed within Title III, Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students. The two titles are tied together by accountability provisions: The third AMAO under Title III is the AYP provision of Title I. ELLs are a subgroup under Title I for whom AYP targets and scores must be disaggregated from student performance reporting.

Because NCLB mandates the inclusion of ELLs for accountability purposes, these students may be exempted from annual content assessments only during the first year of their entry into U.S. schools. ELLs are to be assessed in a valid and reliable manner and provided reasonable accommodations on content assessments including, to the extent practicable, assessments in the language and form most likely to

yield accurate data. However, after 3 years in the United States, they must take the English language arts assessment in English.

Challenges of Implementing NCLB

States have encountered significant challenges in implementing NCLB. While off-the-shelf commercial English language proficiency tests may be satisfactory for the purpose of identifying ELLs, they are not acceptable as measures of progress toward attaining full English proficiency. Under NCLB, each state is required to develop its own set of English-language-proficiency standards aligned to the state's English language arts standards. The English-language-proficiency standards also needed to be tied to the academic content standards in math and science. Consequently, assessments of English language proficiency in each state must be aligned to the specific state standards. States were supposed to submit evidence of this alignment in early 2006, but many have requested an extension of this deadline to be able to validate new assessments and determine how to tie the new language assessments to original baseline data.

The strength of NCLB lies in its requirement that ELLs be given full access to the curriculum and that there be accountability for their attaining proficiency in English and progressing academically. It is significantly different from its predecessor, Title VII. The

change signals a movement away from a focus on methodology of instruction for a special group of students to one of accountability for all students, including ELLs being successfully included in the educational system. Readers are advised that substantial changes may be made to NCLB during its first reauthorization after the 2008 presidential election.

Nancy F. Zelasko

See also No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Testing Requirements; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title I; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments

Further Readings

Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat 816 (1968).

Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat. 783. Available from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/legislation/historical/1968.pdf>

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002). Retrieved from http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/resabout/nclb/2_legislation.html

U.S. Department of Education. (2005, March 15). *Biennial Evaluation Report to Congress on the Implementation of Title III, Part A of the ESEA*. Retrieved from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/oela/biennia105/index.htm>

TRANSFORMATIVE TEACHING MODEL

Essay

Editor's Note: The author of this entry was invited to submit an article reflecting a mix of information and expert opinion. Hence, parts of it could be disputed or given an alternative interpretation. In this case, we found this approach helpful in more realistically portraying certain aspects of the history and current status of bilingual education in the United States.

Teaching English language learners (ELLs) for overall success in school and society is a complex task. At first glance, it appears that bilingual education teachers face two major challenges in teaching ELLs: having their students keep up with the same schoolwork and graduation requirements as their native-English-speaking classmates and, of course, becoming literate in English

to the same level as their counterparts who have a native command of the language. But tough as they are, these two challenges do not reveal what may be the toughest job for bilingual teachers: to create a learning environment that supports their work and enables language minority students to succeed in an era of linguistic restrictionism. This entry summarizes some of these challenges arguably unique to bilingual educators.

The Challenge

For bilingual education to succeed, it should be unfettered by hostility to language diversity and anti-immigrant sentiment. The school and classroom environment should provide a welcoming climate for immigrant children, a spirit of equal opportunity, a belief that all children can learn, and the use of teaching processes that make the experience of learning English a positive and pleasant one. This climate must be pervasive, not limited to what happens in one or two bilingual classrooms while the rest of the school continues to do business as usual. Because these conditions are not universally found in many schools, bilingual teachers have a much bigger job than the two instructional tasks mentioned above. To have maximum impact on the teaching environment, bilingual teachers must be critical thinkers and practitioners acting as advocates for dual-language development and, where necessary, engage in changing policies that deny social justice and equity. Effective and successful teaching in bilingual schools and classrooms requires a critical perspective whereby teachers examine the local, state, national, and global contexts in which they work and act upon them. María Balderrama and Lynn Díaz-Rico posit that teachers must look within, around, and beyond educational issues, asking probing questions about the educator's role in the struggle to attain fairness, justice, and equal opportunity.

Teaching and Its Discontents

In 2002, the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future reported that nearly half of new teachers leave their jobs after 5 years. In low-income communities with high populations of English learners, the rate is higher. Dissatisfaction with the passive role of teaching is often the cause of abandoning the profession. In addition, many teachers in America's schools are middle-class, monolingual English speakers who have limited experiences in working with students

whose cultures, languages, and socioeconomic statuses differ from their own. This poses a unique challenge in teacher preparation, as the lack of experience in working with student diversity results in classroom environments that are not responsive to students' academic needs. Teachers who are ill-prepared burn out, give up, and ultimately leave the profession. Regrettably, returning to school for an advanced degree may not resolve the problem, since many graduate courses in education are often more of the same as what the teachers have already traversed. Even in some programs of bilingual teacher education, colleges and universities often do not make sufficient changes and adaptations in the way they prepare teachers to become transformative engaged leaders. The 2002 study conducted by the Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence, "A National Study of Teacher Education Preparation for Diverse Student Populations," revealed that all but one of the nine case studies had a "negative sociopolitical environment with regard to diversity." The study also reported great variation in the intensity of focus on language and culture in the programs offered to ELLs in those states. The report provides recommendations suggesting that teacher education standards need to better reflect the needs of schools and children. To that end, teacher education program curricula should be substantially broadened.

Bilingual Teacher Preparation

Because many professors in teacher education are not themselves bilingual or experienced in working with the populations in question, critical matters of language are often not given a sufficiently high profile in those programs. Such program components cannot be left to chance. The preparation of high-quality bilingual teachers must explicitly address academic language development and content area teaching. Importantly, language and subject matter knowledge should be taught in classroom environments that are culturally responsive, democratic, and humane. Teachers must learn how to create such classroom environments, in which students' linguistic and cultural knowledge are viewed as assets to learning and the English learner's background knowledge is strategically integrated in all facets of learning. Finally, well-prepared bilingual teachers not only embrace their students' prior knowledge but also actively involve the student in dual roles of learner and teacher in their educational experience together.

There are historical reasons for the shallow interpretation of how bilingual education teachers should be prepared. Beginning with enactment of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), also known as the Bilingual Education Act, teacher preparation received scant attention and little funding. According to Francesco Cordasco, in 1967, Senator Ralph Yarborough, from Texas, introduced Senate Bill 428, which eventually evolved into Title VII. A fraction of the bill called for "efforts to attract and retain as teachers promising individuals of Mexican or Puerto Rican descent." This section of Senator Yarborough's proposal, however, was not included in the final legislation. It could be argued that the language of the legislation gave grantees ample flexibility to create new and more effective programs of teacher preparation to implement the new programs to be developed under Title VII. Title VII envisaged the preparation of bilingual teachers as a straightforward and clear mission. However, even the most supportive legislators could not have foreseen how difficult the task of implementing bilingual education would be and that many schools would openly resist implementing those programs with the support necessary to guarantee success.

JoAnn Canales and José Ruiz-Escalante contend that even though the federal government had a role in funding bilingual teacher preparation, it was minimal at best. They report that federal allocations to support bilingual education were approximately \$2.7 million between 1969 and 1992, which included funding in the category of grants to local education agencies, support services, and teacher training. Bilingual teacher training received approximately 21% of these funds. The authors estimate that during an 18-year period, 1974 to 1992, the average in Title VII dollars spent on teacher training totaled less than \$1.50 per student served. During an important part of the historical development of bilingual education in the United States, states relied on federal monies to train teachers, but even so, the total amounts spent on developing and producing effective new models of teacher education were inadequate.

In a new century, some 40 years after the birth of Title VII, the sociocultural and political context for bilingual education is generally less supportive, and with few exceptions, the inactive nature of the role of the federal government in ensuring educational equity is no better. The population of English learners continues to grow, and the federal government's role in bilingual

teacher preparation has all but ended. Few states are allocating the necessary funding to reform and upgrade bilingual teacher education. There is a widespread lack of interest in the subject among policy-makers at a time when important reforms are needed more than ever. This has significant implications for the future of high-quality bilingual education.

Title VII has now run its course, to be replaced in part by the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) legislation. NCLB has a provision calling for highly qualified teachers in every classroom. This law defines “effective teachers” as those who have subject matter knowledge. While this definition is somewhat narrow, this initiative recognizes the need for highly qualified teachers in underperforming and high-poverty schools. ELLs are frequently the majority populations in these settings, yet being a highly qualified teacher does not include the ability to address English language development issues, if we are to judge by the stress on subject matter and the lack of attention in the new law to issues specific to language minority children.

Ample research supports the positive relationship between inclusive, equitable, culturally responsive teaching practices and mastery of subject matter knowledge. Common sense and research support the idea that teachers cannot teach what they do not know. It is difficult, if not impossible, for teachers to teach English learners academic content when they have not been given the knowledge, skills, and pedagogical tools. In the context of NCLB, knowledge on the part of the teacher of English, or any other school language, is not enough. *Bilingual teacher* and *bilingual education teacher* are not synonyms. As advocates have emphasized, adequate bilingual teacher preparation is imperative and should be considered a top priority given the increases in English learner populations and the schools’ widespread lack of success in educating them properly.

In recent years, antibilingual education legislation has been passed in three important states: California, Arizona, and Massachusetts. Similar measures aimed at reducing services to immigrants and immigrant children have been introduced in several states. These anti-immigrant, antibilingual measures introduced a new model of language teaching known as *structured English immersion* (SEI). This method implies that bilingual teacher preparation is irrelevant and ineffective. The SEI approach denies the importance of primary-language development and literacy, suggesting that it interferes with learning English, the opposite

of what scientific research findings have shown time and again. The consequences of ill-informed and politically motivated language policies in education contribute to a growing number of English learners lacking literacy and leaving school.

Transformative Pedagogy

Bilingual teachers in the 21st century have complex roles in challenging, dynamic contexts. Adequate bilingual teacher preparation models require transformative teaching strategies informed by sound theory and research in human learning; English language development; dual-language literacy; and academic, or content area, instruction. Effective teaching of bilingual students also demands advocacy for students’ linguistic and educational rights and respect for the native languages spoken by their families.

Transformative pedagogy is somewhat difficult to implement because it often requires changes and alters existing paradigms, expectations, and practices for teaching, as well as the school environment. Given today’s contexts for teaching, it is imperative to extend the more traditional skills-based model of teacher and bilingual preparation into a realm that drastically redefines the roles, actions, praxis, and work of teachers and their students. Transformation requires teachers to be clear as to their role as agents of change and advocacy, while planning and implementing classroom environments that equalize power and status so that all students have access to English language development and advanced academic knowledge. This preparation incorporates linguistic, pedagogical, affective, cognitive, and technological competencies and suggests that in order for these competencies to support English learners, they must be grounded in sociopolitical action. Bilingual, transformative teaching is grounded in critical theory, recognizing that the majority of English learners have working-class origins and membership in historically subordinated groups. Bilingual teachers need to understand the implications of systemic disempowerment and interrupt the vicious cycle of school failure by actively transforming their curricula and planning lessons that include and view English learners and their cultures with respect. Good teachers are able to select, use, and develop antibias curriculum, create student-centered classrooms that promote language usage and development, while designing activities and lessons that integrate critical thinking and problem-solving learning opportunities in two languages.

In this model of teacher preparation, bilingual teachers learn how to resist being relegated to technical roles characterized by standardized curricula and high-stakes testing that systematically punishes and stifles their students' natural and intellectual growth, while undermining their own professional and creative efforts. Transformative teachers are actively and routinely engaged in reflective practice. They look back on their teaching and students' progress with a critical eye. This model of bilingual teacher preparation is characterized by high expectations of students; expertise in teaching English and subject matter knowledge; honoring and integrating students' home languages in all classroom activities; being an ethical professional; actively modeling intercultural communication; and being ideologically clear about the role and process of schooling, including why advocacy and transformative pedagogy are fundamental elements of an effective teacher.

In addition, bilingual teacher preparation should include specific elements essential to effective instruction, including (a) knowing the students, including their personal and academic backgrounds; (b) understanding and applying learning theories; (c) understanding and implementing primary- and second-language acquisition and learning theories; (d) choosing humane, effective pedagogy, including lesson planning, development of democratic teaching environments, and addressing state and national curriculum standards; (e) integrating English language development, including English language standards, language assessment and the strategic inclusion of the four dimensions of language (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) in all lessons; (f) using primary language as a pathway to dual language development and biliteracy; (g) assessing student progress, including standardized and authentic modes; (h) collaborating with families and communities to promote and support English language development; and (i) being accountable and using information to focus on assessing and monitoring student progress and to inform teaching practices.

The need for capable teachers specializing in teaching English learners is growing, and despite efforts to undermine bilingual teacher preparation, employability prospects for adequately prepared teachers has never been better. The demand for bilingual professionals who can teach English is growing steadily not only in the United States, but throughout the world. According to Balderrama and Díaz-Rico, English is being taught or studied somewhere in the world at any given time. But the pandemic urgency to learn and teach English should not blind educators to

the need to respect and honor the first-acquired languages students bring with them to school. These are the only linguistic tools with which they can engage in formal learning in the school environment. What bilingual education adds to transformative teaching is the idea of not only capitalizing on home languages as tools for learning but also respecting them for the important part of learner culture they represent.

María V. Balderrama

See also Critical Literacy; English Immersion; Teacher Certification by States; Teacher Preparation, Then and Now; Teacher Qualifications

Further Readings

- Balderrama, M. V., & Díaz-Rico, L. T. (2006). *Teacher performance expectations for educating English learners*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bartolomé, L. I., & Balderrama, M.V. (2001). The need for educators with political and ideological clarity: Providing our children with "the best." In M. L. Reyes & J. J. Halcón (Eds.), *The best for our children: Critical perspectives on literacy for Latino students* (pp. 48–64). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90–247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- Brookfield, S. D. (2005). *The power of critical theory: Liberating adult learning and teaching*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Canales, J., & Ruiz-Escalante, J. A. (1992). *A pedagogical framework for bilingual teacher preparation programs*. Paper presented at the Third National Symposium on Limited English Proficient Student Issues: "Focus on Middle and High School Issues." Retrieved from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/symposia/third/canales.htm>
- Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence. (2002). *A national study of teacher education preparation for diverse student populations*. Retrieved from <http://crede.berkeley.edu/research/pdd/2.1es.html>
- Cordasco, F. (1976). Educational enlightenment out of Texas: Towards bilingualism. In F. Cordasco (Ed.), *Bilingual schooling in the United States: A sourcebook for educational personnel* (pp. 61–64). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fredericksen, J. (Ed.). (1995). *Reclaiming our voices: Bilingual education critical pedagogy and praxis*. Los Angeles: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- Freire, P. (1998). *Teachers as cultural workers. Letters to those who dare teach*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Giroux, H. A. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: Toward a critical pedagogy of learning*. New York: Bergin & Garvey.
- No Child Left Behind Act, Pub. L. No. 107–110 (2002).

TRANSITIONAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION MODEL QUESTIONED

The early sponsorship of bilingual education by the federal government in the form of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1968 did not elicit negative public reaction. As the appropriations increased, however, the concept of bilingual education came under scrutiny. Many observers of the Washington scene saw its connection with the equity objectives of the Civil Rights Act enacted only 4 years earlier. The program went forward, and the government annually increased its funding to schools to support bilingual education. This period of acceptance did not last long. By the time the Bilingual Education Act came up for reauthorization in 1974, important modifications were proposed. Some of these changes were suggested by practitioners who saw weaknesses and gaps in the original legislation that needed attention, among them funds for teacher education, technical assistance, and research. Criticism also came from social observers who saw aspects in the program that they considered threatening to the sociocultural traditions of the country. An early critic was Noel Epstein, a journalist who argued that the program was poorly thought out and that it was being used to support programs of "affirmative ethnicity" in certain schools.

Sociopolitical Reactions Emerge

For most of its history, and with few exceptions, American public educators had become comfortable with the use of only one language for instruction: English. German language schools were the prime exception, but most of these had disappeared by the time Title VII arrived on the scene. Many universities had eliminated the foreign-language requirement for graduation. In the 1970s, most of the remaining universities did the same, and many had eliminated the foreign-language reading requirement even for doctorate degrees. Doubtless, most educators who became involved with bilingual education early on had had little or no experience with other languages in their own education. Many had taken one or two courses in another language in college, far different from sustained instruction in another language. The objective of most introductory college courses in French or Spanish was cultural exposure; the languages were studied as part of a liberal arts orientation, and fluency was rarely the goal. Bilingual education arrived as

American education solidified a commitment to monolingualism in school and society.

In the education profession, bilingual education was often treated as an unproved innovation, one that did not enjoy strong support of the powerful education organizations in Washington, D.C. There is no single factor that fully explains the timid embrace of bilingual education by the American education establishment other than the fact that the legislation had not originated with the American education establishment. Some of these powerful education organizations were the National Association of School Boards, Council of Great City Schools, American Federation of Teachers, and so on. Among the large education organizations based in Washington, only the National Education Association (NEA) had actively supported the new legislation. In addition to limited scholarly literature on the subject and variations in goals and expectations, other factors in and outside the education world have had an influence, directly or indirectly, on the nation's ambivalence, then and now, regarding state-sponsored bilingual education.

Doubts Increase Concerning Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)

Factors contributing to resistance against bilingual education spring from several sources. Individually, none of these is powerful enough to withstand scrutiny in a direct cause-and-effect relationship. In the aggregate, however, they combine to form a powerful barrier to the enthusiastic adoption of bilingual education. Below is a sampling of these complicating factors:

- A lack of political clout, attributable to the weak integration of bilingual education into the agendas of the large and politically powerful education associations that dominate education policy making in Washington, D.C. (e.g., the American Federation of Teachers, Council of Great City Schools, elementary and secondary principals' associations, Council of Chief State School Officers).
- The slow entry of bilingual education advocates into top policy-making positions, such as large-city superintendencies, chief state school officers, and state boards of education.
- The idea, strongly held by many in the profession, that English is a unifying factor in U.S. society and the parallel fear that the use of more than one language may cause social divisiveness.
- The common belief that discarding immigrant languages is part of the price for gaining admittance into

the mainstream of American life. Those who believe this see the use of the home language in school as sending the wrong signal.

- The belief that using other languages delays the learning of English. Children should be forced to use English early on to ensure mastery.
- The concern that using another language in the classroom takes away instructional time that could be used by students to practice and repeat English lessons.
- The idea that previous generations of immigrant families did not have bilingual education and seemed to succeed in school without it.
- The opinion that compared with previous generations, today's immigrants demand too much and that previous generations of immigrants did not insist that services be provided in their home languages and understood that adapting to a new language was their responsibility.
- The belief that other societies, notably Canada and Belgium, have experienced social divisiveness because they promoted bilingualism and that to ensure national unity among different groups, a single national language is desirable.
- The notion that that according to American notions of fairness, an accommodation made for one language group (e.g., Latinos) with respect to use of their language in school will have to be made for all other language groups, which would be impractical, even impossible, in many schools and communities.
- The idea that common sense suggests that it is easier to learn a language when one concentrates time and energy on that language, rather than continuing to use another.
- The notion that English is the closest thing to a true World Language and because it is spoken all over the world, it is probably the only language that anyone needs to master in the 21st century.

Limitations of space and purpose preclude a full examination of each of these objections to the use of languages other than English in schools. Most are examined in other entries in this encyclopedia. The central point here is not to challenge each of these statements individually, but to suggest that in the aggregate, concerns such as these undermined bilingual education in the perception of the general public and perhaps in the minds of educators as well. When these beliefs and assumptions are viewed in the context of the antibilingual voter initiatives of recent years, it seems clear that the voting public was poorly informed concerning the questionable bases of these seemingly logical ideas.

Starting in the 1980s, these fears began to create a backlash against bilingual education. The once easy support for bilingual education among legislators began to weaken. By the 1990s, a strong movement against bilingual education took hold in several states.

Program Effectiveness Questions

Evaluations of the early programs of TBE did not fully support the claim that the programs were effective in teaching English to children who came to school speaking other languages. The cause-and-effect relationship was modest. This subject also is discussed extensively in a separate entry in this encyclopedia. Some of the early studies only claimed that bilingual education does no harm, but they failed to satisfy critics and advocates alike who expected more. In later years, improvements were made in program design, as well as in the methods for evaluating their impact. Together, these improvements have produced more positive results. However, the damage done to the credibility of TBE in the eyes of the public and political leaders was not easily overcome. Today, evaluation methods in bilingual education are often superior to what is done in many other school programs.

Transitional Aspect Loses Support

In many language communities, including the Spanish-speaking groups that make up the largest clientele for bilingual education, the idea of transitioning children out of their language(s) began to fall out of favor with parents and community leaders. At issue was the realization that TBE was premised on the idea that children would be better off if they stopped using other languages and transitioned to English on a permanent basis. This was an unvarnished return to older ideas about the Americanization role of the schools. Timing was once again a factor. The idea of cultural pluralism as a positive concept had found its way into schools under the banner of multicultural education. In the case of bilingual education, transitioning was uncomfortably close to assimilation as a government-sponsored objective of schools. In the minds of many parents and teachers, TBE represented assimilation and the harsh Americanization programs of previous generations. Because TBE was not proving itself as a way to teach English efficiently and because it sought the abandonment of Spanish, the program lost support among many Latino families and advocates. In most Latino communities, the concept of learning in two

languages continued to be favored, but only when the explicit goal was the continued development of the home language.

Mexican Immigration

Another important factor lurks behind the loss of support for bilingual education: rapid immigration from Mexico. Many Americans resist government programs that appear to support or encourage immigration or actions that bestow benefits on those immigrant groups that were not given to previous generations of immigrants. This is especially true of so-called illegal aliens, an unfortunate term that does not exist in law but has gained common currency in the culture. Although the presence of undocumented immigrant workers is helpful to most Americans and required by many businesses, there is little support among voters for anything that improves the education or social conditions of these families. Cultural conservatives have expressed fear that rapid increases in Latino immigration may cause the country to move away from a commitment to English as the undisputed national language. By the end of the 20th century, strong sentiments against bilingual education had taken root on the grounds that special school programs should not be made available to children whose families were in the country illegally. This punitive sentiment against undocumented immigrant children has been extended in some states to the denial of health and social service programs.

The topic of Latino immigration and its impact on the society is extremely broad and cannot be covered adequately here. It should be noted that its full impact has not yet been felt and the polemics will continue for some time to come. Suffice it to say that programs to improve educational opportunities cannot be denied to immigrant children because their parents immigrated without the benefit of legal documents. All immigrant children, including the children of undocumented workers, are guaranteed access to public education in the United States under the Supreme Court's edict in *Plyler v. Doe* (1982).

Conclusion

The peculiar mix of factors came together in the 1980s and 1990s in a way that could not have been anticipated by those who worked for the enactment of federal legislation to support bilingual education. Equity concerns, driven home by the Supreme Court ruling in *Lau v. Nichols*, may have contributed to fears that the

nation had gone too far in adapting its prime engine of citizenship and Americanization to the needs of immigrants rather than insisting that the immigrants themselves should adapt to the country's social and cultural institutions. Bilingual education was a litmus test for this idea. As the 21st century moves into high gear, none of these matters have achieved finality. They are likely to continue into the indefinite future.

Josué M. González

See also Americanization and Its Critics; Americanization by Schooling; Dual-Language Programs; Epstein, Noel; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Program Effectiveness Research; Spanish, The Second National Language; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent Amendments

Further Readings

- Crawford, J. (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Crawford, J. (2000). *At war with diversity: U.S. language policy in an age of anxiety*. New York: Multilingual Matters.
- Epstein, N. (1978). *Language, ethnicity, and the schools*. Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982).
- Rolstad, K., Mahoney, K., & Glass, G. (2005). Weighing the evidence: A meta-analysis of bilingual education in Arizona. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29, 43–67.
- Schneider, S. (1976). *Revolution, reaction, or reform: The 1974 Bilingual Education Act*. New York: Las Americas.

TRANSITIONAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Transitional bilingual education (TBE), one of several instructional approaches used in the education of English language learners since 1968, uses both students' native language and English for content instruction, along with instruction in English as a Second Language (ESL), either as part of the classroom program or as pull-out instruction. A certain percentage of time is dedicated to each language, according to time factors established by the school or school district, the needs and philosophy of the population, and the type of staffing and instructional materials available in both languages. The program typically begins with 90% first-language use, reducing the

percentage after 3 or 4 years to 0%, while the second language, English, begins at 10% and gradually increases to 100%. This type of program requires that teachers are proficient in the minority or primary language and the second language (English) or that there is a team teaching arrangement with a primary and second-language teacher.

During the heyday of federal support, TBE was the instructional model favored by federal funding legislation. Toward the waning years of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), 60% to 75% of federal funding was mandated to be used for this type of program, while the other 25% to 40% could be used for alternate approaches. The design of TBE ideally involves a maximum of 40% minority language speakers in the classroom and a maximum of 60% majority language speakers (English), although this ratio is not always possible. This approach is primarily used at the elementary school level. There are mixed perceptions as to the effectiveness and desirability of a program that focuses for 3 to 6 years on the use of the native language when students in the long term need to incorporate themselves into mainstream (all-English) classrooms.

Purpose and Theory

The purpose of TBE is the rapid transition of students to mainstream all-English classrooms, where they can work at the same levels as their English-speaking classmates. The first language is used as a bridge (mostly when there are 20 or more students at a particular grade level who speak a particular language), providing students with literacy and content skills in the primary language until they are ready to move on to English. TBE does not promote the maintenance of the primary language or culture as a goal. As opposed to immersion programs, which use only English right from the start, and maintenance programs or dual-language programs, which promote the development of English and the minority language for both minority and majority students, TBE is seen as a “subtractive” model, as it works toward removing the first language gradually and replacing it with English.

The philosophy behind TBE can best be represented by the theories of Steven Krashen and James Cummins. Krashen talks about the use of the primary language as a base to develop reading skills. He maintains that once one knows how to read, one can easily transfer those reading skills to another language. He also believes that when students learn content (for example, math or

science) in one language, they do not need to relearn it in another language; the knowledge is implanted. Krashen is also well-known for his theory regarding comprehensible input. If students are instructed in English without using special techniques or modifications, there is no comprehension and no learning, either in the content itself or in English. James Cummins talks about the difference between *common underlying proficiency* (CUP) and *separate underlying proficiency* (SUP), emphasizing that learning in different languages does not go into different compartments; it stays in the same common bank of knowledge. Another theoretical aspect of TBE is that students learn by going from the known to the unknown, hence using their primary language and culture as a base, a “known” to start instruction. Working in a TBE setting allows students to feel supported and able to learn and gradually gives them the tools they need to transfer to another context, which is learning in English.

TBE started “officially” with Title VII of the 1968 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (also known as the Bilingual Education Act). That legislation provided federal funding to help schools meet the needs of limited-English-speaking students through program development, teacher training, materials, and parent involvement projects. Support came from other legal decisions as well, such as *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 (“separate but not equal”), the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* decision (Chinese students in San Francisco did not have access to education because they did not speak English, even though they received the same treatment as English speakers), the 1975 “*Lau Remedies*” and 1980 *Lau* regulations, and a number of amendments to the original Bilingual Education Act.

The original act demanded that schools provide services to limited-English-speaking students so that they might take full advantage of learning opportunities, although it was not very specific in terms of how to do so. With each adjustment, the act became more prescriptive, including information on the following factors: (a) percentages of language use in different types of programs, (b) measures for the identification of students, (c) creation of regional support centers, (d) placement in appropriate settings, (e) notification and involvement of parents, (f) inclusion of the primary culture in the curriculum, (g) teacher qualifications and training, and (h) the use of *limited English proficient* as opposed to *limited English speaking* (a more limited term when determining who needed services). The federal law placed great

importance on the following factors in assessing the appropriateness of services provided to limited-English-proficient students: (a) research-based programs, (b) adequate resources, and (c) standards and procedures to evaluate and modify the program.

The TBE Classroom

In a typical TBE classroom, there are one or two teachers, depending on whether the teacher is bilingual or monolingual; the other language would need to be complemented by an additional staff member. Sometimes there is a teacher who is supported by a bilingual assistant or paraprofessional who speaks the students' language. In the first year, the instructional ratio is usually 90% in the minority language and 10% in English. For example, students take reading, mathematics, social sciences, and natural sciences in their own language and take computers, physical education, and art in English in a sheltered approach; this means using specific techniques and materials to ensure that students comprehend and can respond to and take advantage of instruction. In the second year, the percentage changes to 70% of instruction time in the minority language and 20% in English; students possibly start taking science in a sheltered mode, in addition to the other subjects mentioned above. In the third year, 50% of the time is dedicated to the minority language and 50% to English. Math in a sheltered mode is most likely added at this point. In the fourth year, the students are expected to work 100% of the time in English, transitioning from primary-language reading to English reading and adding social sciences to the other subjects in a sheltered or mainstream mode (with no special modifications). Generally, the subjects first taught in English require less language focus and are more "context embedded" (material rich, more "hands-on," less text utilized). There is a need to have materials in the first language available for subjects like math, reading, social sciences, and sheltered materials in English for subjects like science, physical education, music, or art. Materials for ESL instruction are also needed. Finally, if students are able to transition smoothly to English, the program has been effective.

Program Effectiveness and Other Issues

A common assumption of TBE program planners is that children move together, as a group, from one

program year to the next and that the percentages of time noted above can be expected to work equally well for all of them. In fact, this is hardly the case. Families in the United States, particularly poor families, move often. This means that children who were in a TBE program 1 year may not be in the same program the following year because they have moved to another school, another city, or even a different state, where the rules and program models are different.

There is no definitive evidence regarding the effectiveness of TBE programs. Some studies have shown that long-term bilingual programs tend to be more effective than quick-exit transitional programs, although research is not conclusive due to questionable methodologies or faulty data analysis, complications of comparing very different instructional contexts (primary language, size of school, philosophy of school district, state or district regulations, etc.), different interpretations and applications of each type of program, and an unavoidable political tilt. Some studies say that there is no significant difference when students are involved in bilingual programs, which may be interpreted to mean that bilingual education is effective or at least it does no harm. Major studies include those conducted by David Ramírez, Virginia Collier and Wayne Thomas, and the U.S. Department of Education. In 1997, the National Research Council sponsored a major study of program results. They asked investigators to focus on the well-being of children, not on politics.

There are a number of controversial issues related to TBE programs. To date, these issues do not appear to have been totally resolved to everyone's satisfaction. The percentage of each language to be used remains an issue. Is 90% of instructional time in the minority language too much? The time students spend in TBE concerns some investigators. When using the primary language for instruction, is English learning delayed? Will students have difficulty transitioning? Are there cognitive setbacks when the student is not exposed to learning in English soon? Should there be a limit on how many years a student can be in a TBE program?

Teacher preparation is another concern. It is not always easy to find qualified teachers who need to meet these basic criteria: knowledge of bilingual teaching strategies, content knowledge, and dominance in the primary language of the students (and ideally in English as well). Sometimes students are placed in "bilingual" settings that are, in fact, not very bilingual. The teacher does not speak both languages, or the bilingual paraprofessional does most

of the instruction without benefit of formal training. Lack of quality materials seems to be another issue in terms of primary language, quality of content, inclusion of dialects used by the students, and aligning with curriculum expectations of the school or school district, and also regarding English materials, in terms of sheltered materials of high quality that may be used in subject teaching, and well-rounded ESL materials.

The composition of the student population in the classroom is another issue. If language minority students are isolated, they do not have language models in English and are essentially segregated. Efforts are made to cluster students in a 60% to 40% ratio, with majority language students being the greater percentage. This is not always possible due to the number of language minority students who speak a certain language; there may not be enough language minority students to fill 40% of the class(es), or there may be just enough bilingual students to create a certain number of full bilingual classrooms without including majority language students. Creating 60% to 40% ratios throws off the number of classes that are needed per grade level. Other factors include the desire of families to have their children participate, number of qualified teachers available, and availability of classrooms.

Some critics of TBE feel that the use of more than one language confuses students. They also question the use of public money to teach in the first language. Others question whether bilingual education, including TBE, goes against national interest, encouraging minorities not to learn English. More high-quality, rigorous research is needed in order to have more definite results regarding effectiveness under particular conditions.

Supporters of TBE have acknowledged that the issues of percentages and number of years in the program are important but state that the most important factor is the quality of experiences students have, in terms of teachers, materials, strategies, teacher-student ratios, facilities, parent involvement, and administrative support. The debate regarding bilingual education continues, and TBE continues to be the primary approach utilized to provide services to limited-English-proficient populations.

Kathryn Singh

See also Collier, Virginia P.; English Immersion; Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Program Effectiveness Research; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Subsequent

Amendments; Underlying Linguistic Proficiencies; Views of Bilingual Education

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (4th ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Crawford, J. (1997). *Best evidence: Research foundations of the Bilingual Education Act*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. Retrieved March 18, 2008, from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/reports/bestevidence>
- Crawford, J. (1998). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Cummins, J. (1998). *Empowering minority students*. Sacramento: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- Krashen, S. (1996). *Under attack: The case against bilingual education*. Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Ramírez, D. (1992). Longitudinal study of structured immersion strategy, early-exit, and late-exit transitional bilingual education programs for language minority children. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 16, 1–62.
- Thomas, W., & Collier, V. (2002). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement*. Santa Cruz, CA and Washington, DC: Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.

TRANSNATIONAL STUDENTS

Transnational students lead lives immersed in two different countries. These students are immigrants themselves or have one or two immigrant parents, and as a family, they remain connected to both their new country of settlement and their country of origin. Transnational students have experiences, perceptions, and social relationships that span two nations and may be quite different from those of the “traditional” immigrant. In fact, a number of transnational students may forego some of the normal life experiences of immigrants and live comfortably for years between two countries and two cultures. Some transnational students, however, do not differ markedly from immigrant students and may gradually adopt life patterns associated with being immigrants. This entry, however, highlights differences rather than similarities.

A Growing Phenomenon

The lifestyle known as *transnationalism* has grown rapidly due to (a) the globalization of the world economy, (b) new technologies that allow for ease of communication between families in faraway countries, and (c) transportation that is now more affordable and accessible to all levels of society. As more countries become linked economically, their citizens also create links. Thus, immigrants who settle in new parts of the world are able to maintain contact with citizens from their original country of origin. In the United States, this is now quite common with today's new wave of immigrants, who arrive primarily from Africa, Asia, India, and Latin America. Previous waves of immigrants to the United States did not experience the level of transnationalism that is exhibited today. While technology has made these communication and transportation systems more efficient, quick, and affordable, the infrastructure of many developing countries has also greatly improved over the last 20 years to support these systems. These developments may be regarded as the effects of globalization or as the process of globalization itself.

As globalization and capitalism spread to every corner of the world, more regions and their citizens are able to maintain their connections. Research by Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc on transnationalism suggests that in an increasingly globalized world, many immigrants have the ability and desire to stay connected to their countries of origin via economic, political, religious, and/or a familial manner while still becoming members of a new country. The phenomena associated with this new freedom may also be stated negatively. For instance, new immigrants do not feel the need to abandon native languages and cultures to the same degree as previous waves of immigrants, who were forced to leave much of their cherished cultures behind as the price for obtaining the "American dream."

Some researchers, such as those below, argue that the households of transnational students tend to exhibit certain qualities. A study by Marjorie Orellana and her colleagues examined the role children have in decisions about migration in their transnational households and also reviewed child-rearing strategies of families from Central America, Korea, Mexico, and Yemen once they settle in the United States. According to Orellana, for transnational immigrant families "sending children back" to their country of origin works as a distinct discipline strategy when raising sons and daughters in the

United States. Some immigrant parents may also decide to send their children back to their home country to live with relatives because they find some urban areas of the United States too dangerous to raise children in, especially during the adolescent years. On the other hand, some families use return trips as rewards for good behavior and exceptional grades in school.

Orellana also maintains that recently immigrated families maintain close ties with primary and extended family members in the original country and these households tend to experience an exchange of money, goods, information, and support for each other. Items can flow in either direction, from the country of origin to a new place of settlement, or vice versa; the transnational network facilitates this movement. For example, a transnational student living in the United States and keeping ties to Pakistan may have attachments to film stars from both the United States and Pakistan because his or her family has close ties with the "old country" and has access to Pakistani movies they can rent from local Pakistani grocery stores. Research by Carmina Brittain explains that a transnational student originally from the Guangdong Province in southern China had extensive knowledge about schools in the United States before her entry into the country because of information she received by the way of transnational messages sent by cousins already living in the United States. Some transnational students' homes have a constant flux of family and fictive kin who live with them, because members from their communities of origin continue the pattern of "chain migration" to this country that was developed by previous cycles of immigrants.

Income levels and legal status are also important factors in determining how households and students participate in transnationalism. Some students may live lives of transnationalism because of the constant flow of items from their families' home countries to which they maintain a great emotional attachment; because these students either do not have the monetary or legal means to travel, they may actually never physically set foot in their community of origin again. In their research, Elizabeth Aranda and Diane Wolf define this experience as *emotional transnationalism*. Wolf's work discusses the impression Filipino American children have of their families' homeland and how they feel about it, although they do not have frequent or any contact with this country. According to Peggy Levitt and Glick Schiller, children who do not return to their parents' places of

origin are raised in homes where the value systems, people, and goods from those places are present in their everyday lives. Aranda's work on the Puerto Rican diaspora supports the position that life for Puerto Ricans in the United States and in their homeland—which is not an independent nation-state but feels like one to many *puertorriqueños*—are culturally very similar, and many transnationals from Puerto Rico believe there is no difference.

Different kinds of transnational household arrangements involve a range of diverse socioeconomic levels, from the elite to the working class. Aihwa Ong describes a group of elite ethnic Chinese families whose businessmen fathers, sometimes referred to as “astronauts,” work in Hong Kong and other parts of the Pacific Rim, while the mothers and children have relocated to the United States, for the purpose of securing greater educational opportunities for their children. Min Zhou studied “parachute kids” of primarily elite Asian backgrounds in Southern California, where the separation has been quite difficult and traumatic. Unlike the families studied by Ong, these children do not have day-to-day contact or care by even one parent. Instead, they are “dropped off” with relatives or are boarded with other families in order to get a high school education, thereby later enabling them access to the U.S. system of higher education. These families believe the knowledge and networks their children develop will eventually ensure the family's gain of permanent residency or citizenship in the United States. It is, however, not clear what the psychological effects of these arrangements may be to these youth and their families.

Carmina Brittain and Cecilia Menjívar looked at Asian and Latino working-class families in which one parent lived with some of his or her children in the United States, while the other parent remained in the home country with the rest of the children. Another configuration of transnational families includes both parents living in the United States with some of their children, while the other children remained in the home country. These researchers have found that many of these children experience many stressors over family separation and reunification in this type of household arrangement. Alec Gershberg, Anne Danenberg, and Patricia Sánchez report that many teachers who are aware of these family arrangements express concern over students' adaptation to parents they have not seen in a long time or to step-parents they have just met who suddenly become authority figures in the students' lives.

Need for Research

Though some teachers may recognize transnational students in their classrooms, schools in general do not acknowledge this lifestyle. There is, however, an exception in certain school districts, particularly those with large Mexican immigrant populations: These districts have adjusted their school calendars to accommodate the large exodus of transnational students each winter during the holiday break, because the annual pilgrimage depletes classrooms and affects attendance at many Southern California schools that would otherwise lose state funds for each student's absence. Although schools have begun to recognize transnational movement among their students and the numbers indicate that many children and youth in the United States potentially lead transnational lives, there is still an absence of literature on students who engage in this movement. The transnational practices of adult males in the public sphere, particularly those involving entrepreneurship, political participation, and community infrastructure projects have been reported by Luis Escala-Rabadán, Luis Guarnizo, Alejandro Portes, and others. Scholars have also recently studied Hometown Associations (HTAs), fund-raising organizations based in the United States and formed by members from the same community of origin who send money back to the community to improve schools, roads, churches, sewers, and energy systems, or other projects.

The private sphere, including the family and the socialization of children, has remained less of a focus by scholars who examine issues of transnationalism. However, such research could help us learn more about transnational children. In addition, more research would be helpful in examining the ways in which bilingualism and biculturalism are strengthened and reshaped within this context. Because transnational students are part of a critical mass of immigrants in the United States, it stands to reason that maintenance forms of bilingual education would serve the needs of these families much more than the transitional variety, with its emphasis on learning English and eventually abandoning the use of the home language in schools.

Patricia Sánchez

See also Biculturalism; Early Immigrants and English Language Learning; Home/School Relations; Language and Identity; Nationalization of Languages; Paradox of Bilingualism

Further Readings

- Aranda, E. M. (2006). *Emotional bridges to Puerto Rico: Migration, return migration, and the struggles of incorporation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach.
- Brittain, C. (2002). *Transnational messages: Experiences of Chinese and Mexican immigrants in American schools*. New York: LFB Scholarly Printing.
- Escala-Rabadán, L. (2002). *Old and new horizons for transnational migrants' associations: The quest for political empowerment among hometown associations in Los Angeles, California*. Paper presented at the Colloquium on International Migration: Mexico-California, Berkeley, CA.
- Gershberg, A. I., Danenberg, A., & Sánchez, P. (2004). *Beyond "bilingual" education: New immigrants and public school policies in California*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Guarnizo, L. E., Portes, A., & Haller, W. (2002). Transnational entrepreneurs: The emergence and determinants of an alternative form of immigrant economic adaptation. *American Sociological Review*, 67, 278–298.
- Guarnizo, L. E., Portes, A., & Haller, W. (2003). Assimilation and transnationalism: Determinants of transnational political action among contemporary migrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108, 1211–1248.
- Levitt, P., & Glick Schiller, N. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society. *International Migration Review*, 38, 1002–1039.
- Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham, SC: Duke University Press.
- Orellana, M. F., Thorne, B., Chee, A., & Lam, W. S. F. (2001). Transnational childhoods: The participation of children in processes of family migration. *Social Problems*, 48, 572–592.
- Smith, M. P., & Guarnizo, L. E. (Eds.). (1998). *Transnationalism from below*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Wolf, D. L. (2002). There's no place like "home": Emotional transnationalism and the struggles of second-generation Filipinos. In P. Levitt & M. Waters (Eds.), *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation* (pp. 255–294). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Zhou, M. (1998). "Parachute kids" in southern California: The educational experience of Chinese children in transnational families. *Educational Policy*, 12, 682–704.

TROIKE, RUDOLPH C., JR. (1933–)

Rudolph C. Troike, Jr., is a long-time proponent of bilingual education and champion of the rights of language minority children. Trained in anthropology and linguistics, Professor Troike has inspired a generation through his scholarly writings in professional journal articles, presentations at professional meetings, and academic leadership.

Troike was born on January 11, 1933, in Brownsville, Texas. He attended elementary through high school there, graduating from Brownsville High School in 1950. He received a BA from the University of Texas in 1954, where he majored in anthropology and history. In 1957, he completed an MA degree at the University of Texas, majoring in anthropology and English. During this time, he had the opportunity to spend 2 years as a graduate student in Mexico City on the E. D. Farmer International Fellowship, at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National Anthropology and History School), where he studied anthropology and linguistics. He received a PhD degree in German linguistics and anthropology from the University of Texas in 1959.

Troike's academic career began with his appointment as an English as a Second Language (ESL) instructor in Ankara, Turkey, in a program organized by Georgetown University. His 3-year association with the program ended in 1962, when he was hired by the English Department at the University of Texas at Austin. By 1971, he had been promoted to professor of English and linguistics. His writings of this period place a major emphasis on indigenous languages (Tonkawa, Coahuilteco, Nahuatl, Uto-Aztecan) but also the beginnings of the application of linguistics to language teaching and eventually to bilingual education. Over the years, Troike has embraced both bilingual education and Amerindian language study with equal zeal and great success.

In 1972, Troike was named director of the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), located in Rosslyn, Virginia. Among other roles, CAL serves as a clearinghouse for languages, language resources, and applied linguistics. In its early days, the main thrust of CAL was in the area of teaching English internationally and the teaching of foreign languages in the United States. Under Troike's leadership and guidance, CAL underwent a change in priorities: Bilingual

education and minority language issues moved from the periphery to center stage. CAL recruited new staff to reflect the change, and individuals familiar with minority language issues were appointed to the board of trustees. CAL's national visibility and reputation gave increased credibility to a new pedagogical approach called bilingual education. It provided a national face to what had been separate and fragmented efforts to address issues of relevance to language minority students. It gave educators concerned with such issues a voice in the identification and implementation of solutions.

The 1974 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 occurred during Troike's tenure as CAL's director. Under his direction, a group of leaders was called together to provide input for the new legislation by identifying needed changes and new initiatives. The resulting legislation made far-reaching changes to Title VII and, indirectly, to bilingual education. CAL is also credited with developing a set of guidelines for eligibility for bilingual education teacher training funds, a document that was subsequently used by many states in designing their own criteria for teacher certification in bilingual education. CAL also developed the design for the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (currently known as the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs), and Troike served as deputy director from 1978 to 1980.

Troike was convinced that the key to gaining popular support for bilingual education lay in developing programs of high quality. He was instrumental in the dissemination of research evidence favorable to bilingual education in his own writing and through CAL's 1975 publication of a series of papers on the subject. The 1977 publication of *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives* not only laid the groundwork for the 1978 reauthorization of Title VII but also provided an invaluable resource to institutions of higher education in areas such as the law, linguistics, and education.

Troike's efforts in bilingual education have not been limited to the Spanish speaking. While director of CAL, he also focused on Navajo, Chinese, and Vietnamese. Following his tenure at CAL, Troike became a professor of Educational Policy Studies, Anthropology, and Linguistics at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. In 1989, after 9 years at Illinois, he accepted a position as professor of English at the University of Arizona. He served as acting head of the English

department for 3 years and as head for another 3 years, and he currently serves as professor and director of the English language/linguistics program.

Troike's background, interests, and training have enabled him to write for a number of audiences, including policymakers, anthropologists, teachers, and researchers. His articles have appeared in such journals as *TESOL Quarterly*, *International Journal of American Linguistics*, *American Anthropologist*, *NABE Journal*, *Language Arts*, and *Educational Leadership*, as well as in a number of anthologies. Since returning to academe, he has supervised 19 dissertations.

Gustavo González

See also Center for Applied Linguistics, Initial Focus; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; Saville-Troike, Muriel; TESOL, Inc.

Further Readings

- Blanco, G. (1977). *Bilingual education: Current perspectives*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Saville, M., & Troike, R. (1971). *A handbook of bilingual education*. Washington, DC: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
- Troike, R. (1978). *Research evidence for the effectiveness of bilingual education*. *NABE Journal*, 3(1), 13–24.

TRUÁN, CARLOS (1935–)

Carlos Truán is a former Texas senator who wrote House Bill 103, which became the Texas Bilingual Education Act of 1969, one of the first state bilingual measures in the country. He was born in Kingsville, Texas, on June 9, 1935, during the Great Depression; his single mother raised him and his siblings. The family was among the earliest settlers of the community. With his mother's encouragement, Truán worked hard at attaining an education in a segregated environment. As a young man, he held various jobs to contribute to the support of the family and pay for his college education. In 1959, he graduated from Texas A&I (now Texas A&M) University with a bachelor's degree in business administration.

After graduating from college, Truán moved to Corpus Christi and started a career in the insurance

industry. There, he became active in the community, which led to an appointment on the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. His participation in hearings about discrimination, employment, education, and unfair treatment of migrant farmworkers by the Texas Rangers attracted him to further human rights work and also led him to run for elected office as a Democrat.

First elected to the Texas House of Representative in 1968, Truán served four terms, including service as the chairman of the Committee on Human Resources. As a state representative, the legislation he became involved in included the Texas Child Care Licensing Act of 1975, the Texas Public Housing Authority Act (1969), the Texas Education Act (1973), and the Interstate Placement of Children Act (1975). In 1976, Truán was elected to the Texas Senate, where he served for 25 years and distinguished himself as a supporter of public and higher education, environmental protection, and mental health care issues.

Beginning with the 69th Legislature, Truán was elected and reelected to the post of Senate President pro tempore during the first, second, and third called sessions. The 74th Legislature saw him become the first Hispanic legislator to serve as Dean of the Texas Senate in 1995.

Carlos Truán has been identified by some as one of Texas's most influential supporters of public education. In his first year as a House member, Truán wrote House Bill 103, which became the Texas Bilingual Education Act of 1969. It was passed on May 22 of that year. However, before passing the bill, legislators also had to repeal the "English only" statute of 1918, which made it a misdemeanor for any teacher or administrator to use a language other than English in school or to use books not printed in English, except those used in high school foreign-language classes. Prior to the passage of this bill, Hispanics had an 80% school drop-out rate. Truán remembered being spanked on his first day of school by his elementary principal for speaking Spanish. Senator Truán's House Bill 103 began by acknowledging English as the primary language of instruction in school but went on to emphasize that "instruction in the earlier years which includes the use of language the child understands makes learning easier." The legislation allowed but did not require a school district to provide bilingual instruction through Grade 6. Texas Education Agency approval was required before a district could offer bilingual education in the secondary grades.

The State Board of Education was then able to revise the Statewide Design for Bilingual Education. Owing to Senator Truán's efforts, each bilingual program was required to (a) introduce the school environment using the child's first language, (b) develop the child's language skills in both the first language and English, (c) teach subject matter and concepts using both languages, and (d) help the child develop a positive self-image through an appreciation of his or her cultural heritage.

Senator Truán's efforts also resulted in the passage of Senate Bill 477, which was signed by the governor on June 12, 1981. The bill required bilingual instruction for English language learners in school districts throughout the elementary grades; bilingual education, English as a Second Language (ESL), or other transitional methods of language support in middle school; and ESL instruction at the high school level.

After serving for 34 years in the Texas Legislature, Senator Truán retired and joined the Texas A&M University System Health Science Center School of Rural Public Health as a special adviser to the dean. He also serves as an adjunct lecturer, continuing to serve as a major resource to students and faculty in public policy issues specific to Texas. The Natural Resources Center at Texas A&M University at Corpus Christi was renamed after Senator Truán. The center houses numerous scientific and research entities, including the university's Harte Research Institute for Gulf of Mexico Studies and the General Land Office.

Eva Midobuche and Alfredo H. Benavides

See also Texas Legislation (HB 103 and SB 121); Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker

Further Readings

- The Honorable Carlos Truán. (2006). *Hispanic Journal*. Retrieved February 20, 2006, from http://www.hispanicjournal.com/legislature/Carlos_Truan.html
- Latino Education Policy in Texas. (2006). *Bilingual and dual language education*. Retrieved from http://www.edb.utexas.edu/latino/bilingual_edu_page.html
- Marton, J. (2004). *Carlos Truán archival collection, symposium offers insight into South Texas politics, Hispanic community*. Retrieved from <http://www.tamuc.edu/news/2004/april/truan>
- Ramírez, J. (2003). *Natural resources center renamed to honor Carlos Truán*. Retrieved from <http://www.kanga.tamucc.edu/PublicAffairs/specialevents/archives/2003/truan/index.htm>

- Tejano Voices. (1998). *Carlos Truán*. University of Texas at Arlington Center for Mexican American Studies Oral History Project. Retrieved from <http://libraries.uta.edu/tejanovoices/interview.asp?CMASNo=084>
- Texas A&M University System Health Science Center. (2004). *Former Senator Carlos Truán appointed special adviser*. Retrieved from <http://www.tamhsc.edu/news/index.html?postID=001080>
- Texas Education Agency. (1998). *Limited English proficiency policy development*. Retrieved from <http://www.tea.state.tx.us/research/prr10/lepdev.html>
- Todd, D., & Weisman, D. (2000, February 21). *Interview with Carlos Truán*. Retrieved from <http://www.texaslegacy.org/bb/transcripts/truancarlostxt.html>

TRUEBA, ENRIQUE (HENRY) (1931–2004)

Anthropologist, critical ethnographer, educator, and activist, Enrique (Henry) T. Trueba throughout his life instilled in his students cultural pride and a desire for public service. His contributions to the fields of educational anthropology and multicultural education highlight a career dedicated to serving people of color, racial and ethnic minority students, and immigrant populations. Speaking out against the political and educational inequalities governing their mistreatment, Trueba sought to empower people through his commitment to student intellectual growth.

Trueba was born in Mexico City in 1931. In his youth, he was educated in a Jesuit school, which marked the beginning of a spiritual path that would culminate in his ordination into the priesthood as an adult. This path would lead Trueba to work with the poor in Mayan communities. Researchers working in the same communities in Mexico introduced Trueba to anthropology, a field he would subsequently pursue in the United States. Leaving behind the priesthood and learning to function in a new language, Trueba embarked upon a new career of service to others using an anthropological lens. This led to a master's degree from Stanford University in 1966, and in 1970, under the guidance of George Peter Murdock, Trueba received his doctorate in anthropology from the University of Pittsburgh.

Through the Chicano anthropologist Steve Arvizu, Trueba discovered Chicano communities, schools, and

culture. He quickly envisioned a political bridge linking Mexican and Mexican American ideologies, dismissed Mexican pejorative stereotypes of Chicanos, and embraced the Chicano movement, or *movimiento*, which was then under way. These interests profoundly impacted the first decade of his career as an anthropologist and developed an enduring commitment to the academic improvement of poor and minority children.

During his stay at the University of Illinois, Urbana, as director for the doctoral program in bilingual education and of the Multicultural Materials Development Office, he edited his first books on bilingual education. Through them, he offered a compendium of his own work with students as the director of the bilingual education program. In subsequent essays, he reverted to his academic roots in anthropology, defining educational ethnography for bilingual educators as well as promoting the ethnographic study of bilingual classrooms.

In the early 1980s, Trueba returned to California as a professor and leading anthropologist, collaborating with George and Louise Spindler, cofounders of educational anthropology. It was also during Trueba's years at the University of California, Santa Barbara, that he met the Brazilian education theorist Paulo Freire and was influenced by his body of work on the pedagogy of oppressed peoples. In time, George Spindler and Freire would become Trueba's spiritual and intellectual leaders.

Spindler's view of education involved a process of socialization into a particular social group to achieve full participation within it. This approach greatly departed from Freire's view of education as political in nature. Spindler considered the acquisition of the society's cultural and social norms as essential for true belonging, while Freire viewed education as a political expression of power within a system, requiring critical political awareness (*conscientization*) of that system to translate oppression into justice. Trueba found a parallel between Freire's conscientization and Spindler's cultural reflectivity. Fully cognizant of their differences, Trueba arrived at an intersection where both theories must meet for transformation and belonging to occur. Knowledge of sociocultural norms alone does not give poor immigrant groups access to mainstream institutions, unless the groups understand the politics of participation within those mainstream institutions.

Toward the later stage of his academic trajectory, understanding the culture and politics of participation, Trueba obtained prominent administrative positions in

academia as dean of the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin, senior vice president of academic affairs at the University of Houston, the Rubén Hinojosa distinguished chair at the University of Texas, and member of the National Academy of Education. He was the recipient of many awards, including the George and Louise Spindler Award of the American Anthropological Association Council on Anthropology and Education. He served as chief editor of two journals, *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* and *Educational Researcher*, and senior editor of an education series, *Immigration and the Transitional Experience*. Close to the end of his career, Trueba continued to write and edit numerous books and to publish his work in journals. He was relentless in his mobilization of students to become critical thinkers and ethnographers and remained a staunch advocate of multicultural diversification in academia. In 2004, Trueba succumbed to cancer; he is survived by his wife and two grown children.

Malena Salazar

See also Acculturation; Cultural Deficit and Cultural Mismatch Theories; Culturally Competent Teaching; Enculturation; Multicultural Education; Nationalization of Languages; Transformative Teaching Model

Further Readings

- Foley, D. (2005). Enrique Trueba: A Latino critical ethnographer for the ages. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 36, 354–366.
- Trueba, E. T. (1977). *Bilingual bicultural education for the Spanish speaking*. Champaign, IL: Stipes.
- Trueba, E. T. (2004). *The new Americans: Immigrants and transnationals at work*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Trueba, E. T., & Burnett-Mizrahi, C. (Eds.). (1979). *Bilingual multicultural education and the professional: From theory to practice*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Trueba, E. T., Guthrie, G. P., & Au, K. (Eds.). (1981). *Culture and the bilingual classroom: Studies in classroom ethnography*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

U

UNDERLYING LINGUISTIC PROFICIENCIES

In the 1980s, Canadian linguist James Cummins advanced the theory that persons who are learning a second language are not faced with a completely unmapped territory. They possess a common framework of language structures and functions that can be described as a common underlying proficiency drawn from their knowledge of one language to help them learn the second or additional language. The theory holds that there is an *interdependence* factor between languages: To the extent that instruction in the first or native language (L1) is effective in promoting proficiency in L1, transfer of this proficiency to another language (L2) will occur provided there is adequate exposure and motivation to learn L2.

On the basis of the interdependence hypothesis, the first and second languages have a *common underlying proficiency* (CUP), discussed in this entry. Although the surface features of any two languages (e.g., pronunciation, fluency) may be different, the underlying cognitive and academic proficiency skills are common across languages. Cummins represented this concept of bilingual proficiency as a “dual iceberg” in which CUP skills (e.g., semantic and functional meaning) underlie the surface-level language (e.g., pronunciation and vocabulary) differences of L1 and L2. The CUP principle implies that linguistic exposure and experience in two languages can promote the cognitive academic skills underlying both languages. Although the theory is difficult to prove, it provides excellent support to the advocacy for bilingual education, especially with

respect to the positive use of L1 to learn L2. Common underlying proficiency is also linked to the cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) that Cummins believes should be the goal of high-quality bilingual education because this is the type of language that allows the transfer of academic skills (e.g., literacy development) from one language to another.

Bilingual or multilingual individuals who have meaningful exposure and experience with two languages in school or another environment develop CUP skills, which enable the development of cognitive and academic skills in both languages. With enough time and good instruction, the individuals’ two languages become interdependent and come to exist within one central processing system. The development of CUP skills assists with transferring of cognitive, academic and linguistic competencies from the native language (L1) to another language.

The *separate underlying proficiency* (SUP) premise suggests that no such relationship exists between the first and other languages and that languages work independently in the central processing system. Bilingual individuals would require two separate components for language processing. The SUP theory has mostly not been supported within bilingual education or bilingualism research.

Within the bilingual proficiency framework, Cummins posited a distinction between basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). Language proficiency used in everyday communication or informal settings is defined as BICS. CALP was conceptualized as language proficiency needed for decontextualized academic situations, or the language skills

needed in the classroom. The iceberg metaphor has been used to describe BICS (surface level) and CALP (deeper levels) in language proficiency. Cummins expanded the framework by explaining the range of contextual support and the degree of cognitive involvement required within a communication task along both of these continuums. Academic critiques notwithstanding, the connection between language proficiency of the CALP variety and academic achievement has been widely accepted by school personnel who work with culturally and linguistically diverse students in many different capacities.

A bilingual individual does not need to wait until a certain level of L1 proficiency is achieved to begin acquiring skills in the second language because of the central processing system. An important implication for bilingual education is that students with conceptual knowledge in their first language do not have to relearn the same concepts in a second language. Based on the CUP, the student would transfer the concept to the second language and only be required to learn the "label" in the second language for that concept.

Individuals acquiring a second language are said to develop BICS within 2 to 3 years, in which they may be able to produce single-word or short-phrase responses in social situations or informal settings (e.g., playground, grocery store, and cafeteria). CALP, on the other hand, has been determined to require 5 to 7 years of educational exposure for development. Individuals with CALP skills are able to analyze information, provide conclusions, and make inferences about academically challenging (decontextualized) material and tasks. School personnel are cautioned not to make instructional decisions based on a student's demonstrated conversational or surface-level language skills (BICS).

In the U.S. education system, culturally and linguistically diverse students are placed in classrooms that require understanding of cognitively demanding and context-reduced material or situations. For culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students in the United States, developing cognitive academic skills in their native language has been suggested as best practice for future educational attainment. The theory holds that the cognitive and academic underlying proficiencies developed will facilitate the transfer of skills to learning English. Research on bilingual education programs over the years has supported the concept of additive bilingualism and development of students' cognitive and academic proficiency in the native language as an effective way of

facilitating the acquisition of English skills and educational achievement.

Bilingual education programming for CLD students also plays a role in psycho-educational evaluations for special programs. The nature of bilingual language development and the amount of time needed to develop BICS and CALP have significant implications for the bilingual special education evaluation process. Students who enter bilingual education programs based on the home language survey (completed at initial school enrollment) and other data required by the state are monitored yearly on their language gains of English or English proficiency. Based on Cummins's theory school personnel need to use caution when interpreting evaluation results for reclassification of students for bilingual education or program exit because many of the tests used are measures of BICS rather than of CALP.

During the past 15 to 20 years, the number of standardized evaluation instruments developed for bilingual education and special education evaluations has increased. In particular, the Bilingual Verbal Ability Tests (BVAT) are the first evaluation instrument that represents an estimate of the common underlying proficiency theory proposed by Cummins. The BVAT, published in 1998, provides a standardized measure of bilingual verbal ability (BVA) that combines the verbal cognitive skills in L1 and L2 in the same instrument. Based on the bilingual proficiency framework (dual iceberg), which indicates that a common crosslingual proficiency underlies the surface manifestations of each language, the BVAT was designed to assess the combined linguistic and cognitive skills that the individual has acquired regardless of his or her educational exposure or environmental experiences. The BVA score can provide a better indicator of the student's abilities compared with tests administered only in English or the first language. The BVAT is one of the instruments within the Woodcock-Johnson and Woodcock-Muñoz family of tests for use with multilingual individuals. The test is available in English and more than 15 languages that are widely used in the United States.

Norma A. Guzmán

See also Academic English; BICS/CALP Theory; Bilingual Special Education; Collier, Virginia P.; Cummins, James; Dual-Language Programs; Languages, Learned or Acquired; Measuring Language Proficiency; Second-Language Acquisition

Further Readings

- Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education: Issues in assessment and pedagogy*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Muñoz-Sandoval, A. F., Cummins, J., Alvarado, C. G., & Ruef, M. L. (1998). *Bilingual verbal ability tests, comprehensive manual*. Itasca, IL: Riverside.
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. (2002). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority student's long-term academic achievement*. Washington, DC: Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (CREDE).

UNDOCUMENTED STUDENTS' RIGHTS

On June 15, 1982, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states must admit undocumented elementary and secondary students to school on the same terms as citizens. The Court ruled in the case of *Plyler v. Doe*, striking down a Texas statute that had permitted school districts to exclude or charge tuition to undocumented students. Those practices were deemed unconstitutional under the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This entry describes undocumented students' rights to an education in the United States.

The following year, the Court distinguished resident undocumented students from those who reside in Mexico and cross the border only to attend school in a U.S. school district. Although the Court ruled in *Plyler* that school districts could not avoid educating undocumented students who live in their district by confounding residence with immigrant status, it did hold that a school district was only obligated to educate those who actually live in the district. Thus, legal residence in the United States and residence in the district are two distinct concepts that must be looked at differently by school officials. Residence in the district may be required, whereas legal residence in the country is not.

The Court reasoned as follows: "Today's undocumented residents are tomorrow's legal residents and citizens." Accordingly, it makes no sense to deny children an education that will help them become better citizens later in life. The Court also noted that

the situation carries with it mutual responsibilities. Schools have a responsibility to educate undocumented children, and students have a responsibility to attend and participate. The Court noted that undocumented children and youth should abide by mandatory attendance laws and stay in school until the legally required age in the state in which they reside.

There have been several unsuccessful challenges to *Plyler*. In 1994, California passed Proposition 187, which would have excluded undocumented students from school. It was immediately enjoined by both state and federal courts (see, e.g., *LULAC v. Wilson*) and was not appealed. In 1996, as part of a stream of federal anti-immigrant legislation, the Gallegly Amendment (named after its author, Representative Elton Gallegly) was introduced and would have been used to attempt to overturn *Plyler*. It was ultimately defeated and did not become part of the law. In Arizona, in a ballot initiative, voters passed Proposition 300 in 2006, which limited the rights of undocumented persons to a number of public services. Because the proposition was a state measure, it does not have the same force as *Plyler*, which was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. Although Proposition 300 did not influence *Plyler* rights, it does affect the rights of adults to certain public services such as English language classes that are publicly supported.

In sum, since 1982, the right of undocumented elementary and secondary students who reside in the United States to free public schools has remained inviolate. This extends to the right to participate in federal and state categorical programs such as those under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and, later, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

A recurring enforcement issue has been triggered by requests from some schools that children provide a Social Security number to be admitted. Such a requirement violates *Plyler*; although school districts may use a Social Security number as a student identification, they cannot condition admission on having a number. Most school districts assign an alternative ID number to those without a Social Security card (many citizen children also lack Social Security cards). In a related note, school districts that learn of the immigrant status of *Plyler* students must maintain the information as confidential. To do otherwise would constitute interference with the student's *Plyler* rights under the U.S. Constitution, as well as violate the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). According to John Carrera (as cited in Samway &

McKeon), if the schools discover that a child is not in the country legally, they may not disclose that information to another government agency including Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

The reach of *Plyler* only extends to elementary and secondary school students. There have been ongoing efforts to extend in-state tuition benefits to resident postsecondary undocumented students. Although there was one short-lived state court order (*Leticia A. v. Regents*) in California holding that undocumented students should have the right to establish in-state residence, most efforts have been legislative. Federal laws passed in 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1621 and 8 U.S.C. 1623) allow states to grant in-state tuition to undocumented students and grant equal benefits to citizens. To date, 10 states, including California, Texas, and New Mexico, have availed themselves of the opportunity provided by federal law. There have been two challenges to state laws by the anti-immigrant group Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). Neither has been successful, though each is on appeal.

Most of the state acts granting in-state tuition opportunities do not grant access to state financial aid. It is possible, however, as Texas has done, to grant state financial aid to undocumented university students, but it must be done affirmatively. Undocumented students are not eligible for federal grants or loans. Thus, these students generally have to look to private sources for assistance. During the past several years, some federal bills would fast-track undocumented students with college degrees to legalization. Such a provision is in the immigration bill expected to be considered by Congress in the future. Even if no omnibus immigration bill is passed by Congress in the near future, these so-called “Dream Acts” may be plausible in the future. They have had unlikely bipartisan support.

Peter D. Roos

See also Affirmative Steps to English; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974; Federal Court Decisions and Legislation; Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

California Prop. 187 (1994), 1994 Cal. Legis. Serv. Prop. 187 (West).
Carrera, J. W. (1989). *Immigrant students: Their legal right of access to public schools*. Boston: National Coalition of Advocates for Students.

Del Valle, S. (2003). *Language rights and the law in the United States: Finding our voices*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act, 20 U.S.C. 1232(g).
Leticia A. v. Board of Regents, No. 588–982–5 Cal. Super.

Ct., Alameda County, May 5, 1985, digested in 62 Interpreter Releases 639–41 (July 12, 1985)

LULAC v. Wilson, 908 F. Supp 755 (C.D. Cal. 1995).

Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982).

Proposition 300, Senate Concurrent Resolution 1031, Arizona voter initiative (2006). Retrieved from <http://www.azsos.gov/election/2006/Info/PubPamphlet/english/Prop300.htm>

Samway, K. D., & McKeon, D. (2007). *Myths and realities: Best practices for English language learners* (2nd ed.). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

San Miguel, G. (2004). *Contested policy: The rise and fall of federal bilingual education in the United States*. Denton: University of North Texas Press.

UNZ, RON (1961–)

Ronald Keeva Unz, a theoretical physicist by training, made his multimillion-dollar fortune with Wall Street Analytics, a software company he founded in 1988. In the 1990s, he set his sights on the political arena, resulting in a couple of failed attempts at political office. Unz is best known for his political attacks on bilingual education. He sponsored, and bankrolled, voter initiatives in several states that sought the dismantling of bilingual education programs, as discussed in this entry.

Unz was born September 20, 1961, in Los Angeles, California. He was raised by his grandmother and mother, whose family had emigrated from Russia in the 1920s and 1930s. He grew up in a low-income household that sometimes depended on the welfare system to make ends meet. Unz learned Hebrew by attending a synagogue with his grandmother, even though he did not identify himself as Jewish or practice religion. He attended public schools in the San Fernando Valley, a suburban area of Los Angeles, where he excelled as a student.

In 1983, Unz graduated from Harvard with a double major in theoretical physics and ancient history. He went on for graduate work at Cambridge University, where he studied theoretical physics with well-known professors, including the notable scientist Stephen Hawking. After being enrolled in the doctoral program at Stanford University for 2 years, Unz left without completing his degree. In 1987, he founded the software company Wall Street Analytics.

Unz entered the political scene in 1994, when he made an unsuccessful bid (with less than 35% of the vote) to be the Republican gubernatorial nominee in California's primary elections. He also entered, and subsequently dropped out of, the race for the U.S. Senate seat in California in 2000. Unz gained notoriety because of his staunch opposition to bilingual education. He has been accused of involving himself with initiatives against bilingual education to increase his name recognition for possible future political aspirations. In 1997, he founded an organization called English for the Children, which claims as its sole mission to "end bilingual education nationwide in the near future."

Between 1998 and 2002, Unz sponsored and financially backed four English for the Children initiatives seeking to dismantle bilingual education programs and to replace them with short-term Structured-English Immersion (SEI) programs. Unz has asserted that special language support is not necessary beyond one year of English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction; however, he has not presented research-based evidence that this belief can be confirmed empirically. Research has actually shown the opposite: that special language support for language learners should be offered for several years to ensure complete mastery of the language.

Lack of research evidence notwithstanding, the Unz-inspired initiatives succeeded in three of the four states where they were launched:

- In 1998, Proposition 227 in California passed with 61% of the vote.
- In 2000, Proposition 203 in Arizona passed with 63% of the vote.
- In 2002, Question 2 in Massachusetts passed with 70% of the vote.
- In 2002, Amendment 31 in Colorado failed, with 56% voting against the initiative.

In addition to contributing his own funds, Unz successfully raised millions of dollars to support his initiatives. Subsequent analyses showed that he won over many voters through a number of factors such as well-funded political and effective media campaigning, claims that bilingual education is a "colossal failure," ambiguous wording of initiatives, and selecting assimilated antibilingual education Latinos to serve as local chairpersons in each state.

Unz has been criticized for having anti-immigrant and anti-Latino attitudes or, at minimum, for appealing

to voters who harbor those feelings. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that in a 3½-page letter to collect funds for Proposition 227 in California, Latinos were the only ethnic group mentioned, and Spanish was the only language mentioned other than English. In Arizona, when questioned about the effect of his proposition on Native American languages, Unz replied that it was not his intention to limit the study of Native American languages by native peoples, although the Arizona initiative, Proposition 203, did not exclude Native Americans from the ban on bilingual education.

Because he had devoted so much of his time to the English for the Children campaign, Unz said he felt he had neglected his business interests and returned to those matters after the 2002 Massachusetts campaign. He has not run again for public office since.

Kimberley K. Cuero

See also Amendment 31 (Colorado); English for the Children Campaign; English Immersion; English-Only Organizations; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 227 (California); Question 2 (Massachusetts)

Further Readings

- Borenstein, D. (1998, May 10). Unz uses initiative for impact. *Contra Costa Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/linguistics/people/grads/macswan/CCT11.htm>
- Broder, D. (2000). *Democracy derailed. The initiative movement and the power of money*. New York: Harcourt.
- Crawford, J. (2006). *Language policy website and emporium*. Retrieved from <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jwcrawford>
- Ovando, C. J., Combs, M. C., & Collier, V. P. (2006). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Wright, W. E. (2005). The political spectacle of Arizona's Proposition 203. *Educational Policy*, 19(5), 662–700.

URQUIDES, MARÍA (1908–1994)

María Legarra Urquides, whose career is discussed in this entry, played a pivotal role in the passage of the federal Bilingual Education Act in 1968. In 1965, Urquides organized an important survey of programs serving Mexican American students in the Southwest, cowrote the report of survey findings, and helped

convene a national symposium in Tucson, Arizona, to publicize the report. The report and symposium encouraged Congress to enact Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Urquides was born on December 8, 1908, in Tucson, Arizona, to Hilario Urquides and Mariana Legarra. María was the youngest of eight children and the only one to make education a career. As a child, she attended segregated “Mexican only” schools, but always maintained that she did not feel overt discrimination, partly because of excellent and caring teachers throughout her school career. Her teachers encouraged her to work hard and attend college. After graduating from Tucson High School in 1926, Urquides attended Arizona State Teachers College (now Arizona State University). Completing college was an economic struggle for the young woman, if not an academic one. In 1928, she graduated with a teaching certificate as valedictorian of her class.

Urquides’s first teaching assignment was at Davis Elementary School, a segregated school in Tucson with a population of nearly 100% Latino and Yaqui students. At Davis, Urquides was remembered both as a strict disciplinarian and as a teacher who encouraged her students to be proud of their Mexican heritage.

In the early 1950s, Urquides began to study secondary school curriculum at the University of California, Berkeley. She later transferred to the University of Arizona and completed a master’s degree in education in 1956. She began teaching at Tucson’s newly constructed Pueblo High School the same year and taught English and reading to the school’s large Spanish-speaking population. By then, Urquides had been teaching for 40 years. At Pueblo, her own gradual political and ideological transformation fueled her growing advocacy on behalf of students. She worked tirelessly to make the school’s curriculum and teaching methodologies more responsive to students’ needs.

She was particularly troubled that Mexican students fluent in Spanish were nonetheless unable to read and write it. As a consequence, she began to work closely with Adalberto Guerrero, a Pueblo colleague who was attempting to create a Spanish honors class for Spanish-speaking students. The class became so popular and its students so successful that in 1965 the school received the National Education Association’s (NEA) Pace Maker School Award, as reported by Patricia Preciado Martin. Urquides strongly supported the Spanish for Spanish-speakers classes, and when

Pueblo received the award, she lobbied the NEA concerning the need to address other difficulties faced by Latino students. In a very real sense, this was an early program of bilingual instruction although it did not bear that designation at the time.

The NEA agreed to fund a study on constructive approaches to educating Mexican students and asked Urquides to direct it. The teachers who were surveyed saw Spanish and Mexican culture as assets rather than as deficits. They believed that the Spanish language could facilitate the acquisition of English and that there were many benefits to becoming bilingual and bicultural. Urquides became the chair of the study group, ultimately called the NEA Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish Speaking.

The team members visited schools across the American Southwest and compiled a report concerning what they learned about the most inspiring and successful programs. *The Invisible Minority* report was issued in the summer of 1966, and in October of the same year, the group organized a symposium on bilingual education in Tucson. Urquides reported that the group had initially approached the University of Arizona about holding the symposium on campus, but officials denied that request because they did not regard bilingual education to be a significant issue. For this reason, the group selected a downtown hotel in Tucson as the venue for the symposium. Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas was one of the elected officials present at the event; he was so inspired, he said, by what he learned at the symposium that he introduced the Bilingual Education Act in Congress in 1967 (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act).

Urquides retired from the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) in 1974. The recipient of numerous awards during her long career, she was honored by TUSD with an elementary school named after her the same year. In 1983, she received an honorary doctor of law degree from the University of Arizona, and in 1984, the rarely bestowed Arizona Medallion of Merit from Arizona State University (ASU). Previously, only four other individuals in the 100-year history of ASU had been so honored. In 1990, along with Adalberto Guerrero, Hank Oyama, and Rosita Cota, Urquides received the National Association for Bilingual Education Pioneer Award. She died in 1994, at the age of 86.

Mary Carol Combs

See also Guerrero, Adalberto; National Education Association Tucson Symposium; Oyama, Henry; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Yarborough, Ralph

Further Readings

- Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records, Carnegie Center, Arizona Women's Hall of Fame. Maria Urquides: 1908–1994. Retrieved from <http://www.lib.az.us/awhof/women/urquides.cfm>
- Bustamante, M. (2002). 2 TUSD schools named for top educators. *Tucson Citizen*, April 15. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.library.arizona.edu>
- Gonzalez, E. Q. (1986). *The education and public career of María L. Urquides: A case study of a Mexican American community leader*. Unpublished dissertation. Tucson: University of Arizona.
- Guerrero, A., Oyama, H., & Urquides, M. (n.d.). *Letter of endorsement for the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) comprehensive plan for alternate language*. Retrieved from <http://tusdstats.tusd.k12.az.us/planning/biled/biledplan.htm>
- Leyva, Y. (2006). Maria Urquides. In V. L. Ruiz & V. S. Korrol (Eds.), *Latinas in the United States: A historical encyclopedia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Maria Urquides has lived a revolution in 84 years. (1992). *The Arizona Daily Star*, August 9. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.library.arizona.edu>
- National Education Association. (1966). *The invisible minority . . . pero no vencibles*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Preciado Martin, P. (1995). *Con mucho corazón: An oral history of 25 years of nurturing bilingual/multicultural education in TUSD*. Tucson, AZ: Tucson Unified School District.
- Tucson Unified School District. (n.d.). *New special education facilities. TUSD Website, Bridging Three Centuries: "The end of one era, the challenges of the next"—1960–1979 Part 4*. Retrieved from <http://www.tusd.k12.az.us/contents/distinfo/history93/history9.html>

We acknowledge that parts of it could be disputed or given an alternative interpretation. In several instances, we found this approach helpful in more realistically portraying the history and current status of bilingual education in the United States.

When children arrive at school with a language other than the school language, immigrant or indigenous, education systems throughout the world respond by ignoring or subjugating that language, allowing a transitional phase from the home to the school language, or using both languages in school for a prescribed period. The United States, like most countries of the world, provides education for immigrant and indigenous bilingual children. It has also experimented with schools that turn monolingual English language children into bilinguals, but to a much lesser extent than does its neighbor, Canada.

Whereas bilingual education is nearly universal, North America generally has the most precisely defined methods and approaches, models, and systems of bilingual education. Canada has internationally exported the French-language immersion model, but from the United States, models such as mainstreaming (submersion), transitional bilingual education, and dual-language education (two-way immersion) have been publicized internationally. However, the United States has since the late 1990s received worldwide attention for its politicization of bilingual education and for moving to an increasingly subtractive, assimilationist form of education for immigrant children. In short, more than other societies, the United States has tended to view bilingualism and multilingualism as liabilities rather than as assets. What makes the United States internationally distinct in the early 21st century is its fierce political debates about bilingual education, and the official discouragement of the prolonged study of languages in schools, in a shrinking world that needs bilingual education more than ever.

In this entry, particular dimensions of bilingual education reveal the positioning of the United States within international conversations concerning this subject. These dimensions are neither independent nor comprehensive, but illustrate where the United States has separately influenced, provoked, and become estranged from international movements in bilingual education.

U.S. BILINGUAL EDUCATION VIEWED FROM ABROAD

Essay

Editor's Note: *The authors of this entry were invited to submit an article reflecting a mix of information and expert opinion.*

History of Bilingual Education

Within every country, bilingual education needs to be understood against the political, economic, and social

history of that region. In Canada, for example, one root of bilingual education in that country was initiated by the St. Lambert experiment that launched Canadian immersion education in the 1960s. In Wales, bilingual education is often traced to the first elementary bilingual school in Aberystwyth in 1939. In the United States, bilingual education is variously historically contextualized in terms of the fate of Native American languages, responses to European immigration in the 18th to 20th centuries, as an offshoot of the civil rights movement, and in response to the immigration of Cuban exiles following Fidel Castro's revolution in the 1960s. The historical contextualization of bilingual education in the United States is frequently framed by federal legislation from the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the role played by different administrations (e.g., Reagan, Clinton, Bush Senior and Junior) in the last part of the 20th century.

The tendency is for all countries to contextualize their forms of bilingual education solely within their own country's recent history. This is unfortunate because it fails to promote the understanding that bilingual education has a much longer international history. Bilingual education is not just the product of immigration, 20th-century politics, or experimentation in Canada with immersion or with dual-language education in the United States. E. Glyn Lewis reminds us that bilingual education has existed for many centuries, if not millennia, in most countries and continents. Bilingualism and bilingual education, multilingualism and multilingual education became a necessity, or at least desirable, wherever language groups came into contact. The ancient Greeks and Romans were not the first to need bilingual education. Primitive societies would also have needed their children to be inculcated into more than one language for the purposes of trade, peaceful coexistence, espionage, and marriage.

Bilingual education can be traced back to the time of Jesus and earlier. The biblical figures of Jesus' time would have been native speakers of Aramaic, and then, by some form of bilingual or multilingual education, learned Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. It could not have been otherwise because that part of the world was a crossroads for many visitors and conquerors. Bilingual education, far from being a recent invention, has a history that reveals its cultural, economic, social, and political value in bridging different language groups and societies. In most cases, except

when extraneous factors have muddled the context, language diversity has been about peace and harmony rather than about creating internal strife or external war. The historical record concerning the period in which Jesus lived reveals that part of the world was then highly multilingual and multiliterate. Other regions were probably similar in that regard because there were no nation-states and various sociopolitical and cultural bodies often had extensive contact with other cultures.

Experimentation With Models of Bilingual Education

Since the 1960s, the United States and Canada have experimented with well-defined bilingual education models (e.g., dual language, French immersion, transitional bilingual education). In contrast, in other parts of the world, developments in bilingual education have tended to be more ad hoc, piecemeal, and less well defined. For example, in the allocation of two or more languages in the classroom, many worldwide bilingual education implementations are not well thought out, rationally justified, or shown to be operationally successful. In Celtic countries, for example, a school can employ a mixture of immersion and heritage language approaches, contain an assortment of first- and second-language Irish/Gaelic/Welsh children, with teachers inadequately trained for any form of bilingual teaching methodology, and a dearth of research to ascertain the relative effectiveness of such schools or programs. (There are exceptions, such as the European Schools movement.)

The United States has predominantly given sharp precision to strategies and styles in bilingual education. For example, dual-language education has become a relatively well-defined form of bilingual education relative to the language mixture of students, the allocation of languages across the content curriculum, the balance of the two languages in a school, and the use of two languages in the school ethos.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Canadian immersion evaluations were the most cited to support and extend bilingual education, particularly in Europe. In the past decade, these immersion evaluations have been reinforced by the large-scale research of Kathryn Lindholm-Leary, Wayne Thomas, and Virginia Collier. Internationally, the positive evaluations of dual-language education in the United States have become the most quoted, most important support for

varied forms of bilingual education, and increasingly widely cited as showing that bilingual education is a highly effective form of schooling, as Lindholm-Leary and Graciela Borsato report. Using large samples and rigorous research analyses, such U.S. evaluations have demonstrated that bilingual education can be as successful as, if not more successful than, monolingual education. Thus, the United States has gained a high international reputation for its bilingual education effectiveness research. Paradoxically, such research is more influential elsewhere in the world than in the United States where it was conducted. Indeed, U.S. bilingual education effectiveness research has been used to support and spread bilingual education across continents. Its effect on U.S. education has been comparatively small.

Dual-language education is not the only model of bilingual education for which the United States has international visibility. The United States is also internationally known for its experimentation with forms of education that are transitional (transitional bilingual education or TBE). Wherever there are immigrants in countries throughout the world, their languages tend to be treated in a transitional manner. The tendency is mostly for education systems to promote the national language at a high cost to the immigrants' heritage language and for education to act as a vehicle for linguistic, cultural, and ideological assimilation and social control. Whether it be late-exit or early-exit TBE, the United States stands out internationally as being the most experienced and expert in forms of TBE. For example, the U.S. research of David Ramírez, Sandra Yuen, and Dena Ramey stands out as the most thorough evaluation of TBE in the world.

The recent history of TBE in United States is a signal internationally that politicians and some sectors of the public prefer a faster track to political, cultural, and linguistic assimilation than is offered by transitional bilingual education. With increasing support in United States for mainstreaming English language learners (ELLs), the signal to other countries with older and newer immigrants is that less linguistically gentle forms of education than transition may secure the vote.

Exporting Dual-Language Schools

The specification of the balance between two languages in a dual-language school (e.g., students, content curriculum time, teachers, and ancillary staff) that is a valuable part of the U.S. dual-language literature

has spotlighted for foreign administrations some key language decisions that affect success. An example of exporting such a defined pedagogy is the use of the dual-language model in Peace schools in Macedonia and Israel, which can be contrasted with the origins of dual-language schools in the United States.

In the United States, dual-language education derives from the politics of the Cuban exile in the 1960s. Starting in 1963 in Dade County, Florida, Cuban exiles from Castro's regime wished to maintain their Spanish, believing they would soon return to a more peaceful Cuba. Thus, the origins of dual-language education are partly about politics, empowerment, and community building. Where dual-language education has been exported, so have similar political, empowering, and societal foundations. In Macedonia, as Dawn Tankersley reports, and in the South Pacific, as Heather Lotherington reports, bilingual education is often located within attempts to effect social, cultural, economic, or political change, for example, in working for peace and humanity amid hostilities, hunger, and hatred.

Two particular examples (Macedonia and Israel) link such dual-language schools with peace initiatives. Tankersley illustrates the role of such schools in aiding concord in her article pertinently entitled, "Bombs or Bilingual Programmes?" Situated within the recent Balkan ethnic conflict, she examines a Macedonian-Albanian dual-language program. This program demonstrated success in aiding community rebuilding after the war and helped the growth of cross-ethnic friendships. It helped develop students' respect for different languages and cultures, traditions and customs.

A similar dual-language (Arabic-Hebrew) program aimed at breaking down barriers of distrust and building concord is portrayed by Grace Feuerverger in a village in Israel (Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam). Jews and Palestinians have attempted to live together harmoniously, maintaining mutual respect for the culture, identity, and languages of each group. Two dual-language schools aim to install among children a sense of cooperation, respect for diversity, and a willingness to coexist peacefully. Such dual-language education attempts to create bilingual Hebrew-Arabic bilinguals who are sensitive to each others' histories, religions, and lifestyles. Instruction in which Jewish children learn through Arabic and Palestinian children learn through Hebrew becomes a medium to increase mutual understanding and integration.

Zvi Bekerman's work, and publications in collaboration with Nader Shhadi, similarly portray initiatives

in Palestinian-Jewish dual-language education. Two schools in Jerusalem and the Upper Galilee aim at building cooperation based on equality and mutual respect. Such initiatives symbolize that bilingual education can include a vision that goes beyond language, and beyond a troubled past, to build peace and harmony in a troubled world.

This indicates that, within local traditions, political ideologies, and curriculum approaches, the concept of dual-language schools has been generalized from the United States. In turn, the purpose of securing peace and harmony in such foreign schools brings back a message to the United States. Bilingual education can help deliver a different political ideology than assimilation—that of mutual respect and cooperation between speakers of different languages, of living harmoniously and sympathetically between different ethnic and cultural groups—and a celebration of linguistic diversity in dual-language education can raise self-esteem, tolerance, and mutual respect among children.

Role of Research in Bilingual Education

Two countries stand out as preeminent in research on bilingual education: the United States and Canada. Following the establishment of immersion education in Canada in the mid-1960s, the volume and quality of research on immersion made Canada the world leader in providing the academic, evidence-based foundation for supporting bilingual education. Although immersion is still researched in Canada, the volume has decreased considerably.

In contrast, since the 1960s, research on different forms of bilingual education in the United States has been continuous and controversial. Various U.S. studies and meta-analyses have contrasted different forms of bilingual education, whereas other studies have engaged one particular model, as Colin Baker reports. The use of large samples, careful (but not highly controlled) experimental design, and rigorous statistical analysis has produced research of international value. Although such research is not easily generalizable across oceans and traditions, nevertheless, broad generalizations are frequently made about what forms and components of bilingual education are effective.

Despite the varied forms of bilingual education throughout the world, there is a paucity of research not conducted in the United States to demonstrate the relative effectiveness of different styles of bilingual

education. Other countries and continents have frequently failed to learn from the U.S. and Canadian experiences: If a program is evaluated as successful, this can be used for publicity and expansion. Although such research is not motivated by such publicity, at least overtly, the growth of the Canadian immersion and U.S. dual-language movements from the 1960s to the present seems partly explained by the publicity following effectiveness research. Such research provides support for bilingual education, but it is often contested or ignored.

Support for Bilingual Education

In the United States, the politics of assimilation tends to accent the English language, and the supposed cultural, economic, and identity disadvantages of bilingual education, as Ronald Schmidt reports. Many U.S. politicians and policymakers believe that bilingual education is not self-evidently valuable, desirable, or successful. Much of the U.S. populace needs convincing that bilingual education provides any kind of advantages. For those who support bilingual education in the United States, one issue is how to market bilingual education.

In Europe, one recent approach has been to market the advantages of bilingual education at the individual level. The reasoning behind this is partly that ideological and political arguments will always be present in debates on bilingual education and will always be powerful. At a societal level, when the discussion is about immigration, integration, and social and political cohesion, deep-seated political fears and values, xenophobia, and “linguaphobia” can become enshrouded in irrationality, emotion, prejudice, and distrust. In contrast, at an individual level, when discussing the social, educational, and career development of children and students, it is easily possible to portray bilingualism and multilingualism as strongly advantageous. To attempt to address the fears of politicians, the anxieties of parents, the skepticism of the press, bilingual education as containing advantages for the individual student seems increasingly regarded as the route to valuing and evolving bilingual education. Accenting communicative and cognitive factors, culture, curriculum, character and cash gained through bilingual education for individual children may help redress the current imbalance in the U.S. political critique of bilingual education.

Support for bilingual education tends to circle around eight interacting advantages of bilingual education that

are claimed for individual students, as Baker and Sylvia Prys Jones describe. First, bilingual education typically enables a student to attain higher levels of competency in both languages. This potentially enables children to engage in wider communication across generations, regions, and cultural groups. Second, bilingual education ideally develops a broader enculturation, a more sensitive view of different creeds and cultures. Bilingual education can deepen an engagement with the cultures associated with the languages, fostering a sympathetic and more tolerant understanding of differences. Third, “strong” forms of bilingual education frequently lead to biliteracy. Accessing literacy practices in two or more languages adds more functions to a language (e.g., using it in employment), widening the choice of literature for enjoyment, giving more opportunities for understanding different perspectives and viewpoints, and leading to a deeper understanding of history and heritage, traditions and territory, as Lucy Tse explains.

Fourth, research on dual-language schools, Canadian immersion education, and heritage language education suggests that classroom achievement is increased through content learning occurring via dual-language curriculum strategies, as James Cummins reports. Fifth, Baker reports that plentiful research suggests that children with two well-developed languages share various cognitive benefits, for example, in cultivating creative thinking. Sixth, children’s self-esteem may be raised in bilingual education for minority language students (as Cummins reports). The opposite occurs when a child’s home language is replaced by the majority language. Then, the child, the parents and relatives, and, not least, the child’s community may appear as inadequate and disparaged by the school system. In contrast, when the home language is used in school, children may feel themselves, their home, family, and community to be accepted, thus elevating their self-esteem.

Seventh, bilingual education can aid the establishment of a more secure identity at a local, regional, and national level. Welsh, Māori, or Native American Indian identities may be enhanced by the heritage language and culture being celebrated and honored in the classroom. Developing a Korean American, Bengali British or Greek Australian identity can be much aided by “strong” forms of bilingual education, and challenged or even negated by “weak” forms. Eighth, in some regions (e.g., Catalonia and Scandinavia), there are economic advantages for having experienced bilingual (or trilingual) education. Being bilingual can

be important for securing employment in many public services, particularly when a customer interface requires switching effortlessly between two or more languages. To secure a job as a teacher, to work in the mass media, to work in local government, and increasingly, in the civil service in locations such as Canada, Wales, and the Basque Country in Spain, bilingualism has become important. Thus, bilingual education is increasingly seen as delivering relatively more marketable employees than monolingual education does, as Nadine Dutcher explains.

To this list may be added the potential societal, ethnic group, or community benefits of bilingual education that Stephen May describes, such as continuity of heritage; cultural transmission; cultural vitality; empowered and informed citizenship; higher school and state achievement standards; social and economic inclusion; socialization, social relationships, and networking; and ethnic identity, group self-determination, and distinctiveness.

The previous list of individual advantages of bilingualism and bilingual education for individual students is mostly based on U.S. research; however, the dominant debate in United States is about society rather than individuals, about political ideology rather than personal empowerment, about governable and cohesive citizens rather than about maximizing talent and individual opportunity. Mainland Europe has increasingly emphasized the value of bilingualism and multilingualism for a united, economically strong, and politically powerful Europe and, therefore, an increasingly important role for bilingual and multilingual education. Africa, India, and much of Asia have traditionally regarded multilingualism and multilingual education as de facto normal and desirable. The United States is one of a small minority of countries where the communication, cultural, curriculum achievement, cognitive, character, and economic advantages of living bilingually and multilingually have yet to be recognized and where politics is currently more powerful than the persuasiveness of the individual advantages of bilingualism.

Political Involvement in Decisions About Bilingual Education

At the national level, research rarely has the last word, and politics is often more powerful than pedagogy. If evaluations of bilingual education demonstrate great success, the politics surrounding bilingual education can preach failure. Even if research fairly uniformly

reveals preferable models of bilingual education, the politics of bilingual education becomes the dominant voice. By criticism or spreading confusion, through ignoring or ignorance, by prejudice and presumption, the evidence of research is overcome by politics. Evidence-based policy making is seen as desirable only when it fits dominant political preference.

The United States has taught the world this lesson: Bilingual education cannot be understood without understanding the surrounding politics. Perspectives on bilingual education that are pedagogic, linguistic, sociolinguistic, or historic are all partial unless there is also political understanding.

Historically and symbolically, Proposition 227 in California possibly marks a new international era in the relationship between politics and bilingual education, as James Crawford explains. No longer can any country, scholar, or administrator be naive enough to believe that the *raison d'être* of bilingual education rests solely on educational, linguistic, economic, social, or cultural advantages at either an individual or a societal level. No longer can any person or organization that wants to support bilingual education believe that the justifications for bilingual education are self-evident, can be proclaimed from research, or are in any way permanent. Proposition 227 in California announced that, irrespective of the demographics of a region and even with democratic public ballots, political argument and xenophobia can win the day.

When Proposition 227 was passed on June 2, 1998, it was not just a message to California or even the United States. It was a proclamation to the world that bilingual education is surrounded by prickly politics, persuasive politicians, and powerful polemic. Since that day, as Susan Dicker points out, no one can argue for bilingual education without discussing the politics of assimilation of immigrants and language minorities, ethnic and linguistic integration, social and political cohesion, citizenship and social order, and sometimes cultural pluralism and linguistic diversity. Bilingual education is not just about becoming bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural, but about the political and national identity of individual children and the fate of language groups from which they derive.

Bilingual education at one level has been about conferring the following advantages: wider communication, broader enculturation, access to two or more literatures, deeper understanding of different traditions and histories, higher achievement through the richness of learning in two languages, and higher self-esteem

through the home or heritage language being recognized and valued in school. It also shares the cognitive advantages of bilingualism such as creativity and sensitivity to communication, empowered and informed citizenship, economic inclusion and employment, self-determination and distinctiveness. The United States in the past decade has taught the world that there is another dimension to bilingual education; namely, that dominant political ideology is stronger than any individual argument for bilingual education or even than the largest combination of arguments. In the United States, such political ideology places the English language at the forefront of debates.

English Use in the United States and at a Global Scale

An international perspective on U.S. bilingual education necessarily includes some reflection on the role of English in the United States and globally. On the surface, that education in the United States has moved so strongly toward English language competence reflects the global rise of English. English has become the international language. That U.S. education has placed increasing emphasis on all children being assessed in English may, in some small part, reflect the increasing dominance of English in the world. The decline of transitional bilingual education (TBE), and the rise in mainstreaming language minority children in the United States seems to mirror English as having become the global language.

Braj Kachru divides the international landscaping of the English language into three broad categories: the "inner circle countries" where English is the first language of the majority of the population (e.g., the United States); "outer circle countries," where English is spoken widely as a second language and enjoys official status (e.g., South Africa, India); and "expanding circle" countries (e.g., China) where English has no official status but is increasingly taught and used (in business, multinational communications). The world preeminence of English lies in that it is a first, second, and foreign language and is found across the globe in all three categories, as Viv Edwards reports. The preeminence of English also rests with the only world super power (the United States) having English as its unofficial national language, its predominant means of internal and international communication, and using English as one vehicle to attempt to obtain assimilation, national cohesion, and unity.

Through political domination, the subordination of vernacular languages, trade, colonization, emigration, education, religion, and the mass media, the English language has penetrated to the furthest reaches of the globe. Approximately 375 million people in the world speak English as a first language, as David Graddol reports, with the number of English second-language speakers estimated by David Crystal as 350 million. The numbers who have learned English as a foreign language varies widely, with estimates ranging from 100 million to 1,000 million depending on how much "learning" has occurred. In all, Crystal's middle-of-the-road estimate is 1,200 to 1,500 million English speakers in the world. In this context, the increased emphasis on English in U.S. education seems understandable.

The number of speakers of English is paralleled by the prestigious domains into which English has spread and often dominates, explains Janina Brutt-Griffler. The international prestige and popularity of U.S. English has given the English language associations of status, power, and wealth. Access to English means access to valued forms of knowledge, and to affluent and prestigious social and vocational positions. As a global language, U.S. English tends to dominate international communication, science, technology, medicine, computers, research, books, periodicals, transnational business, tourism, trade, shipping, aviation, advertising, diplomacy, international organizations, mass media, entertainment, news agencies, the Internet, politics, youth culture, and sports. In this context, stressing the importance of English in U.S. education is understandable. But the recent U.S. emphasis on English language dominance in education is more perplexing. It needs to be balanced against two different international contextualizations for English. First, there is the additive nature of bilingualism. One language is not learned at the cost to another. It is not English *or* German in Germany; Mandarin Chinese *or* English in China. Bilingual education in many countries emphasizes English plus: German and English as additive; Mandarin and English as more beneficial than owning one language; addition rather than subtraction.

Second, a critical perspective sees English as part of linguistic imperialism, as a vehicle to achieve world dominance by the United States, a means of reproducing structural, cultural, educational, and economic inequalities in the world, maintaining capitalist economic advantages and control, and oppressing weak societies and their peoples, as Robert Phillipson reports. Other languages are then portrayed as confining,

hegemonic, ethnocentric, divisive, alienating, and anti-nationalistic. Asserting the dominance of English can become a means by which power elites justify exclusion and sustain inequality. This skewed discourse prevents a true exchange of ideas.

In this more critical English language perspective, there are dangers of a country such as the United States advocating English as the only valued language of education. When English is identified internationally as transmitting U.S. values and traditions, as historically creating inequality and perpetuating disadvantage, as a means of dominance and division, then English-only education risks such attributes. Bilingual education in comparison may signal the value of different languages and diversity in international (foreign) cultures, religions, and traditions.

Conclusion

Although parts of the world have either a strong tradition of trilingualism (e.g., Africa, India, Scandinavia) or are moving from bilingualism to trilingualism (e.g., parts of Spain and Eastern Europe), the United States has moved away from bilingual education to more monolingual education. In its politicized move against bilingual education and toward English language monolingual education, the United States is somewhat atypical in an increasingly multilingual world.

History shows that languages are never static either in corpus or status. Several thousands of years of bilingualism and bilingual education show that what is current in the United States is temporary. Language shift is not easily predictable, nor is the future of bilingual education.

There are positive signs on the horizon. As world economics changes, so may the currency value of languages within that economy. As strategies for getting votes and gaining political victory in the United States changes, so may the climate for bilingual education. As the pendulum of peace and war swings again, so may the place of languages in a rapidly shrinking world. Where there are calls for peace and not war, and votes to be gained from internationalism rather than isolation, then bilingual education becomes a language for harmony in diversity.

Colin Baker

See also Critical Languages for the United States; Dual-Language Programs; English Immersion; Official English Legislation, Position of English Teachers on; Program

Effectiveness Research; St. Lambert Immersion Study; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs; World Englishes

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (4th ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bekerman, Z., & Shhadi, N. (2003). Palestinian-Jewish bilingual education in Israel: Its influence on cultural identities and its impact on intergroup conflict. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 24(6), 473–484.
- Brutt-Griffler, J. (2002). *World English: A study of its development*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom*. Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services.
- Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a global language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Dicker, S. J. (2003). *Languages in America: A pluralist view* (2nd ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Dutcher, N. (2004). *Expanding educational opportunity in linguistically diverse societies* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Edwards, V. (2004). *Multilingualism in the English-speaking world*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Feuerverger, G. (2001). *Oasis of dreams: Teaching and learning peace in a Jewish-Palestinian village in Israel*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Graddol, D. (1997). *The future of English?* London: British Council.
- Kachru, B. (1992). *The other tongue: English across cultures* (2nd ed.). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lewis, E. G. (1978). Bilingualism and bilingual education: The ancient world to the Renaissance. In B. Spolsky & R. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Frontiers of bilingual education* (pp. 22–93). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Lindholm-Leary, K. (2005). *Review of research and best practices on effective features of dual language education programs*. Available from <http://www.lindholm-leary.com>
- Lindholm-Leary, K., & Borsato, G. (2006). Academic achievement. In F. Genesee, K. J. Lindholm-Leary, W. Saunders, & D. Christian (Eds.), *Educating English learners: A synthesis of empirical evidence* (pp. 176–222). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lotherington, H. (1998). Trends and tensions in post-colonial language education in the South Pacific. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1(1), 65–75.
- May, S. (2001). *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. London: Longman.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Ramírez, J. D., Yuen, S. D., & Ramey, D. R. (1991). *Final report: Longitudinal study of structured English immersion strategy, early-exit and late-exit programs for language-minority children. Report submitted to the U.S. Department of Education*. San Mateo, CA: Aguirre International.
- Schmidt, R. (2000). *Language policy and identity policy in the United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Tankersley, D. (2001). Bombs or bilingual programmes?: Dual language immersion, transformative education and community building in Macedonia. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 4(2), 107–124.
- Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2002). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement. Final report*. Washington, DC: Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.
- Tse, L. (2001). "Why don't they learn English?" *Separating fact from fallacy in the U.S. language debate*. New York: Teachers College Press.

U.S. CENSUS LANGUAGE DATA

The U.S. Census Bureau collects information on language use to help governmental agencies meet statutory obligations. For instance, under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, information on language use is needed by the Justice Department to ensure that voting materials are being made available in languages other than English where required. Today, Census Bureau language data constitute the primary and most important source of national language use statistics, as described in this entry.

Although inadequate and limited in describing language use in many ways, the sheer magnitude of the Census Bureau's language use collection efforts provide the most comprehensive data coverage. Beginning with 2005, the Census Bureau's new American Community Survey gathers information annually from about 3 million households covering the entire

geography of the United States. So although the Census Bureau does not collect key language data that would describe language more fully (e.g., the extent of speaking ability in the other language, for those who speak a language other than English at home; reading or writing ability in any language including English; and language spoken at work), Census Bureau data nonetheless provide an unmatched portrayal of national language use figures, including estimates for areas down to the block level.

Moreover, because other information is collected alongside the language use data, Census Bureau data typically allow for the cross tabulation of figures to provide a wide range of comparisons related to language use in the United States. For example, language use figures from the decennial censuses and the American Community Surveys can be cross tabulated by age, across different ancestry groups, or by some other variable of interest to researchers. Limited cross-tabulated figures are readily available through the American FactFinder function in the Census Bureau Web site (<http://www.census.gov>). Alternatively, researchers can select variables that are of interest to them and run their own analyses by using the American Community Survey's or decennial census's Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) The PUMS files contain individual records of responses to questionnaires representing a sample of the occupied and vacant housing units and the persons in the occupied units.

Insightful researchers can successfully approximate other measures of language and literacy by creative use of variables included in the PUMS files. For instance, researchers can use educational attainment figures along with variables on English-speaking ability and year of U.S. arrival for those foreign-born to approximate Spanish-English biliteracy rates. However, researchers must remain mindful of the limitations of Census Bureau data. Reviewing the exact format used by a Census Bureau collection instrument can offer insight into the possibilities and limitations of the data. Figure 1 shows how the 2000 census presented the language use questions in the census long-form questionnaire. From this figure, it can be deduced that bilingualism is roughly estimated because persons who are fluent in two or more languages are classified as English-only speakers if they only speak English at home. A construction site supervisor who speaks Spanish at work with his or her workers is classified as an English-only speaker if this person speaks only English at home. Further limiting

determinations on bilingualism, Figure 1 shows that it is not possible to determine how well a respondent speaks the "other" language, for those who speak a language other than English at home. Also, Figure 1 shows that the collection method does not allow persons to report speaking more than one "other" language. A person who does not speak English but speaks Spanish and another language runs the risk of being classified as a monolingual speaker.

11 a. Does this person speak a language other than English at home?

Yes

No → Skip to 12

b. What is this language?

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

(For example: Korean, Italian, Spanish, Vietnamese)

c. How well does this person speak english?

Very well

Well

Not well

Not at all

12 Where was this person born?

In the United States — Print name of state.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Outside the United States — Print name of foreign country, or Puerto Rico, Guam, etc.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Figure 1 Question 11 on Language Use From the 2000 Census Long-Form Questionnaire.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.

Two final reasons why Census Bureau data constitute the primary source of language use figures are the historical availability of the data and the Census Bureau's innovations to remain current with advances in technology and statistical methods. Although the

language information collected has varied throughout the decades, enough consistency over certain periods allows approximations of important language use changes. Indeed, changes in the language use information that gets collected by the Census Bureau forms part of the historical record—such as early censuses' questions on “mother tongue” (the language spoken when the person was a child) and questions on the language used by foreign-born persons; questions on literacy, as was the case in the 19th and early 20th centuries; and current questions on oral English language proficiency.

The current language use format has been used since the 1980 decennial census. Although the current focus will remain the same throughout at least the early part of the 21st century, methods to collect information will drastically change. Since 1940, supplementary data, such as language use data, have been collected on a decennial long-form census questionnaire. But the need for a decennial long-form questionnaire has been eliminated with the advent of the American Community Survey. Beginning with the census in 2010, the decennial census will only use a short form to collect the following information: age, gender, Hispanic origin, race, relationship, and tenure. Instead of collecting supplementary information using a decennial long-form questionnaire, the Census Bureau's American Community Survey will collect the supplementary information annually, including language use data and will additionally make available for the first time a 5-year estimate of neighborhoods' changes over time. The American Community Survey marks the latest Census Bureau innovation to remain current with contemporary technology and statistical methods.

Mario J. Castro

See also Hispanic Population Growth; Immigration and Language Policy; Literacy and Biliteracy; Proficiency, Fluency, and Mastery

Further Readings

- Castro, M., & Wiley, T. G. (2008). Adult literacy and language diversity: How well do national data inform policy? In K. M. Rivera & A. Huerta-Macías (Eds.), *Adult biliteracy: Sociocultural and programmatic responses* (pp. 29–55). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). United States Census 2000. Available from <http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/pdf/d02p.pdf>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2003). *Census 2000, public use microdata sample, United States, technical documentation*. Washington, DC: Author.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2007). *Subjects planned for the 2010 Census and American Community Survey: Federal legislative and program uses*. Available from <http://www.census.gov/acs/www>

Voting Rights Act of 1965, 42 U.S.C. §1973–1973aa-6.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT

This entry reviews an important publication of the U.S. government that helped stimulate the dialogue and policy climate for bilingual education nationally. Published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) in 1975, *A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual-Bicultural Education* was the first statement of a government agency to link bilingual education and civil rights. It was the first clearly pro-bilingual education message issued by a federal agency after enactment of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1968. The report by the USCCR systematically examines the elements of bilingual education as that concept was understood at the time and explains in an advocacy modality how bilingual-bicultural education increases educational and life opportunities for language minority students. The publication consists of three chapters. Chapter 1 reviews the educational conditions for language minorities before the 1970s. Chapter 2 discusses the advantages of bilingual-bicultural education over English as a Second Language (ESL) approaches from the perspectives of psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Chapter 3 describes the structures of bilingual-bicultural programs based on four existing successful models, and makes suggestions for program evaluation.

The publication of the report took place during a period of favorable support by the federal government for bilingual education, but it was soon followed by the first critical report on bilingual education. This critique, published by the Institute for Educational Leadership in 1977, was titled *Language, Ethnicity and the Schools*, authored by Noel Epstein. This juxtaposition of publications, one critical and one favorable, helped fuel the debate about bilingual education among Washington groups involved. Federal funding for bilingual education had increased dramatically since 1968, from zero funding to \$75 million annually, within 5 years of enactment. Many advocates took the position that Title VII of ESEA, in combination with

the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Lau v. Nichols*, were indications that the schools would be required to make deep changes with respect to the education of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students, the term in use at the time. Others feared that education policy would be changing too fast, and that the society was not prepared to support the deep changes that were on the horizon. Given this context, it is not surprising that the USCCR report would be given great weight by proponents of bilingual education.

Only 4 years earlier, in 1970, the Office for Civil Rights in the then-Department of Health, Education and Welfare, had issued its much-anticipated May 25th Memorandum, which was regarded as a precursor of the *Lau* decision. The combined message to school districts was clear and could not be ignored. The message was that the time had come to focus intently on the problem of language incompatibility between schools and students, and to close the attainment gap between English-speaking students and those who came to school speaking other languages.

When it was first enacted in 1968, Title VII of ESEA was meant to create demonstration and pilot projects that would eventually be funded from local and state resources. The USCCR report was very much in concert with federal efforts to broaden the goals and scope of bilingual education. It covers important themes that lent support to bilingual-education advocates. However, because of a lack of empirical data, and its “transitional” orientation, this historic document left many gaps in the knowledge base of the field.

The report begins with a historical picture of how unsatisfactorily U.S. public education had met the needs of language minority populations. Despite the influx of immigrants from Mexico, Central America, and Asian countries between 1920s and 1970s, instruction in U.S. public schools remained monolingual. Minority-language students’ inability to understand English instruction kept their drop-out rate high and achievement levels low and blocked their opportunities for social-economic betterment through education.

In Chapter 2, the report points out the perceived inadequacy of the ESL approach: The low English language ability students were attending regular classrooms, while learning English in pull-out or intensive ESL programs. The assumption was that students were not able to acquire content matter through reading and writing while they were still struggling with rudimentary English skills, such as listening and speaking. ESL might temporarily stunt students’

cognitive-area development and self-esteem, to a point that they might never be able to recover later. According to the report, the ESL approach has minimal advantages over English immersion programs, despite its promise of offering more systematic training in English learning.

The report endorses a form of bilingual-bicultural education with two basic components: subject area instruction in students’ native language and formal language instruction in both native language and English. Given the important relations between language and thought, students continue intellectual development through the mastery of vocabulary and grammar, and manipulation of complex concepts in their native language. Meanwhile, students are developing English proficiency until they are able to receive instruction in English. The report reiterated the belief of advocates that bilingual-bicultural education attends to minority-language students’ psychological well-being. It fosters students’ continuous cognitive development, and the formation of positive self-concept through successful learning experiences and interactions with teachers and peers that recognize their cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Furthermore, the report argues from a sociological point of view that bilingual-bicultural education bridges the gap between students’ home and school experiences. All of these are elements that are still promoted by advocates of transitional bilingual education. With parents and community liaison persons invited to visit, teach in, and advise on the programs, the authors believed there would be minimal discrepancies between children’s socializing processes at home and school. Finally, the report maintains an anthropological view that cultural transmission across generations is fundamental to children’s healthy development among all social-cultural groups. By including a minority group’s traditions, values, cultures, and history in an otherwise “ethnocentric” curriculum and using minority-language teachers to reinforce children’s linguistic and cultural backgrounds, bilingual-bicultural education helps maintain cultural values that may otherwise be lost. Otherwise, the experiences with exclusion and discrimination may instill in a student resistant attitudes toward the dominant group, which is detrimental to his or her second-language learning.

Chapter 3 of the USCCR report describes the structure and design of four existing programs and proposes ways to appropriately assess their effectiveness.

It stresses the importance of developing appropriate evaluation instruments so that children's language proficiency and academic achievement are not distorted by instruments designed principally for English-monolingual students.

A Better Chance to Learn was one of the early attempts to explain the basics of bilingual education to a reluctant public. It appears, however, that many of the fears and criticisms of bilingual education at that point in history do not differ markedly from the fear of being overrun by non-English-speaking people in U.S. society, and the strong movement to promote English-only instruction in the schools. The popular view that learning two or more languages simultaneously would confuse the children is still heard, even in the face of strong research evidence to the contrary.

At the millennium, increasing pressures for ethnic assimilation and forging a monoglot national identity have contributed to outlawing bilingual education in several states. This is a policy reversal not envisaged in the USCCR report. Given the contrast between the insightful analysis of the linguistic, socioeconomic and cultural conditions in the mid-1980s and the contemporary emphasis on high-stakes testing in the No Child Left Behind age, it appears that little has been learned from history and the public schools have not changed to incorporate language minority populations. The arguments on the value of multiculturalism in the report lend powerful support to the call for bilingual education, but public policy has not kept pace and may be headed in the opposite direction.

The report's endorsement of bilingual education is limited in its essential substance. It defines bilingual education as the use of "the native language and culture as a basis for learning subjects until second-language skills have been developed sufficiently" (p. 3). This language suggests a transitional orientation even though its descriptions of existing programs are comprehensive. They include transitional and maintenance types as well. This blurring of terms suggests divergent thinking among the authors regarding the ideal goals of bilingual education: Should it promote English fluency and assimilation or bilingualism and multiculturalism? Critics of transitional bilingual programs are not uncommon even though such programs appear to promote the academic achievement of LEP students. An essential difference, however, is that such programs

depart from the spirit of multiculturalism that initiated bilingual education in the first place.

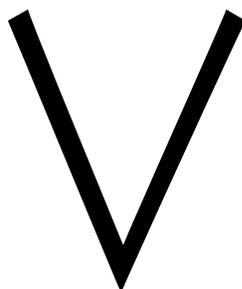
Colin Baker maintains that, when bilingual education programs that follow a submersion or transitional approach are used, the power differential between majorities and minorities is likely to be perpetuated. The dispute about these divergent goals of bilingual education remains. A wide range of program types is subsumed under the term *bilingual education*. They compete for legal support and funding: submersion, structured immersion, withdrawal classes, sheltered English immersion, dual-language/two-way immersion, and so on. Today, programs that have a clear assimilative function (e.g., shifting students to English quickly, raising students' performance on standardized tests, etc.) are more likely to receive societal and governmental support.

Jingning Zhang

See also Dual-Language Programs; Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Transitional Bilingual Education Programs

Further Readings

- Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Epstein, N. (1977). *Language, ethnicity and the schools: Policy alternatives for bilingual-bicultural education*. Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership.
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Macpherson, P. S. (1975). "A better chance to learn: Bilingual and bicultural education": *U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: A review and analysis*. Washington, DC: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institute of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 125 261)
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107-110 (2002).
- Rossell, C. H., & Baker, K. (1996). The educational effectiveness of bilingual education. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 30(1), 7-74.
- San Miguel, G., Jr. (2004). *Contested policy: The rise and fall of federal bilingual education in the United States, 1960-2001*. Denton: University of North Texas Press.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (1975). *A better chance to learn: Bilingual-bicultural education* (Clearinghouse Pub. No. 51). Washington, DC: Author.



VALDÉS, GUADALUPE (1944–)

Inspired by the work of her sister Guillermina, a social psychologist and activist, Guadalupe Valdés discovered her passion for the people of the towns along the U.S.-Mexico border and their struggle for existence and equality. Valdés has striven to enlighten not only educators but also the general public through her research and work in the fields of bilingual education and the acquisition of English as a second language. Broadly, her work addresses the culturally diverse populations of the United States and their schooling.

Not since the immigration of the Irish to the United States in the mid-19th century has a population so impacted U.S. society as have Mexican immigrants and the people living along the U.S.-Mexico border. To better understand this population and its needs, Valdés has conducted research into how these families and population influence schools in the United States. James Banks, in his introduction to *Learning and Not Learning English*, authored by Valdés, points out that Valdés's childhood and her own acquisition of a second language helped her to share knowledge and offer suggestions for the education of immigrant students. As Banks states, Valdés has contributed to the social sciences in a significant way.

Valdés was born in El Paso, Texas. Her family home was in Juárez, Mexico, where she grew up. Her father was a doctor with a medical practice in Juárez. Her family has been in the field of medicine for several generations; they never immigrated to the United States. Guadalupe attended parochial school in the United States during the day, returned home to Mexico in the

afternoon, and was then tutored by master teachers in Mexico for two additional hours. She believes she experienced the best of both worlds and considers it a “geographical accident” that she has attained a high level of bilingualism and biliteracy in two national contexts. She is able to move easily between the two languages in both a personal and professional context.

As a teacher in kindergarten and middle school, Valdés began to hone her craft and accumulate valuable insights that would help her in her later quest for knowledge in the areas of language diversity and the education of bilingual students. Her studies in the Spanish language and in philosophy gave her knowledge not only of linguistics and the study of language but also the thought processes and belief systems that shape opinions and prejudices regarding social diversity. After teaching in the elementary and middle school setting, she moved on to the university level and taught in Florida, New Mexico, and California. She completed her undergraduate studies in 1968 at the University of West Florida. She later attended graduate school at Florida State University, where she was granted an MA in 1970, and completed a PhD degree in 1972. She is presently a professor at Stanford University.

Valdés's research is extensive and covers many components of bilingualism, including socioeconomic status and the home environment. Her works include not only research publications, but textbooks as well. In an effort to educate native speakers of Spanish in their own language, Dr. Valdés has coauthored two Spanish language textbooks. Her current work is in the area of what she deems “linguistic isolation,” including residential segregation of students. This project involves children who are paired with Stanford

undergraduates to examine language acquisition through storytelling and the development of language. She is also involved in the development of a young interpreters' and translators' group. Her most recent work, written in conjunction with Joshua A. Fishman, Rebecca Chávez, and William Pérez, is *Developing Minority Language Resources*.

Valdés perseveres in her efforts to improve social policies for second-language learners and to promote public awareness of the issues surrounding bilingual education. Throughout a career marked by tenacious scholarship, she has been a strong supporter of the rights of linguistically diverse populations around the world in their struggle against language-based discrimination.

Geri McDonough Bell

See also Biculturalism; Heritage Language Education; Heritage Languages in Families; Spanish, Proactive Maintenance

Further Readings

- Stanford University. (n.d.). *Guadalupe Valdés: Bonnie Katz Tenenbaum Professor of Education and Professor of Spanish and Portuguese*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/span-port/faculty/valdes.html>
- Valdés, G. (1996). *Con respeto: Bridging the distance between culturally diverse families and schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Valdés, G. (1997). Bilinguals and bilingualism: Language policy in an anti-immigrant age. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 127, 25–52.
- Valdés, G. (1997). Dual language immersion programs: A cautionary note concerning the education of language minority students. *Harvard Educational Review*, 67, 391–429.
- Valdés, G. (1998). The construct of the near-native speaker in the foreign language profession: Perspectives on ideologies of language. *ADFL Bulletin*, 29(3), 4–8.
- Valdés, G. (1998). The world outside and inside schools: Language and immigrant children. *Educational Researcher*, 27(6), 4–18.
- Valdés, G. (1999). Nonnative English speakers: Language bigotry in English mainstream classrooms. *ADFL Bulletin*, 31(1), 43–48.
- Valdés, G. (2001). *Learning and not learning English: Latino students in American schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Valdés, G., Dvorak, T., & Hannum, T. (1989). *Composición: Proceso y síntesis* [Composition: Process and synthesis]. New York: Random House.
- Valdés, G., & Figueroa, R. (1994). *Bilingualism and testing: A special case of bias*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Valdés, G., Fishman, J. A., Chávez, R., & Pérez, W. (2006). *Developing minority language resources: The case of Spanish in California*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Valdés, G., & Geoffrion-Vinci, M. (1998). Chicano Spanish: The problem of the “underdeveloped” code in bilingual repertoires. *Modern Language Journal*, 82, 473–501.
- Valdés, G., Lozano, A. G., & García-Moya, R. (Eds.). (1981). *Teaching Spanish to the Hispanic bilingual: Issues, aims, and methods*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Valdés, G., & Teschner, R. (2003). *Español escrito: Curso para hispanohablantes bilingües* [Written Spanish: Course for bilingual Spanish speakers] (5th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

VIETNAMESE IMMIGRATION

Vietnamese immigration began soon after the end of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War in April 1975. There were four different waves of immigration from Vietnam, and each had distinct characteristics. Some of these groups could be considered refugees, while others could be considered immigrants. In general, *refugees* are defined as those who fled Vietnam owing to fear of political or religious persecution; *immigrants* were those wanting to leave Vietnam for better economic and life opportunities. Although the distinction between refugee and immigrant is important, it should be noted that the motivation to emigrate could involve more than a single factor, as explained by Nazli Kibria. She also mentions that the official labels given to these groups are not chosen by them, but rather imposed.

As mentioned, the first wave of Vietnamese immigration to the United States began in 1975. Approximately 125,000 refugees fled Vietnam because they had been affiliated either with the United States or with the South Vietnamese government and military. Immigrants from this period tended to be well educated, came from a middle-class background, and were residents from urban areas.

The second wave of Vietnamese immigration occurred between 1976 and the early 1980s. Owing to the outbreak of hostilities with China during this period, the Vietnamese government had an unofficial policy of allowing ethnic Chinese to leave Vietnam via boats in exchange for large sums of money. Many ethnic Chinese from Vietnam fled this way. Hence, this group of immigrants were also known as “Boat People.” Many immigrants from the second wave were business owners and merchants.

The third wave occurred in the mid-1980s and ended in the late 1980s. Policies such as the Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1987 allowed Amerasians and their families to immigrate to the United States. Amerasians were the children of American servicemen and Vietnamese women. This wave of immigration also included political prisoners from reeducation camps and their families. Many of the political prisoners were religious leaders, former government officials, and members of the military.

The fourth wave occurred in the late 1990s. Vietnamese immigrants who had become American citizens were able to sponsor family members to the United States. Currently, there is limited immigration by Vietnamese because they are no longer accepted under refugee status, but now must go through the usual immigration and naturalization procedures with the U.S. consulate in Vietnam. This process tends to be very long and expensive.

Vietnamese Resettlement

The number of Vietnamese people in the United States has grown tremendously. According to the U.S. Census of Population of 2000, the Vietnamese population increased by 99% since 1975, and there is currently a Vietnamese population of 1,418,334 in the United States. The majority has settled primarily in the West (694,860) and in the South (425,220), with smaller numbers in the Northeast (162,700) and Midwest (135,520). According to the 2005 American Community Survey conducted by the Bureau of the Census, these are the five states with the highest populations of Vietnamese:

1. California: 539,150
2. Texas: 159,107
3. Washington: 60,543
4. Florida: 55,555
5. Massachusetts: 48,583

According to the U.S. 2000 Census, the five U.S. metropolitan areas, consolidated metropolitan statistical area (CMSA) or primary metropolitan statistical area (PMSA), with the largest Vietnamese populations are as follows:

1. Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, California, CMSA: 233,573

2. San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, California, CMSA: 146,613
3. Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, Texas, CMSA: 63,924
4. Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas, CMSA: 47,090
5. Washington, D.C. (Virginia-Maryland-West Virginia), PMSA: 43,709

In areas with large concentrations of Vietnamese, such as Orange County, California, it is not uncommon to find areas called “Little Saigon,” shopping centers with a plethora of businesses, restaurants, and signs in which the Vietnamese language is used. It is possible to carry out transactions entirely in Vietnamese in these establishments—anything from ordering food, going grocery shopping, and buying books, music, and videos to arranging transportation and sending money to Vietnam.

Mode of Incorporation

How are the Vietnamese adapting to life in the United States? America seems to have conflicted views of this community. On one hand, Vietnamese often tend to be labeled as “model minorities.” Ronald Takaki mentions several portrayals of Asian Americans in news segments on the *NBC Nightly News* or CBS’s *60 Minutes*, along with articles in magazines such as *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report*. These portrayals have highlighted Asian Americans’ success in school and ability to excel. Newspaper headlines often refer to “Asian whiz kids” who are good at math and science or valedictorians in their high schools. Nawn V. Chu stresses how the model minority stereotype now includes various Asian groups, including the Vietnamese, who are often held up as an example of the quintessential American immigrant success story. Reasons often cited for the Vietnamese success are their values of family, education, thrift, hard work ethic, and willingness to sacrifice. In contrast to the “model minority” stereotype, some Vietnamese have become a part of gangs in cities such as Chicago, Illinois, and Garden Grove, California. A statistic that is not well-known is that Vietnamese adolescents rank second-highest among racial/ethnic groups to be in correctional facilities: 210 youths per 100,000, as reported by Min Zhou and Carl Bankston. This figure is higher than for all other Asian groups.

Overall, the reception and mode of incorporation of the Vietnamese into American society has been

somewhat mixed. Because many of the first wave of Vietnamese to immigrate to the United States were classified as refugees, the government provided resources such as Medicaid, job employment programs, and food stamps to help them settle in the United States. However, Vietnamese have faced resentment in some communities because they are perceived as competition for scarce jobs and public resources and because to some, they are a painful reminder of U.S. involvement in an unpopular war.

Vietnamese Heritage Language Maintenance

According to the U.S. 2000 "Census Special Report on Asian Americans," prepared by Terrance Reeves and Claudette Bennett, approximately 7% of the Vietnamese Americans surveyed reported that only English was spoken at home, whereas 93% reported that a language other than English was spoken at home. Of the homes in which a language other than English was spoken, 30.6% reported speaking English "very well," and 62.4% reported speaking English "less than very well." While these statistics may paint a portrait of strong Vietnamese language maintenance, it is important to note that these percentages reflect overall language proficiency within a household that may include multiple generations. Older members of the family may speak less English and thus inflate the number speaking English "less than very well." It is also important to note that the quality of English spoken as revealed by the census questions says little or nothing about the quality of the heritage language spoken, especially by the young.

While various studies have examined Vietnamese socialization and adaptation to the United States and academic achievement, such as those conducted by Kibria, Bankston and Zhou, and Chuong Hoang Chung, limited research has been done that looks at Vietnamese heritage language maintenance. Two studies on the subject provide additional insight, beyond the reports of the Bureau of the Census, on the status of language use within and between generations of Vietnamese Americans. Russell Young and My Luong Tran surveyed over 100 Vietnamese parents regarding language use in their families and among their children. Of the parents surveyed, 84.6% reported that Vietnamese was the sole home language, and 15.4% reported that both Vietnamese and English were spoken in the home. Interestingly, although some members of these families came here

in the mid-1970s, none of the families reported speaking only English at home. Parents reported that approximately 33% of the children spoke both languages and 21.6% of the children spoke only English among themselves. Based on their study, Young and Tran conclude that there is a rapid rate of shift from Vietnamese to English in this population.

A key factor that researchers believe to significantly affect Vietnamese language maintenance and/or the shift to English is length of time residing in the United States. Young and Trang found that the longer a family lives in the United States, the greater the shift toward English use. This is in keeping with the language shift experienced by other immigrant groups. Another interesting trend from their study is that the longer families lived in the United States, the more the parents encourage the children to retain Vietnamese. A similar study conducted by Anne Nguyen, Fay Shin, and Stephen Krashen that surveyed over 500 Vietnamese elementary school students found that while 67% reported speaking Vietnamese well, only 23% reported being able to read and write in Vietnamese well, and 58% reported that they had little to no literacy skills in Vietnamese. Eighty-four percent reported speaking English very well. The students in this sample reported speaking Vietnamese with their parents, Vietnamese and English with their siblings, and primarily English with their friends. When asked about the students' attitudes toward Vietnamese, most felt it was important to speak, read, and write Vietnamese and to maintain their Vietnamese culture. They also stated that they would like to learn Vietnamese in school.

Overall, the literature regarding heritage language maintenance among immigrant groups reveals that there is a three-generation model of language shift at work. The first generation is dominant in the heritage language and slowly acquires the second language (English); the second generation speaks English in school and other public domains and speaks the heritage language at home with family members; and the third generation becomes dominant in English with little, if any, proficiency in the heritage language (as reported by scholars like Joshua A. Fishman and Calvin Veltman). This three-generation model appears to be generally true for Vietnamese immigrants and their children.

Vietnamese Heritage/Community Language Schools

Unlike the Korean and Chinese populations in the United States, the Vietnamese have not been as

organized in developing a national association for teaching Vietnamese as a heritage/community language. In the course of research by the author of this entry, a national association of Vietnamese language schools was not found, unlike the case of the Chinese, where two associations exist: the National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools, which teaches traditional Chinese characters, and the Chinese School Association in the United States, which teaches simplified Chinese characters. There is also one national association for Korean language teaching, the National Association of Korean Schools.

In areas where there are a large number of Vietnamese, some communities teach Vietnamese through a local community Vietnamese organization designed to promote the Vietnamese language and culture. Other places and organizations that teach Vietnamese are churches, colleges, and universities. A key difference between heritage/community language schools that teach Vietnamese and those of Korean, Chinese, and Japanese is the resistance of the Vietnamese American community to using any materials from Vietnam due to concerns that they may contain Communist propaganda. In contrast, many Korean language schools receive free textbooks from the Korean government in an effort to promote Korean language learning for Koreans abroad.

It is important to distinguish the complex historical background of the Vietnamese community to understand their status in the United States today as a unique ethnic and linguistic group. Under the umbrella term for "Asian communities," each subgroup has undergone different migration patterns and adaptation to life in the United States, patterns that should not be oversimplified or generalized.

Ha Lam

See also Chinese in the United States; Heritage Language Education; Heritage Languages in Families; Immigration and Language Policy

Further Readings

- Bankston, C. L., III, & Zhou, M. (1995). Effects of minority-language literacy on the academic achievement of Vietnamese youths in New Orleans. *Sociology of Education*, 68, 1–17.
- Chu, N. V. (1997). Re-examining the model minority myth: A look at Southeast Asian Youth. *Berkely McNair Journal*, 5.
- Chung, C. H. (2000). English language learners of Vietnamese background. In S. L. McKay & S. C. Wong (Eds.), *New immigrants in the United States* (pp. 216–231). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1972). *The sociology of language: An interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society*. Rowley, MA: Newbury.
- Kibria, N. (1993). *Family tightrope*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Nguyen, A., Shin, F., & Krashen, S. (2001). Development of the first language is not a barrier to second-language acquisition: Evidence from Vietnamese immigrants to the United States. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 4, 159–164.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Reeves, T. J., & Bennett, C. E. (2004). *We the people: Asians in the United State*. (U.S. Census Bureau Report No. ASI 2004 2326–31.16). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce Economics and Statistics Administration. Available from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/censr-17.pdf>
- Takaki, R. 1989. Organizing principles: The myth of the model minority. In *Strangers from a different shore: A history of Asian Americans* (pp. 474–487). Boston: Little, Brown. Also available at <http://modelminority.com/article1043.html>
- Veltman, C. (2000). The American linguistic mosaic: Understanding language shift in the United States. In S. L. McKay & S. C. Wong (Eds.), *New immigrants in the United States* (pp. 58–93). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Young, R., & Tran, M. (1999). Language maintenance and shift among Vietnamese in America. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 140, 77–82.
- Zhou, M., & Bankston, C. L., III. (1994). Social capital and the adaptation of the second generation: The case of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans. *International Migration Review*, 28, 821–845.
- Zhou, M., & Bankston C. L., III. (1998). *Growing up American*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Zhou, M., & Bankston, C. L., III. (2000). *Straddling two social worlds: The experience of Vietnamese refugee children in the United States*. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED-99-CO-0035)

VIEWS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Assuming that state and federal policies concerning bilingual education are somewhat uniform in purpose and priority, what other viewpoints exist concerning

programs of bilingual education in the public schools today? The aim of this entry is to document existing ideological and pedagogical differences and views in the field of bilingual education. This analysis is the result of a series of interviews of high-ranking public school personnel and school board members. The sample included persons who are prominently involved in bilingual education, some who are involved only peripherally, and some who are not connected with any program but stated they were open to the concept. The objective was to document underlying concepts and ideologies in the professional sector. Differences concerning rationale, clientele, outcomes, and corresponding views of the role and use of home language provide useful insights to those who study the socio-cultural context of education policy in the United States. It is further assumed that the national conversation over the purposes of bilingual education is likely to continue.

This entry does not address the evolution of state or federal policy for bilingual education. That topic is examined elsewhere in this encyclopedia. The program categories presented are based on the author's synthesis of explanations given by interviewees regarding their own views of bilingual education, as these may differ from public policy.¹ At the very least, these are representative positions that serve to expose the embedded values and priorities of different sectors of U.S. society.

An additional point of explanation is needed to more accurately reflect the values and priorities extant among school people. The vast majority of people who are directly involved with bilingual education in the schools embrace the policies inherent in state and federal guidelines, which, directly or otherwise, flow from current policies in the U.S. Department of Education and in the units responsible for English language learning programs at the state departments of education. For purposes of this analysis, we do not consider it significant that this concordance exists. The reason is that schools and school districts obtain funding from state and federal agencies for only certain types of programs. It may be more important and certainly of interest given our purposes to understand the points of view of persons who are less directly involved or who are not involved at all, since they are not as likely to echo the policies of funding agencies at the state or federal level.

In juxtaposition to design patterns that have emerged from the policies of federal and state governments, a number of other perspectives have coexisted

within and outside the programs of bilingual education that have been supported or encouraged by these agencies. Advocates of bilingual education sometimes support these alternatives even though they themselves may be involved in the more common transitional programs. Some of these approaches, which embody discernible differences on one or more aspects of program elements, are summarized below.

Aesthetic/Enrichment/Pragmatic Approach

Programs of this type fall squarely within the traditional humanities or liberal arts approach to education. Its advocates believe that knowledge of more than one language is a sound educational goal for all students. Programs based on this philosophy are similar in structure to traditional foreign-language classes. The principal features of this program design are summarized as follows:

Orientation: To be well educated, individuals should have exposure to languages and cultures other than their own.

Goals: To prepare students to function professionally or vocationally in bilingual or non-English environments. To enrich education experience through the study of languages with the aim of helping students develop greater understanding of other peoples and cultures.

View of non-English home language: Languages are viewed as a valuable human and national resource. Not to maintain and improve the nation's languages is considered a waste of resources. Languages are seen as marketable resources with utilitarian value to the individual and to the nation.

Program participants: This view holds that bilingual education is good for all children, although in practice it is usually the more affluent parents who are the strongest proponents. Participation is open to all students. Little or no stress is placed on using non-English home languages to assist language minority children in a remedial or compensatory modality.

View of linguistic diversity: Multilingualism is seen as positive although, arguably, it is based on a somewhat elitist view of cosmopolitan values, such as international travel as a desirable aim among members of the upper classes. Usually, there is little concern among advocates of this approach for promoting or reducing cultural and linguistic pluralism. Pluralism tends to be viewed as normative and benign.

Duration or scope of bilingual instruction: Among advocates of this approach to bilingual education, opinions vary from the more traditional study of languages as school subjects, one period per day, to less common international and immersion approaches. Usually, there is little or no desire to limit the number of years of language study. Often, proponents suggest program duration sufficient to produce students who are biliterate and/or multilingual.

Civil Rights Orientation

Some advocates of bilingual education appear to view it within the broader framework of protected cultural diversity. Many believe it should be a right protected by official policy. This view is partially grounded on a broad interpretation of freedom of speech, a high valuing of cultural heritage, and the right to participate in one's ancestral culture, of which language is an integral part. This view of bilingual education as a cultural human right may be summarized as follows:

Orientation: Individuals should have the legally protected right to maintain family cultures and traditions, including language, and to seek help from social institutions in doing so.

Goal: The ultimate goal is to assert and maintain the right of individuals to use their home languages freely in and out of school. This may extend to the formal acceptance of some form of "official" bilingualism. An exemplar often cited is the case of official bilingualism in the province of Québec, Canada.

View of non-English home language: A mother tongue is a cherished entitlement, an inheritance that should be protected as a civil and human right.

Program participants: Under this conception, children who come from non-English-speaking backgrounds have highest priority in being afforded a bilingual education. Others could be included on a voluntary basis, depending on availability of resources. Some proponents would require bilingual schooling of all children living in areas having substantial numbers of residents who are from non-English backgrounds.

View of linguistic diversity: Multiple languages exist because different cultures exist; they are a societal reality that should be recognized and legally sanctioned.

Duration or scope of language instruction: Persons who embrace this philosophy tend to see little or no need to

limit participation. Opportunities to be educated bilingually throughout the public school experience should be made available to any family who wishes to have their children participate.

Psychological/Human Development Orientation

Some advocates of bilingual/bicultural education base their rationale for this type of instruction largely on the developmental needs of children. In this view, bilingual education is far more than a temporary linguistic adjustment. It should embody the human development concepts and principles that underlie multicultural education. Its advocates suggest that in much the same way that children move from the known to the unknown in subject or content areas, they should do the same in the acquisition of the national language and culture. Thus, considerable emphasis should be placed on learning the history and heritage of the child's own ethnolinguistic group and the many facets of the learner's native culture. Proponents of this emphasis in bilingual education claim that cultural differences may harbor incompatibilities between learners and their schools that cannot be resolved unless a bicultural approach is used. They believe these culture-based differences may create a need for a multicultural and "multicognitive" approach to instruction. This view of bilingual education stresses the need to develop and maintain a healthy concept of self and of one's group membership. In this view, the development of the affective domain is a prerequisite to effective functioning in cognitive areas.

Orientation: Strong base in psychological theory and based on expanded application of child development theory.

Goals: (a) To develop in the child healthy perceptions and feelings of self through positive reinforcement of home language and cultural heritage and (b) to assist minority children to succeed in school by providing a healthy climate of respect for home language and culture.

View of non-English home language: The child's home language is seen as a valuable tool for helping the learner adjust psychologically to his or her environment and succeed in school through the development of a healthier self-concept.

Program participation: Emphasis for participation is on people "of color" who, because they live in a hostile

society, are placed at a psychological disadvantage and cannot participate effectively in school. Under this view, there may be differences between various immigrants and other language groups with respect to the strength of their claims to bilingual education based on a history of discrimination.

View of linguistic diversity: Multilingualism is seen as a reality to which schooling must adjust itself not only linguistically but also sociologically, culturally, and psychologically. These dynamics are seen to occur within a broader context of a dominant society that is characterized as ethnocentric.

Scope and duration of language instruction: Bilingual schooling should continue throughout the public school years because the task of developing positive feelings of self-esteem and school efficacy continue throughout the schooling experience. Throughout childhood and adolescence, children are continually exposed to negative experiences that undermine their images of themselves and their ability to succeed in school.

Cultural Assertiveness Orientation

To some minority group activists, the maintenance of strong linguistic and cultural identification among racial/ethnic groups is a necessary strategy for political empowerment. They see a need to keep minority group children from being “swallowed up” by an amorphous “American culture” or way of life that weakens their commitment to their own groups. In the United States, advocates of this view are not political extremists who advocate separatism. They nonetheless perceive distinct social, economic, and political advantages for groups who are able to maintain a strong group identity. In their view, schools should reinforce all forms of ethnic identification in children rather than seeking to assimilate them into a mainline national culture. In this view, the development of peoplehood is paramount. Group identity and self-respect are tools for empowerment and survival in a monolithic or hostile cultural environment.

Goal: To recognize and utilize, with the support of the schools, the ethnolinguistic differences that exist in the society, as a way of enhancing the capability of these groups to participate effectively in the social, economic, and political processes of the country.

View of non-English home language: Home language differences are seen as assets that language minorities

should protect and maintain because they promote the collective strength and solidarity of one’s group within a culturally monolithic society.

Program participation: This view stresses the provision of opportunities for language maintenance among children of language minority groups, which typically have a lower social and economic standing in the society.

View of non-English home language: Linguistic identity and language loyalty are seen as essential tools for building a healthier and more respectful society. They are also tools for building political, social, and economic participation and representation of excluded minorities.

Duration and scope of language instruction: Most advocates of this model would not limit participation to any specific time. Some would establish parallel programs and even alternative institutions at all levels, including university studies.

Cultural Pluralism Orientation

This view of bilingual education is based on a valuing and promotion of linguistic diversity and multiculturalism. It differs from the cultural assertiveness idea, which emphasizes the benefits that accrue to the ethnolinguistic groups, in that the cultural pluralism view is based on a perception of societal advantages; that is, the greatest good for the greatest number. The position rejects the need for a single official language and would instead maintain a laissez-faire linguistic policy that is more democratic and has a greater potential for creating harmony in a pluralistic society.

Orientation: All cultures and languages are valuable. The concept of a cultural and linguistic “melting pot” society is rejected, to be replaced by that of a “fruit salad” that preserves group differences and cultural textures.

Goal: To create and maintain a linguistic and cultural democracy within the society, reduce the hegemony of English, and decrease the feelings of alienation and subservience of other language groups.

View of non-English home language: Language diversity is seen as a positive sociolinguistic reality that should be accepted because it can serve as a positive force for individual and group identities, security, and an easier and more comfortable adaptation by language minorities into the society.

Program participation: All children, but particularly those from non-English backgrounds, would be encouraged to participate.

View of linguistic diversity: The existence of different language groups is viewed as a positive phenomenon, a vital asset, and an aesthetic improvement over a monoglot and ethnocentric society.

Scope or duration of language instruction: The view is similar to that of the civil rights and cultural assertiveness schools of thought. Cultural pluralists are often political activists as well, although they usually limit themselves to modest levels of advocacy. In the latter case, they may be relatively passive in promoting a change that they regard as attractive but not urgent.

Pragmatic/Utilitarian/ Work-Related Orientation

This ideology is an extension of the cultural pluralism view, although it has a nationalistic tinge. Proponents of this view stress the need for U.S. citizens and workers to be prepared to interact in work situations (both domestically and internationally) with other language groups in the languages of those groups. The emphasis is clearly on utilitarian and instrumental uses of language for international and intercultural understanding, especially in business, commerce, politics, and the professions.

Orientation: Languages should be regarded as valuable and marketable skills. The ability to speak more than one language makes Americans more valuable to themselves and their country.

Goal: To prepare students to function professionally or vocationally in multilingual or non-English environments domestically and internationally.

View of non-English home language: Bilingualism, whether inherited or acquired, is an asset that improves an individual's marketability in work situations in which there is contact with other language groups.

Program participation: Proponents of this approach to bilingual education would not restrict participation to language minority students. An almost equal emphasis is usually given to participation by native English speakers.

View of linguistic diversity: The existence of multiple national and world languages is recognized as an enduring and challenging reality to which everyone must adjust by becoming bilingual.

Scope and duration of language instruction: No limits are generally specified. Participation continues until prescribed levels of fluency and literacy are reached.

Conclusion

This entry has summarized several alternative views or ideologies regarding bilingual education. The first is the traditional and transitional modality favored by most legislation, court actions, and government agencies in the United States. It should be noted that in practice, few programs of bilingual education adhere exclusively to one or another of the orientations listed above. Most programs follow an eclectic approach that encompasses more than one ideology. In many programs of bilingual teaching, the underlying emphasis that guides the elaboration of specific learning objectives, materials selection, and staffing patterns is not always apparent. As José Angel Cárdenas and his colleagues have noted, it is not uncommon for schools to embark on a bilingual education venture without a clear mission or purpose. At times, schools may apply the nomenclature of bilingual schooling to programs that use the home language infrequently, indifferently, or informally.

While they are interesting and telling, it is not necessary or helpful to attempt to analyze bilingual education programs with a view to determine what ideologies they favor. In different communities, different types of bilingual education may have wider acceptance and support. Similarly, the home language that is used varies and may influence the program's ideology. For that reason alone, a uniform national ideology may not be realistic. The tailoring of programs to fit local climates and needs will probably continue. It is probably wise for program architects and administrators to make explicit the goals and underlying ideologies of their programs and to make them known to the public. No program can long succeed unless everyone connected to it is clear about its motivations and foundations. Similarly, teacher training institutions should clarify the orientations(s) on which the learning experiences of future bilingual teachers will be based. The anxiety and ambivalence that develop in the absence of a clear philosophy can have detrimental effects on the morale and confidence of future teachers.

It should be noted that the ideological positions described above are simplifications that may not adequately account for everything that matters. There are

a great number of complex issues that are interrelated and interdependent. The perspectives that have been described cannot be easily separated from the dynamics and pressures of the cultural and political environment in which they operate. This is true from the local to the federal levels. Politics, personal convictions, group values, nationalistic idiosyncrasies, and other such phenomena will continue to play important roles in future policy as they have in the past.

Josué M. González

Editor's Notes: 1. It is possible that another researcher, upon hearing the same responses, would organize the composite scenarios differently, although the overall picture would be very similar. Consideration of the author's experience working in this field for more than 35 years may add to the validity and plausibility of his reconstruction of the interviewees' accounts.

2. This entry is a shortened but updated version of a previous publication prepared by the same author. The original source is: González, J. M., (1994), "Bilingual Education: A review of policy and ideologies." In R. Rodríguez, N. J. Ramos, & J. A. Ruiz-Escalante (Eds.), *Compendium of readings in bilingual education: Issues and practices* (pp. 3–13). San Antonio: Texas Association for Bilingual Education. Printed with permission.

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Attitudes Toward Language Diversity; Language and Identity; Languages and Power; Views of Language Difference

Further Readings

Cárdenas, J. A., Bernal, J. J., & Kean, W. (1976). *Bilingual education cost analysis*. San Antonio, TX: Intercultural Development Research Association.

González, J. M. (1994). Bilingual education: A review of policy and ideologies. In R. Rodríguez, N. J. Ramos, & J. A. Ruiz-Escalante (Eds.), *Compendium of readings in bilingual education: Issues and practices* (pp. 3–13). San Antonio: Texas Association for Bilingual Education.

VIEWS OF LANGUAGE DIFFERENCE

In a separate entry on views of bilingual education, we point out the range and variety of beliefs that exist concerning its purposes, designs, and conceptual

foundations. This range of opinions about the nature of bilingual education is rooted in equally diverse views of languages and what we choose to believe about them. These ideas determine the type of bilingual education schools select. Everything, including teaching materials, teacher preparation, testing programs, and instructional practices, is driven by cultural, political, and ideological assumptions. This occurs in most educational programs and is not unique to bilingual education, although the polemics in the latter are sometimes starker.

Richard Ruiz, in an article published in 1984, has explained how orientations and prejudgments are expressed in the specific case of bilingual education. He has identified three distinct "orientations" that shape program designs, especially with respect to the role of the home language: language as resource, language as problem, and language as right. Whether we regard the various perspectives as assumptions, hidden biases, or philosophies of education, his explanation is useful. According to Ruiz, orientations influence what schools choose to do with and about the child's home language in the context of bilingual schooling. He argues that the three starting points for language planning are not always present at the conscious level. But they may be embedded in the subconscious assumptions of planners and policymakers. Orientations in the manner used by Ruiz are similar to what other authors refer to as "dispositions" or "ideologies." They are, according to him, pre-rational in that they do not stem from rational thought or the findings of researchers.

It is not uncommon for policymakers, whether for a country or a school, to make decisions that are not based on research evidence. Legislators and other policymakers are just as likely to respond from the base of their own ideas of what is best or most appropriate for a given situation at a particular moment in time. In short, we make decisions or embrace policies based on what we think the world is like; on values and beliefs inherited from others or widely shared with peers; or absent a precedent, what seems, intuitively, to make sense. The adoption of policies for bilingual education and other curricular areas follows a similar pattern. Ruiz's conception of orientations or language ideologies is useful in understanding important differences that creep into program designs, sometimes consciously and sometimes otherwise.

Following is a summary of the three orientations proposed by Ruiz.

Language as Problem

When school people discuss the problems of schools among friends and family, it is not uncommon to hear concerns about a number of things lumped under the category of *diversity*. Among these problems are the presence of several languages in the community, along with gangs, violence, drugs, and dysfunctional families. The view that language differences are problems of the same type and magnitude as other problems in school and community is all too common among school personnel. Once language is assumed to be part of the problem matrix of certain communities, in this view there is little reason to doubt that the best plan for these schools is one that seeks to remediate, diminish, or eliminate the problems, and sometimes those who enact them, from the school environment.

In the context of bilingual schooling, such sentiments often lead to an emphasis on English mastery as the preferred goal, while devaluing the goal of maintaining community languages. Knowing the role of orientation in language planning, we may wonder why *language as problem* is so often the salient orientation among education policymakers. It appears that language issues become closely linked to the larger problem set associated with a group of people who speak a given language. In time, there is little distinction made between language difference and the problems of poverty, low educational achievement, and limited social mobility. It is not only the language difference that is regarded as a problem but also the people who speak that language. This snowball effect turns the negative view of language into a more generalized negativity that breeds low expectations for success by members of that group. The effects of language as problem are powerful. They can result in a decision to cast aside community languages, completely replacing them with English or with more prestigious varieties of the language(s) in question.

Much of the legal framework that supports bilingual education today exists within the language-as-problem perspective. Authors like Betsy Levin and Bernard McFadden have explored some of the legal issues in bilingual education and language planning. Their discussions highlight the mind-sets behind the decisions. These authors claim that several important court cases regard community languages other than English as problems. In the case of *Guadalupe Organization, Inc. v. Tempe Elementary School District*, decided in 1978, the Ninth Court of Appeals

decided against the plaintiffs, who had argued that they had a right to bilingual education as a means of preserving and maintaining their community languages, Spanish and Yaqui. The court ruled that the district's program was adequate for the critical purpose of teaching English, the principal concern of the court. It sidestepped the issue of the school's responsibility to preserve the language rights of the Hispanic and Yaqui plaintiffs. The view of the court was that children's home language is a problem when they start school speaking a language other than English. Denial of the opportunity for communities to have their languages used in school comes from a belief that community languages have little value to English language learners in U.S. schools.

McFadden reaches the conclusion that language exclusion is part of a pattern of historical discrimination that appears to be benign, but victimizes speakers of community languages, in this case Spanish and Yaqui, a Native American language. Curiously, McFadden's own language-as-problem orientation peppers his own lexicon. He uses terms such as *deficiency*, *remediate*, and *remedial language program*, all of which suggest a need to change the language used in these communities. In an award-winning book titled *Learning to Divide the World*, John Willinsky suggests that even terms that appear neutral, such as *native speaker*, are biased in that they privilege one form of the language over others.

Language as Right

Language as right is a reaction to practices that emerge from a language-as-problem position. Building community support for bilingual education is often the motivation for asserting a right to use a particular language in schools. Advocates for this view challenge the assimilationist goal implicit in the language-as-problem ideology. When communities adopt the language-as-right position, they make a statement that rejects the notion that they are somehow made better by giving up the use of their language of origin. Language as right is a policy preference that puts policy planners on notice about other alternatives they may wish to consider. Language as right is different from the other two language orientations in this way. While language as right rarely translates into program design in the United States, it is a form of protest by language minority communities against unilateral policy making on language matters. It is a statement that

such policies should be participatory rather than being handed down without consultation with the people who speak the languages in question. Advocates of language diversity argue, for example, that in a democracy like the United States, linguistic democracy—the right to use one’s home language in school—should be recognized and publicly supported.

Internationally, the language-as-right concept is protected by the UN’s “Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” It was adopted by the General Assembly in 1948 but was never signed by the United States. Article 2 in the declaration states that all persons are entitled to all rights and freedoms without distinction based on race, color, or language, among other characteristics. The “Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities,” adopted in 1992, provides further elaboration on the rights for minority groups to use their home language(s) without any restriction in public and private settings. The Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted in 1990, also states that the education of children should develop respect for the child’s home language and values and that in their communities, children should not be denied the right to participate in cultural and religious practices and in the use of their language(s). Within the United States, Native American communities have been the strongest advocates of this position.

From the point of view of language planning, a language-as-right orientation is problematic because U.S. courts offer little or no standing to those who wish to preserve their languages by having the schools teach those languages to children in public schools. Language as right can therefore be exercised only in limited settings, such as tribal schools on reservations, private schools, or charter schools in those states that permit them. Because there are few government provisions at any level to safeguard ancestral languages, language as right tends to put the onus of language protection on the community language speakers themselves.

It should be noted that in limited ways, language rights have been protected in the courts but only in certain key sociopolitical arenas (e.g., the Voting Rights Act) and by requiring interpreters in some courts. Importantly, these rights exist only when other legal rights are threatened, such as the right to vote or the right to a fair trial. Accommodating non-English speakers in these situations is an effort to establish a level playing field, not necessarily establishing general rights to the use of languages other than English. In this view, it is necessary to show that without bilingual

services, the protection of civil rights is diminished. Non-English-speaking plaintiffs must premise language discrimination claims on the preservation of established rights, not on demands for sanctioned bilingualism. In bilingual education, no other rulings guaranteeing the right to use other languages in schools have been issued in the more recent past. (But see *Meyer v. Nebraska*, 1923, and *Farrington v. Tokushige*, 1927, older rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court that are not well-known today.) Finally, while it may be of limited applicability in a legal context, it should be noted that a language-as-right orientation remains open as a social or cultural issue. These are arenas where it may eventually play out, rather than in the courts.

Language as Resource

A closer look at the idea of *language as resource* has promise for alleviating some of the conflicts emerging out of the other two orientations. It can have an impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages, and it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities. Ruiz explains that it can serve as a more consistent way of dealing with non-English languages in United States society; and it underscores the importance of cooperative language planning.

This orientation avoids the harsh restrictionism of language as a problem and the polemics of language as a right. It does not seek to replace the home languages of students at all costs and without regard for family preferences. If the bilingual education plan is additive, rather than subtractive, and it allows students access to the core curriculum in the home or community language and promotes proficiency in the learner’s first-acquired language along with English, the plan and practices derive from a language-as-resource orientation. Oddly, while this orientation is not common in many programs, the philosophy it represents is highly compatible with the reasons why American families urge their children to study a foreign language. It is also compatible with the language-as-liberal-studies perspective, which has characterized the study of languages in the United States for most of its history.

Conclusion

The idea that pre-rational assumptions of language exist and that they are influential is well accepted among practitioners today. Some programs are quite transparent in this regard. If the primary concern of

the community is to enable language minority children to learn English and use the native language only insofar as it enables them to reach that goal, then transitional bilingual programs are selected. If there is value placed on bilingual proficiencies and a desire to develop the capability of students to become international citizens by becoming biliterate, then maintenance, enrichment, or developmental bilingual education will be favored. If schools and policymakers regard language—all languages—as assets or resources that are vital to intergroup harmony, language-as-asset ideologies are likely to be favored.

It is apparent in reviewing the modern history of bilingual education in the United States that “language as problem” is the most common view in the polity. Historically and with few exceptions, educators tend to regard children who are competent in a language other than English as children with a deficiency when that language was learned at home. There is little question that this outlook is more political than educational in origin and that this orientation leads to programs that are designed to remediate a problem rather than nurture a resource. The German-speaking bilingual schools of yesteryear were early models for language preservation. Similarly, the early bilingual education programs in Dade County, which served primarily Cuban refugee families waiting to return home, were good examples of language preservation goals in the late 20th century. Today, the most interesting thrust is for so-called dual-language and two-way programs, provided they can avoid a remedial compensatory bias.

Josué M. González

See also Bilingual Education as Language Policy; Early Bilingual Programs, 1960s; Federal Court Decisions and Legislation; German Language Education; Native American Languages, Legal Support for; Views of Bilingual Education

Further Readings

- Crawford, J. (1989). *Bilingual education: History, political, theory, and practice*. Trenton, NJ: Crane.
- Crawford, J. (1997). *Best evidence: Research foundations of the Bilingual Education Act*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. Retrieved March 18, 2008, from <http://www.ncele.gwu.edu/pubs/reports/bestevidence>
- Farrington v. Tokushige, 273 U.S. 284 (1927).
- Guadalupe Organization, Inc. v. Tempe Elementary School District, 578 F.2d 1022, 1027 (9th Cir. 1978).

- Levin, B. (1983). An analysis of the federal attempt to regulate bilingual education: Protecting civil rights or controlling curriculum? *Journal of Law and Education*, 12(1), 29–60.
- McFadden, B. J. (1983). Bilingual education and the law. *Journal of Law and Education*, 12(1), 1–27.
- Meyer v. State of Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).
- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (1990). *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Retrieved from <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/k2crc.htm>
- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, 8(2), 15–34.
- United Nations. (1992). *Declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.unesco.org/most/lnlaw7.htm>
- Voting Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. (1965).
- Willinsky, J. (1998). *Learning to divide the world: Education at empire's end*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

VOTER INITIATIVES IN EDUCATION

Bilingual education policy is governed chiefly at the state level through the legislative and regulatory processes of state government. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, a highly orchestrated effort was made to eliminate bilingual education through the use of voter initiatives as an alternative mechanism to legislation. The initiative process consists of citizens collecting signatures on petitions to place questions, statutes, or constitutional amendments on the ballot for citizens to adopt or reject. Voters vote for or against the proposition. Although voter initiative processes vary somewhat from state to state, it is generally the case that these measures become law once they have been approved by voters. This entry discusses the history of the initiative process; its historical use in the U.S. representative democracy; its use in shaping public policy; and its implications, to date, for bilingual education.

Voter Initiatives in History

The initiative process has its roots in Ancient Rome and Greece. Citizen lawmaking began about 449 BC in ancient Rome and lasted for approximately 400 years, to the death of Julius Caesar in 44 BC. The ancient Greeks made the most extensive use of what is sometimes referred to as “direct democracy” during the period 600 BC to 400 BC. Today, representative

democracy is more common and better understood than direct democracy. In the Athenian model, people did not elect representatives to vote on their behalf, but voted on legislation directly. Participation was not open to all, especially to slaves or other subjugated groups.

Perhaps the strongest example of the initiative process in modern history is Switzerland. Citizen law-making began in Swiss towns in the 13th century. In the Swiss model, “double majorities” are required on constitutional matters: Both the majority of people and the majority of states, *cantons* in the case of Switzerland, must approve an initiative. At the local level, a simple majority of the voters is sufficient. The Swiss copied the double-majority concept from the U.S. Congress, in which House votes were to represent the people and Senate votes were to represent the states. Today, this is a distinction that is not always adhered to faithfully because of the increased reliance on partisan, party-line voting. Alexander Trechsel has noted that observers tend to view the Swiss political system as an oddity, although it may become an important element in the European Union integration.

Voter Initiative Usage in the United States

The voter initiative process has existed in some form in the United States since the 1600s, when citizens in New England placed ordinances and other concerns on agendas for discussion and voting in town meetings. Many of the framers of the U.S. Constitution, however, were opposed to direct democracy because of the danger they saw in majorities forcing their will on minorities. They advocated for a representative democracy in the form of a constitutional republic and elected representation to make and amend laws. Richard Ellis adds that supermajority requirements, such as requiring two-thirds majority or including a bicameral legislature in the political system, not only protects the minority from the majority but also saves the majority from itself. It also requires that open discussion and airing of differences take place, followed by negotiation of any remaining differences between the two houses. The voter initiative process, on the other hand, can be implemented quietly and without a healthy airing of relevant issues. According to David Broder, who has studied the topic in depth, the voter initiative process has evolved into a tool for “derailing democracy” because well-financed efforts to enact initiatives can be used by careless majorities to trample the rights of minorities.

Despite the framers’ intentions at the beginning of the Republic, voter initiative processes have not been used consistently in the United States throughout its history. In the 1890s and early 1900s, there was an increase in the use of voter initiatives by the Populists and Progressives, who imported the process from Switzerland. Voter initiatives were established out of the people’s dissatisfaction with government and its inability to address the political issues of the time. It was a way to correct situations in which the people were denied access to the mechanisms of government.

Populists and Progressives were outraged that special interest groups controlled government and the general public lacked the ability to break this control. They felt that direct voter participation through the use of the initiative process would solve this problem. By 1918, 24 states and many cities had adopted the initiative process. Most of these states were in the West, where the process fit with the belief that the people should rule the elected and not allow the elected to rule the people. Those in power in the East and the South were generally opposed to the expansion of the initiative for fear that African Americans and immigrants would use the process to effect change inconsistent with prevailing values and practices. The Populist and Progressive phase of initiative development waned with the advent of World War I, which diverted people’s attention to an outside threat in the form of German militarism. This fear gave rise to flag-waving expressions of patriotism, and Americans began to look at problems abroad along with internal or domestic issues. The result was a shift away from combating internal inequities and lack of access to ensuring that everyone appreciated the international threat posed by Germany’s militarism.

In 1959, the initiative issue reemerged when Alaska was admitted to the Union with a voter initiative provision in its founding constitution. A new battle was also being waged during this period: to keep the initiative from being taken away from states where it already existed. Today, the voter initiative process is an important mechanism for shaping and influencing public policy, especially at the municipal level. According to the Initiative and Referendum Institute, thousands of American cities have some form of voter initiative participation. Supporters of initiatives argue that it is a form of equal opportunity process. Since its inception, it has influenced a number of statewide reforms related to the right of women to vote, how politicians are elected, the funding of abortions, and campaign finance, among others. As an expression of

citizen anger at federal policies that have not stopped illegal immigration, the initiative process has been used in some states and communities to limit benefits to immigrants and to punish those who hire or do business with them. Some of these attempts have been ruled unconstitutional.

The current phase in the use of the initiative process began in 1978 in California with the passage of Proposition 13, aimed at cutting property taxes. After the California initiative, similar measures were adopted through initiatives in Michigan and Massachusetts. Professional influence shapers, ward heelers, and others who were accustomed to delivering the vote in state houses were forced to take stock of the initiative process as a way of doing political business in the states. Since Proposition 13, use of the initiative process has escalated. Some of the most prolific years with respect to the use of the voter initiative process since 1978 have been 1981 to 1990 (271 initiatives) and 1991 to 2000 (389 initiatives), as reported by the Initiative and Referendum Institute. The states with the greatest number of statewide initiatives on the ballot from 1904 to 2002 were all in the West: Oregon, California, Colorado, North Dakota, and Arizona.

The Initiative Process and Public Policy

There is no doubt that the voter initiative process does influence state-level policy making. For instance, with respect to finance, John Matsusaka documented three significant differences between initiative and noninitiative states since 1970: (1) Overall government spending was less in initiative states, (2) spending was more decentralized to local level in initiative states, and (3) initiative states relied more on user fees and charges than on taxes.

Matsusaka also noted that demographic and technological developments are fueling an unprecedented expansion of voter initiative and other direct democracy mechanisms and that legislatures are gradually being eclipsed as primary creators of public policy. This is due in part to a decline in public confidence regarding government in recent decades. He suggests that two forces are at work in this regard: a more highly educated population and a digital revolution that has made more and better information available to ordinary citizens than at any other time in human history. Voting via the Internet will probably make voter initiatives even more prevalent in the future.

In the past, citizens may have felt that important policy decisions should be left to legislators, who possessed a superior education and access to information. Now ordinary citizens feel competent to make policy decisions and no longer believe that elected officials are wiser or better informed. A particular concern about this viewpoint is that though the general citizenry may be better informed, they are not necessarily better informed about policy, nor are they always motivated by benign aspirations toward others. The NIMBY (not in my backyard) concept is one example. It may find expression in voter initiatives at the risk of ignoring unexpected consequences; people are tempted to vote self-interestedly.

Matsusaka points out, however, that a primary justification for the initiative process has been to empower the majority: to allow the public to counteract disproportionate influence of special interests in the legislature. Broder maintains that the initiative process has had the opposite effect: Wealthy individuals and special interests who once may have been the targets of the Populists and Progressives, who brought about the initiative process a century ago, have learned to subvert the process to their own advantage.

A clear example of this was the English for the Children series of voter initiative actions aimed at eliminating bilingual education. The campaign was supported financially by Ron Unz, a wealthy businessman who sought to eliminate bilingual education in four targeted states: Arizona, California, Colorado, and Massachusetts. In this example, paid canvassers, who had no motivation other than being paid for each signature collected, amassed enough signatures to get the antibilingual education initiative on the ballots in all four states. If paid canvassers had not been used, it is possible that the initiatives might not have been on the ballots of those states. The result was that bilingual education was declared illegal through the initiative process in three of the four states. Only the Colorado initiative failed.

Some observers of the process hold that the wisdom of using the voter initiative process to push through curricular decisions is questionable at best and dangerous at worst. They prefer to focus on improving the regulatory and legislative processes that have historically been used to shape the curricula of public schools. But the use of the voter initiatives to end bilingual education went a step further than a simple tweak to the curriculum in the three states involved. Because it involves a cultural rather than a purely political choice, it is important that the teaching

and learning of languages be a decision left to families and their respective boards of education. Statewide voter initiatives on sensitive issues such as those related to culture have the danger of imposing cultural preferences by the majority over minorities. Furthermore, in a society where a large percentage of families no longer have children in school, curricular voter initiatives are undemocratic, empowering voters who are not affected by their decisions—for example, monolingual, English-speaking voters making decisions for those who are actually touched by the curriculum in question. Finally, the initiative process opens up the curriculum to the influence of the same voter persuasion techniques used in elections, including the use of exaggeration, alarmist interpretations, and less-than-truthful representations.

Matsusaka reports anecdotal evidence of voter initiatives that have been passed at the expense of minorities. For instance, Black citizens were denied voting rights in Oklahoma, and California voters restricted the property rights of Japanese. However, Matsusaka also points out that minority rights have also been undermined by legislative action. No form of government is perfect. The initiative process does bring about policies that the majority wants. What the initiative process does not guarantee is that what the majority wants is the wisest policy for the rest of the population. An unchecked majority can abuse its power and threaten minority rights. Because the initiative process does not have a majority-check component that considers the opinions of the minority, it is difficult to distinguish between majority rule and majority tyranny. Zoltan Hajnal and his associates recommend an approach to make the problem more transparent: Determine how often minorities are overruled by the majority and publicize the results widely in order to educate the voting population of the danger.

Conclusion

Daniel Smith and Caroline Tolbert argue that the initiative process educates citizens, special interests, and political parties and increases participation in the political process, civic engagement, and confidence in government. Overall, they found a positive correlation between the presence of voter initiatives on ballots and (a) voter turnout, (b) people's political knowledge, (c) people's interest in politics, (d) frequency of discussion of political issues, (e) the level of social capital in a state, and (f) likelihood of people contributing money to interest groups. Not surprisingly, these positive

correlations occurred to a greater degree in settings homogenous with respect to race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomics, and educational attainment. What the initiative process lacks is an equitable distribution of its effects, both positive and negative, across social, educational, racial, ethnic, or gender lines. With respect to issues of language policy, the record is clear. Of the voter initiatives from 1904 to 2006 regarding the English-only movement, Matsusaka reported that 10 of 11 initiatives (91%) resulted in an outcome in support of language restrictionism.

It is also clear that the voter initiative process will not render representative democracy obsolete. When and for what purposes the process is best suited is a subject for continued debate. Voter initiatives may be useful in controlling the agenda and reducing the monopoly of legislators in determining what the agenda is, but a legislative agenda is not inherently bad, nor is a voter-initiated agenda inherently good. The initiative process may be useful when legislators are unable to reflect voter preferences. What is not always evident is how the initiative process represents and benefits the majority of all and not merely the majority of some.

Elsie M. Szecsy and Josué M. González

See also Amendment 31 (Colorado); English for the Children Campaign; *Flores v. State of Arizona*; Language Restrictionism; *Lau v. Nichols*, the Ruling; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 227 (California); Question 2 (Massachusetts); Unz, Ron

Further Readings

- Broder, D. S. (2000). *Democracy derailed: Initiative campaigns and the power of money*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Ellis, R. J. (2002). *Democratic delusions: The initiative process in America*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Hajnal, Z., Gerber, E., & Louch, H. (2002). Minorities and direct legislation: Evidence from California ballot proposition elections. *Journal of Politics*, 64, 154–177.
- Initiative and Referendum Institute. (n.d.). *A brief history of the initiative and referendum process in the United States*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California School of Law. Available from <http://iandrinstitute.org>
- Matsusaka, J. G. (2004). *For the many or the few: The initiative process, public policy, and American democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Matsusaka, J. G. (2005). The eclipse of legislatures: Direct democracy in the 21st century. *Public Choice*, 124, 157–177.

- Matsusaka, J. G. (2007). *Direct democracy and social issues*. Los Angeles: USC-Caltech Center for the Study of Law and Politics.
- Smith, D., & Tolbert, C. (2004). *Educated by initiative: The effects of direct democracy on citizens and political organizations in American states*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Trchsel, A. H. (2005). Towards a Federal Europe? [Special issue]. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(3).

VYGOTSKY AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934), a Russian developmental psychologist, originated a theory of the development of thought that has had a significant international impact on psychology, particularly the relation between thinking and speech. Vygotsky posited that higher-level thinking originates from social activity between two or more individuals. In these social interactive behaviors, speech is the means toward the development of independent, self-directed problem solving. The “talking” that takes place during these interactive experiences becomes the aid children use to internalize problem-solving strategies. Vygotsky’s notion of the development of children’s interactive talking and its relation to the acquisition of higher-level thinking is a significant one. The importance of this dynamic relationship between talking and thinking is magnified when taken into the context of bilingualism in the development of cognitive processes in children. Several studies by James Wertsch, David Wood, and others have concentrated on the role of interactive talking as an instrument toward the development of higher cognitive processes in English-speaking children, via the use of Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development, from social talking to higher-level problem solving.

Zone of Proximal Development

According to Vygotsky, a child’s *zone of proximal development* is the conceptual and psychological area where the most fruitful learning can take place. It is the place where the known touches the unknown. Vygotsky hypothesized that the zone of proximal development is determined by the interactive relationship between a child and an aide during problem-solving situations. By observing the child engaged in set activity, one can see the actual developmental level

of the child’s thinking process and its movement toward a higher level, with the aid of a person/peer who is more knowledgeable in the process. The knowledgeable teacher is able to detect when learners have entered their zones of proximal development and are ready to learn something new based on their prior learning. David Wood and Laura Berk, who have studied this process, refer to this as *scaffolding*. This scaffolding process, provided by the teacher, is conceptually very close to Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development. The adult, or more knowledgeable person, invites the child (learner) to the task at hand, controls the task at the child’s present level of comprehension, and introduces challenges and complexities in the task to promote higher-level thinking. According to Laura Berk and Adam Winsler, the scaffolding process is a support system in which the adult or more knowledgeable person provides support by way of prompts, cues, and the needed assistance to complete the task. The relation that the concept of scaffolding has with the zone of proximal development is in how the support system is built to keep the child engaged in the problem-solving process.

Thinking and Talking

Within the zone of proximal development, interactive speech plays a key role as mediator between social activities and higher-level thinking. Vygotsky proposed that three types of speech take place: social (interactive talking), private (self-directed and audible), and inner (self-directed and hidden), which can be seen as an observable behavior. In *social speech*, the child and adult are engaged in “interactive talking.” They converse about the activity or problem they are solving. Within their interaction, words are exchanges and procedures that are suggested for solving the problem. This type of speech is initially provided by the adult or person with more knowledge. *Private speech* refers to audible language/directives children use to guide themselves through a problem. Children actually talk to themselves to guide and support their own actions. Several studies conducted by Adam Winsler, Rafael Díaz, Ignacio Montero, and James Wertsch have shown that the private speech children use comes directly from social speech (interactive talking). The main difference is that in this type of talk, the two interlocutors are one and the same person.

From the onset, children use language to communicate with others. In regard to the child/adult interaction, the adult’s intention is to direct, control, and guide

the child's behavior with respect to a whole range of life's events, from learning how to ride a bike to learning long division. Gradually, children begin to use language not only for the sole purpose of communicating but also to guide, plan, and monitor themselves in the activities at hand. Children use private (self-directed) speech to talk themselves through a problem-solving activity. The private speech precedes the behavior and eventually submerges into thought and behavior. Within the interactive process, a connection occurs between language and mutual regulation. Regulation develops in both parties: The adult learns to regulate his or her actions and language to allow the child to gain mastery of the task, and the child learns how to be regulated by the adult. It is during this process that private self-directed speech emerges. The zone of proximal development is not static. It is flexible and mobile, an ever-changing phenomenon. Children involved in the process of social speech (interactive talking) can assume the role of capable peers and pass on their knowledge and thinking to others. In summary, children's thinking and use of interactive talk is crucial to the development of higher-level thinking within the zone of proximal development.

Bilingualism and Vygotsky's Theory

In regard to Vygotsky's theory and bilingualism, it is quite natural to consider the effect of two languages on the development of cognitive processes. Studying the relationship between bilingualism, interactive talking, and thinking provides the next question as to whether being bilingual is an advantage or handicap to cognitive operations. Sydney Segalowitz speculates that there is no evidence that the human brain of a bilingual person is different from the brain of a monolingual person. This is an important statement, because research studies from the 1920s to the 1960s on bilingualism tended to show a negative view of the effect of two languages on the human brain. These studies particularly focus on the relationship of intelligence and bilingualism. Findings from several of these early studies show that bilingual children scored low on intelligence tests and performed poorly in school. Conclusions made from these studies were that bilingual students were poor students in academic areas, did not have normal IQ scores, were mentally retarded, and/or had no true language because they were not proficient in either language. Looking back

at several of these findings, it should be noted that children were not tested with contemporary sophisticated measures, and erroneous labeling was common practice during this period.

Research from the 1960s to the present day shows quite the contrary. A pivotal study in the research was conducted by Canadian researchers Elizabeth Peal and Wallace E. Lambert in 1962. They studied French Canadian bilingual children of the same age and socioeconomic status and compared them with monolingual counterparts in the areas of verbal and non-verbal intelligence testing. The bilingual children performed significantly better than their monolingual counterparts on most of the cognitive tasks and verbal intelligence. These researchers suggested that the children's experience with two language systems was positive, since they appeared to perform on a superior level. Follow-up studies based on intelligence testing and concept formation were conducted by William W. Liedtke and L. Doyal Nelson in 1968. Studies of bilingual children and their development of cognitive processes have continued to be conducted up to the present day by several experts in this field, such as Ellen Bialystok, James Cummins, Rafael Díaz, Sylvia Joseph Galambos and Susan Goldin-Meadow, Kenji Hakuta, Paul Paradis, and Aneta Pavlenko, among others. Since the 1960s, a significant number of studies show that bilingual children's knowledge of two languages raises their cognitive development to a higher level. The results of these research projects have at times been thoroughly positive, at other times, less so. Part of the reason may be that not all researchers control well for partial or incomplete bilingualism. In those research efforts that do control effectively for level of bilingualism, the results tend to be more positive.

Vygotsky's view on the role of language as the decisive component of the development of thought has been tested further with bilingual children. Several of these studies, as seen in the work of Rafael Díaz and Marni H. Frauenglass, Anita Ianco-Worrel and Adam Winsler, Jesue Rene De Leon, Beverly Wallace, Martha Carlton, and Angela Wilson-Quayle, are based on investigating the role of private speech in bilingual children while solving a problem. Compared with their monolingual counterparts, bilingual children used private speech at the same level. Interestingly, children of higher-level proficiencies in their two languages relied more heavily on private speech while solving higher-level problems, therefore proving that they function at higher levels of thinking.

Subsequent studies have been done in the areas of *cognitive flexibility*, which is loosely defined as the ability to think in two different language systems. One important aspect of cognitive flexibility is *code switching*, the ability to switch from one language to the other in the course of conversation. It is usually carried out by bilinguals without faltering or significant pause in the flow of language. Other areas of research have included bilingualism and its effects on linguistic and cognitive creativity, bilingual memory, and bilingualism and divergent thinking.

An important consideration for educators who work with bilingual children is the use of instructional language. The aforementioned studies prove that the “interactive talking” that takes place when children are engaged in learning from a peer or adult (teacher) eventually becomes the internalized strategies they use in their problem-solving repertoire. Therefore, it is crucial for educators and others involved in the teaching process to be able to communicate strategies to children in a coherent manner. For bilingual children especially, strategies promoted within the zone of proximal development should be introduced, presented, and demonstrated within the child’s level of comprehension in the appropriate language.

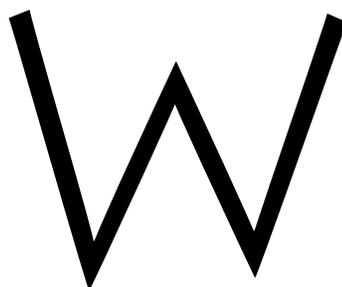
Vygotsky’s contribution to the understanding of the bilingual mind is derived chiefly from his concept of the zone of proximal development. This concept, with particular emphasis on the role of interactive talking and private speech, provides an excellent developmental framework that can be used to study and analyze how bilingual students use their two languages in their thinking.

Nancy Sebastian Maldonado

See also Bilingualism in Holistic Perspective; Language and Thought; Language Socialization; Social Learning

Further Readings

- Bain, B. (1975). Toward an integration of Piaget and Vygotsky: Bilingual considerations. *Linguistics*, 16, 5–20.
- Berk, L. (1986). Private speech: Learning out loud. *Psychology Today*, 3, 34–42.
- Berk, L., & Winsler, A. (1995). *Scaffolding children’s learning: Vygotsky and early childhood education*. Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Bialystok, E. (1997). Effects of bilingualism and biliteracy on children’s emerging concepts of print. *Developmental Psychology*, 33, 429–440.
- Hakuta, K., Ferdman, B. M., & Díaz, R. M. (1987). Bilingualism and cognitive development: Three perspectives. In S. Rosenberg (Ed.), *Advances in applied psycholinguistics: Reading, writing, and language learning* (Vol. 2, pp. 284–319). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Liedtke, W. W., & Nelson, L. D. (1968). Concept formation and bilingualism. *Journal of Educational Research*, 14, 225–232.
- Pavlenko, A. (1999). New approaches to bilingual memory. *Bilingualism, Language, and Cognition*, 2(3), 1–4.
- Peal, E., & Lambert, W. (1962). The relationship of bilingualism to intelligence. *Psychological Monographs*, 76(27), 1–23.
- Segalowitz, S. (1977). *Two sides of the brain: Brain lateralization explored*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1962/1986). *Thought and language* (Rev. ed.). Cambridge: MIT.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher mental processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1979). The significance of dialogue in Vygotsky’s account of social, egocentric, and inner speech. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 22, 1–22.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1985). *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Winsler, A., Díaz, R., & Montero, I. (1997). The role of private speech in the transition from collaborative to independent task performance in young children. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 12, 59–79.
- Wood, D. J. (Ed.). (1980). *Teaching the young child: Some relationships between social interaction, language and thought*. New York: Norton.



WHOLE LANGUAGE

Whole language is a philosophical perspective about how language is acquired. The premise of this perspective is that acquiring language is easy when it is kept whole and meaningful and it is hard when it is broken down into a series of discrete, isolated skills that are abstract and meaningless to the language learner. Anyone who has watched toddlers acquire language knows it happens in contexts in which children need language to serve their purposes and are treated as competent language users before they actually are. Most of us have engaged in conversations with infants as young as 1 month old, asking questions of them (“Are you sleepy?”), pointing out things of interest (“Look at the kitty!”), or explaining some phenomenon (“We had better get in the house before those dark clouds shower us with rain!”). In each case, language was used to communicate and inform, not to teach the child about language; yet we know it is through these meaningful interactions that children become competent language users.

Few of us try to teach infants language by breaking it into parts, moving from abstract sounds to more meaningful use. It would not be natural; it would not be successful. Yet in schools, teachers often do just that. Rather than keeping language whole, they break it down, instructing children letter by letter, syllable by syllable, and sentence by sentence. Whole-language teachers prefer to support students in the same way they have been supported before entering school. They create meaningful contexts in which students need language to get things done. They assess each student’s language ability and build on it in meaningful ways.

Much like a parent who responds “Oh, so you want a drink of water” to a very young child who points to the kitchen faucet and says “Waa,” a teacher writes “Your monster scares me!” in response to a child’s written words “Da mnstrs s mn” (the monster is mean). The teacher’s response, like the parent’s, focuses on the meaning the language conveys and expands on it by providing the child with a demonstration of a more conventional way of stating the meaning. And just like parents who trust that with enough interaction and guidance, their children will become competent language users, whole-language teachers trust that with the same type of rich language and literacy experiences and support, their students will continue to develop and grow as language learners.

The role of the whole-language teacher is critical to students’ language acquisition. In these settings, the teacher is a close observer of their students, noting strengths and needs and creating a curriculum based on these observations to support students’ development. If children enter kindergarten already reading, the teacher makes note of this and matches them to books that will inspire them to keep reading, rather than having them sit through endless experiences geared toward emergent readers. When a middle school student who does not like to read enters a whole-language classroom, the teacher patiently works to match books with the student’s interests, so reading becomes something the student wants to do, not something he or she has to do. Once students choose to read because they want to and like to, the potential for growth is much greater.

Whole-language philosophy also argues that language acquisition is a social process. In other words, students learn best when they have others around

them with whom they can talk about and sort out new understandings. The thinking behind this concept is that one must use language to learn language. Having students sit in isolated areas, filling out worksheets whose content is irrelevant to their lives does little to encourage or support language development.

Last, whole-language proponents recognize the political dimensions of language. Rather than devaluing nonstandard languages or dialects that some children bring to school, whole-language teachers deliberately promote these learners' home languages. Chants and songs written in various dialects are learned, and children's meanings, not grammatical structure, are recognized and celebrated. Whole-language teachers know children need to acquire standard English, the language of power and prestige; but they also know this process is best achieved by first recognizing and valuing the home language, and then building on it to develop new and different competencies in other variants of English.

Whole-Language Pedagogy and Bilingual Education

Proponents of bilingual education in the United States argue that learning subject matter through one's first language facilitates language and literacy development in English. They also argue that learning subject matter through the first language helps make content learning in English more comprehensible. Even though bilingual education provides students opportunities to read, write, speak, and listen in their native language at the same time they are learning English, competency in English is only one goal of bilingual education. As bilingual students progress through school, they further develop academic knowledge in both languages, thus becoming bilingual and biliterate. Bilingual education also provides an environment in which students who are learning in two languages are understood and cared for in very special ways because their teachers, who are speakers of the same non-English language, can advocate for and interact with them for instructional and noninstructional purposes.

Whole-language pedagogy supports bilingual education because it emphasizes the relationship that exists between students' language and culture and their learning, regardless of the language or content being learned. Students in these classrooms are immersed in literacy events and texts in two languages. This allows

them to use knowledge from their first language to develop understandings of language and the world in their second language. Bilingual, whole-language educators understand that when students acquire a second language, it is important to keep the language whole. Similar to how children learn their first language, the new language is not broken apart into words or sounds that hold no meaning for the learner. This view of language learning contradicts what many of us experienced when we were learning a new language. Most often, it was broken down into discrete parts, and we were expected to memorize grammatical rules and repeat verbal exercises, which left most of us unable to engage conversationally in the language. It is not surprising, today, to find whole-language practices used in many foreign-language and bilingual classrooms.

Bilingual whole-language teachers perceive students as active participants in their own learning. Therefore, they approach new topics, whether about language or content, by building on what students already know and understand. They view students' approximations or risk-taking attempts made in their new language as evidence of growth, not errors. They also closely examine these approximations to better understand how students are making sense of the new language. A nice example of this was provided to one of the authors by a pre-service teacher who had just completed a bilingual and biliteracy teaching methods class. This young woman wrote the following e-mail message to her instructor:

I was grading tests on Friday, and one question on the test was: List 4 things the Chinese invented.

One of the student's answers was "Yum rop." I was like hmmm, but I decided not to mark it wrong and went on to the next test thinking—oh, I will come back to that.

Next test, the same thing. Yum rop, and I thought, What? So I started flipping through all the tests and kept seeing Yum rop.

Then I thought—wow, there has to be something here . . . so I began trying out possibilities, like, Yoom rop, Yoom rop? Yoom Rope? Yoom Rope?

Then I thought about the sound of the letter "Y" in Spanish—Juh, Juh. Joom ROPE. Jump Rope! Jump rope! (which was something the Chinese had invented).

This soon-to-be teacher understood that students acquiring a new language use linguistic knowledge

from their first language to make sense of the new language. She also understood that learning is an activity shared between teachers and students. In the example above, we see her participating in her students' literacy experience as a more knowledgeable language user and using this knowledge to step back and analyze what the students were doing as language users. She interpreted the students' work as logical, but not conventional. Rather than having a predetermined standard for evaluating all students' work, this teacher used her knowledge of Spanish to figure out how students were making sense of English. Based on her close observations and her willingness to consider how students were making sense of English, she can give them credit for correctly answering a text question and at the same time create curriculum that will help the students distinguish between particular sounds in the two languages.

Bilingual, whole-language teachers also understand that acquiring a language, whether a first or a new language, is a social process. That is, students acquire oral and written language competencies through interactions with other people. Therefore, these teachers carefully structure social conditions in their classroom communities. Collaborative group work is one way to do this. When bilingual students are grouped specifically to explore and generate new understandings with each other, they have access to both languages to do this work. For example, if students are new to English and need content clarification, they can rely on their first language to explore ideas. If they risk using their new language, they have the teacher and other students to help them work through what they are trying to communicate. And, perhaps most important, they have a range of language models whereby they can be immersed in the new language with people who are already proficient in that particular language.

Finally, acquiring a language other than English in the United States is political. In schools and classrooms in which languages other than English are not valued or understood as a resource to literacy and content learning, classroom practices are neither equitable nor productive for students learning English as a new language. Rather than students' bilingualism being understood as a resource for expanded learning opportunities, it is seen as a deficit and reason for student failure. It is crucial, therefore, that educators have substantive knowledge about ways in which whole-language pedagogy supports bilingual education, language acquisition, and language minority

students' learning processes. And it is equally important for teachers to bear some of the responsibility of getting the word out that bilingual education is not only helpful for English language development: It is every student's human right to have access to his or her native language as a resource to learn a new language.

Myths Surrounding Whole-Language Practices

Myths about whole-language education and bilingual education abound. Whole-language pedagogy is often criticized for failing to provide direct instruction and teaching of phonics. Critics of bilingual education claim that when time is spent teaching the students' native language, valuable time is lost in developing English and therefore students never learn this language. Others argue that bilingual education is un-American, causing disloyalty to the very country providing these students a free education.

Whole-language teachers often provide direct instruction to their students, but this instruction is presented at points of need, rather than being determined by suggestions of the authors of textbooks who do not know certain students or their needs. Bilingual, whole-language teachers carefully observe students' work and behavior to identify strengths and weaknesses and then prepare lessons based on these observations. In one situation, a teacher noticed several students using code-switching techniques in writing, but she did not see them using criteria for how or when to use it. She therefore discussed with the students what was meant by code switching, prepared information on criteria authors use when incorporating code switching into their writing, provided examples of how professional authors use it, and had the students speculate on why these authors did what they did.

Whole-language instruction is sometimes criticized for not including the teaching of phonics (the relation between letters and their sounds). This too is a myth. Ken Goodman's work on whole language is based on the belief that written language consists of three language systems: *graphophonics* (sound/sight relationship), *syntax* (language structure), and *semantics* (the language meaning). By observing thousands of children reading, Goodman and his colleagues discovered that effective readers use all three of these language systems, not just phonics, to make sense of what they read. For example, a group of first graders

were asked to read the following sentence: “The _____ barked at the cat.” Most students read, without a moment’s hesitation, “The dog barked at the cat.” They did not notice the absence of the word *dog* because they were using their knowledge of what sounds right (syntax) and what makes sense (semantics) to read the text. These language systems were very helpful to the readers. Of course, if the word *dog* had been included, the third language system, graphophonics, also would have been helpful. Goodman notes that students often over-rely on phonics when they are unaware of how to strategically use all three systems and how the use of one system can and should support the use of the others. So, while Goodman and whole-language proponents recognize phonics as crucial to a reader’s success, they argue that it should be used in conjunction with the other two language systems, not independently of them.

The belief that students in bilingual programs do not learn English is another myth. The goal of bilingual education is to provide students an education whereby they become bilingual and biliterate. Students’ first languages and cultural experiences are indeed used as resources to their acquisition of a second language, but never at the expense of acquiring English. Because students’ first language and knowledge of how the world works is valued in the classroom, students are able, with increasing sophistication, to develop competency, acquire English, and build on the resources they bring to the classroom. Bilingual education also ensures that students’ home language continues to be supported and used in increasingly sophisticated ways. This is encouraged, however, not to cause divided loyalties between students’ home language and English. Rather, it is promoted because as a means for students learning English to maintain their home identities, while at the same time creating new identities and new understandings about their world.

Karen Smith and Faryl Kander

See also Continua of Biliteracy; Critical Literacy; Language Experience Approach to Reading; Literacy and Biliteracy; Literacy Instruction, First and Second Language; National Literacy Panel; Phonics in Bilingual Education

Further Readings

Dahl, K. L., Scharer, P. L., Lawson, L. L., & Grogan, P. R. (2001). *Rethinking phonics: Making the best teaching decisions*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

- Edelsky, C., Altwerger, B., & Flores, B. (1991). *Whole language: What’s the difference?* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Faltis, C., & Hudelson, S. (1997). *Bilingual education in elementary and secondary school communities: Toward understanding and caring*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Freeman, Y., & Freeman, D. (2004). *Essential linguistics: What you need to know to teach reading, ESL, spelling, phonics, grammar*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Freeman, Y., & Freeman, D. (2006). *Teaching reading and writing in Spanish and English in bilingual and dual language classrooms* (2nd ed.). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Goodman, K. S. (1986). *What’s whole in whole language?* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Samway, K. D. (2006). *When English language learners write: Connecting research to practice, K–8*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Whitmore, K. F., & Crowell, C. G. (1994). *Inventing a classroom: Life in a bilingual, whole language learning community*. York, ME: Stenhouse.

WONG FILLMORE, LILY (1934–)

Lily Wong Fillmore is a noted sociolinguist and researcher of language minority communities and second-language learning. She attributes the genesis of her keen and lifelong interest in the role of language in schooling to her childhood as an English learner and 12 years of volunteer work with migrant workers. Wong Fillmore was born in 1934 in Northern California and grew up in Watsonville, California. Her parents were recent immigrants from China, and she started school knowing no English, only Cantonese. She attended school with many children from immigrant backgrounds, including Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, and children of Dust Bowl families. From her peers and teachers, she learned English and the importance of schooling. From helping her parents run the family restaurant, she learned the value of hard work.

Wong Fillmore recounts that the years between 1956 and 1965 were “12 glorious years,” which she spent in south Santa Clara Valley working with families in migrant camps. Observing that the language and societal situations were not always fair in educating this population, she helped locate bilingual materials from anywhere she could, including schools,

public libraries, health department offices, and churches. A natural activist, Wong Fillmore with no formal preparation or training, worked to help the local migrant farmworkers and community.

In 1965, Wong Fillmore enrolled at San Jose State University. At the same time, she was hired as a consultant by the Santa Clara County superintendent of schools, who had noticed her work with the migrant communities. She pursued her studies seriously, choosing English and linguistics as her major and emphasis, respectively. She attributes her use of ethnographic methods in research to her study of anthropology and sociology at the time. In 1969, she graduated with a BA in English, with an emphasis in linguistics.

Between 1965 and 1974, Wong Fillmore worked in various capacities with Santa Clara County Office of Education, Union City School District, and Santa Clara School District. In one of her earlier positions, she secured funding for Santa Clara County Office of Education in 1968, the first year of federal bilingual education grants. Dubbed the “Spanish Dame Project” by Superintendent Glen Hoffman, the grant was an at-home early education project, with mothers serving as teachers and different homes serving as the learning space each day of the week. The project successfully nurtured home teachers/mothers to gain confidence in their abilities, and many went on to complete high school and college. It was a model of early education and bilingual education that valued community knowledge and settings and the role of the mother tongue in teaching and learning.

The late 1960s and early 1970s was also a critical period for the development of bilingual education programs. Wong Fillmore visited, on her first trips by air, pioneer bilingual education programs in Dade County, Florida; Wallace Lambert’s programs in Montreal; and Susan Gray’s programs in Nashville, Tennessee. She returned and designed bilingual early education programs in Santa Clara, featuring the role of Spanish-speaking mothers.

In addition to playing a critical role in developing early bilingual education programs, Wong Fillmore also spent the years from 1969 through 1976 pursuing her PhD in linguistics at Stanford University. She worked with the late linguist Charles Ferguson and completed her dissertation on social and cognitive strategies in second-language acquisition in 1976.

In 1974, Wong Fillmore was appointed as the assistant dean for student affairs for the University of

California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Education. She also served as lecturer until 1976 when, after completing her PhD, she was hired as assistant professor in the School of Education. Wong Fillmore spent her entire academic career at UC-Berkeley and retired in 2004 after 30 years. During her tenure at the university, she was instrumental in developing the Language and Literacy program. She also spoke out in strong support of the American Cultures undergraduate requirement, which was passed by the Academic Senate in 1989.

Wong Fillmore’s major areas of research include literacy and the socialization of children in second-language contexts. Specifically, she has examined the role of individual social and cognitive differences in mediating access to learning. She has also investigated the role of teaching practices on children’s language learning. In her work, Wong Fillmore has found that language shift can lead to various types of consequences for both families and societies. She has examined literacy development, language loss, and language shift among various populations, including Spanish speakers, Cantonese speakers, the Navajo, and the Y’upik Eskimo. She has conducted research and worked to help preserve languages, including “Village English” and academic English in Alaska, and has worked with American Indian tribes in the Southwest to assist with native-language revitalization efforts.

Other areas of research have included the study of academic language in California’s High School Exit Examination, the SAT-9, and other high-stakes tests, as well as the types of support needed by English learners and English dialect speakers (e.g., African American Vernacular English, Alaskan Village English, Chicano English, etc.) for testing and academic success. Her publications include “When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First”; “Language Learning in Social Context: The View From Research in Second Language Learning”; and “Does Teacher Talk Work as Input?” Among her recent publications are “Language in Education”; “What Teachers Need to Know About Language,” with Catherine Snow; and “The Loss of Family Languages: Should Educators Be Concerned?”

For Wong Fillmore, it is a serious tragedy that we as a society do not value language diversity. She notes that individuals have to fight their own battles and take on the challenge of maintaining their mother tongues. She urges everyone to notice that people who

are learning English need help from society and that learning English is not a guarantee of bilingualism.

Wong Fillmore has been a beloved mentor to many young scholars. One of her graduate students noted that she is the warmest, funniest, wisest (as well as most visionary) academic in the world of bilingual education. Clearly, she continues to live out her philosophy of grounding her work in the lives of people.

Wong Fillmore is the mother of three children, two daughters and one son, and the wife of theoretical and computational linguist Charles Fillmore.

Grace P. McField

See also Ebonics; Benefits of Bilingualism and Heritage Languages; Heritage Language Education; Heritage Languages in Families; Indigenous Language Revitalization; Language Revival and Renewal; Language Shift and Language Loss

Further Readings

- Wong Fillmore, L. (1985). Does teacher talk work as input? In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), *Input in second language acquisition* (pp. 17–50). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1989). Language learning in social context: The view from research in second language learning. In R. Dietrich & C. Graumann (Eds.), *Language processing in social context* (pp. 295–297). Amsterdam: Elsevier Sciences.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6, 323–347. (Reprinted in *Educator*, 6, 2, 1992)
- Wong Fillmore, L. (2000). The loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory Into Practice*, 39, 4.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (2001). Language in education. In E. Finegan & J. Rickford (Eds.), *Language in the USA: Themes for the twenty-first century* (pp. 339–360). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wong Fillmore, L., & Snow, C. (2000). *What teachers need to know about language*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

of English as a second or a foreign language outnumber those who acquired it as a mother tongue. In response to this scenario, issues arise involving the ownership of the English language, the need for standards, better assessment methods, and intelligibility. Amidst these discussions in the field, the concept of *world Englishes* was coined in the mid-1980s as an approach to describe, analyze, and explain the spread and use of the language in diverse contexts. British linguist Kingsley Bolton, former president of the International Association for World Englishes, explains that the concept has three possible meanings. The first one refers to all of the existing approaches to the study of English around the world, whether the concept implies the singular form of one “international” or “global” English or sticks to the plural “Englishes.” The second meaning relates to the description of varieties of English found in former British or U.S. colonies in Asia, Africa, or the Caribbean, also known as “new Englishes.” The third meaning refers to the specific pluricentric approach to world Englishes developed by Braj B. Kachru, professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and colleagues. Under the Kachruvian approach, the functions of English for international and intranational purposes are considered, and the study of English varieties is not limited to linguistic description: It extends to theoretical, functional, pragmatic, pedagogical, and political implications.

Pluralization of English

The contemporary study of the spread of English began in the 1960s to early 1970s and focused on the differences between the nonnative English varieties (e.g., Malaysian English) and “standard English,” referring to British norms for the most part or to American norms. These norms were also regarded as a “common core” of the English language, from which any deviations were considered erroneous.

A shift in this paradigm is documented by two conferences that took place in 1978. One of them was held at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawai‘i, and the second one at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. At the end of the Hawai‘i conference, a statement was endorsed among participants from 20 countries in which the distinction was made between countries that used English primarily for *international* communication and those that used it for *intranational* purposes, providing a broader perspective than the one established by the terms *English as a foreign language*

WORLD ENGLISHES

The rapid spread of English around the world is a topic that prompts discussions related to the effects of globalization, increased use of communication technologies, cultural imperialism, and language teaching and learning. Population growth trends indicate that users

(EFL) or *English as a second language* (ESL). The conference at Urbana-Champaign continued conversations begun in the Hawai'i conference. The participants, coming from a variety of disciplinary, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, used cross-cultural perspectives to understand language variation, bi- and multilingualism, and the use of English around the world.

Kachru played a key role in both conferences. Having conducted research on nonnative varieties of English in South Asia, he developed a sociolinguistic profile model on the spread, patterns of acquisition, and functional allocation of English in different countries. This model is depicted in three concentric circles: (1) the *Inner Circle*, which represents the countries in which mother tongue varieties of English are based (United States, England, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand); (2) the *Outer Circle*, referring to countries in which English has been institutionalized through their colonial heritage from England or the United States (e.g., India, Nigeria, Malaysia, and the Philippines); and (3) the *Expanding Circle*, which refers to the rest of the countries in which English does not have an official status and its use is restricted to certain domains, such as tourism, commerce, or international transactions (e.g., China, Israel, Japan, and Egypt).

If the standards for English proficiency are based on how close the language learner is to “nativelike” mastery, the situation of learners who have little or no opportunity to interact with native speakers is one of disadvantage. Kachru argues that such a criterion is too narrow, considering the following factors: (a) English has spread globally in a unique fashion, in culturally and linguistically diverse societies; (b) English plays different roles when it comes to language planning and policy; and (c) historically, the postcolonial heritage that promoted the use of English in certain regions has an impact on the purposes the language serves for the nation's internal matters. This is the situation depicted by Kachru's Outer Circle; he described the different roles and purposes that English has within nations' borders as the means for intranational communication across groups from different ethnicities, religious, or local languages.

Nonnative varieties of English have developed in the Outer Circle to become *institutionalized*. Once this takes place, the variety's functions may be used as a medium for learning in the educational system, a means of regulation in the legal system, a “bridge” language for speakers of different native dialects within a country, or a creative space for multicultural literary genres. The English nonnative variety undergoes a

process of *nativization*: new linguistic features in terms of pronunciation, grammatical structure, or vocabulary, which are culturebound. The phases of this process could be, but are not limited to, the following: At first, an imitation model that identifies the local population with the colonizer is used. Then, the localized variety might be widely used but not recognized as such; as Kachru puts it, a local can speak Indian English, but if that person were told he was doing so, that would be considered an offensive remark to this person's ability to speak English. In the last stage, there is recognition of the institutionalization of the variety: for example, when teaching materials are adapted to local purposes or when postcolonial writers get past the canon of “English literature” to create a variety of styles that reflect their cultural identities and heritage.

In 1985, Kachru and Larry Smith, who had organized the conferences mentioned above, assumed the editorship of the journal *World Language English: The International Teacher's Journal of English as a World Language*, which had been in print since 1981. To reflect the paradigm shift toward the plurality and diversity of the language, the journal was renamed *World Englishes: Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language*. This journal, along with *English Today* and *English World-Wide*, has devoted itself to topics and reports related to the approaches and issues related to the global spread of English and its varieties.

Issues and Implications

As the approaches to world Englishes extended to the functional and sociolinguistic analysis of new varieties, several questions and debates have taken place. Norms, ideologies, and power issues in regions in which English is used as a native and nonnative language are matters of scholarly discussion.

One of the earliest assumptions that still inform challenges against nonnative varieties is conceptualizing them as a transitional form that reflects the interference of the user's mother tongue. In response to this explanation, scholars have carried out sociolinguistic analysis of nonnative varieties, focusing on the contextual functions of the variations (interference/errors). Kachru makes a distinction between mistakes—acquisitional deficiencies—and deviations and innovations, which are nativized, systemic forms that can be explained within the sociocultural setting of the nonnative variety.

This explanation helped to address the remarks made by British linguist Randolph Quirk in the early 1990s about the growing number of varieties and their implications in language classrooms. He referred to the low levels of performance in nonnative English speakers as being a result of relying on the use of a certain variety of English. He also considered not looking at the possibility of local varieties to be a result of the failure of educational systems. Kachru regarded some of these remarks as taking a deficit approach that rejects innovation and variation situated within certain sociolinguistic and cultural contexts. It is not the case that in nonnative varieties, “Anything goes,” he explained, as varieties conform and adapt to local norms, gaining a sense of ownership in the region.

Quirk also touched on the subject of intelligibility, a concern that has been addressed by other scholars. If students are not exposed to standard English, he stressed, this will limit their possibilities of communication with English speakers outside their countries—since nonnative varieties are used only for internal purposes. Questions arise as to whether all English users should necessarily have to communicate with native speakers or whether that should be decided according to regional and national terms. The urge to keep a common core is also reflected in English instruction and assessment development.

The scenario in which only native speakers can provide instruction and exposure to a standard and appropriate variety of English has also been the subject of debates. These matters were brought to discussion after the publication of Robert Phillipson’s *Linguistic Imperialism*, in 1992. He addressed the role of language-teaching institutions from countries in which English is a native language, which he labels *core countries*, in maintaining the hegemony of English as a global language. Having worked in the British Council for several years in Europe and North Africa, Phillipson looked at the asymmetrical status between native languages and English as a language for international communication. He observed that if English mastery were associated with participation in economic and technological development, the demand of instruction would increase in countries in which English is not a native language (*periphery countries*). Since these may not possess the infrastructure and training to teach English, the English language teaching industry in the United States and England would benefit.

These proposals resulted in criticism, praise, and mixed responses from scholars in the field in different

countries. Some regard characterizing the role of the United States and England in the promotion of English abroad as “imperialism” to be an overstatement, while others stress the need to rethink the hegemony of English worldwide and its impact on the speakers of other languages. Joshua A. Fishman, a sociolinguist whose publications address the spread of English, argues that English has perhaps become a multinational tool instead of a venue for imperialism. However, the debate continues to touch on the implications of the need for a language for international communication or the need to interact with native speakers of countries in a more powerful and desirable economic positioning.

An ongoing discussion in the field has developed around the concept of *English as a lingua franca* (ELF), which has been studied by scholars such as Barbara Seidhofer and Jennifer Jenkins. Jenkins defines ELF as the language used for communication between speakers who do not speak English as a native language, for example, in business meetings in which Chinese and Mexican speakers interact through the use of English but have different native languages. ELF researchers recognize the existence and use of multiple English varieties, Jenkins explains, while also observing the need for speakers to be familiar with language features that are intelligible across communities of ELF speakers.

Taking a stance on any of the issues mentioned above will impact practice, attitudes, and policy in English language use and instruction. Should varieties of English be taught in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle regions, or should a standard variety of English be supported? How should users of nonnative varieties be linguistically assessed? Supporters of a pluricentric approach consider that students and teachers need to be aware of the existence of a variety of Englishes; be given the opportunity to compare them; and learn about their range of functions in different contexts, including their own sociolinguistic realities. Ultimately, they should pass down these opportunities for discussion to their own students.

The impact of a world Englishes approach to language learning in the United States may relate to several issues in language ideologies and practice. Cultural and linguistic diversity have contributed to the development of English varieties within the country (e.g., African American Vernacular, Chicano English), which, as world Englishes scholars point out, are also looked down upon as deficient varieties even though they have structures of their own.

Research, description, and analysis of these varieties can contribute to their codification—the establishment of dictionaries and reference publications describing the norms of each variety—along with the growing recognition of literary multicanons. This knowledge also becomes useful in the acknowledgment of linguistic varieties of immigrants who come to the United States from regions of Kachru's Outer Circle, for example, where Indian English or Nigerian English are spoken. World Englishes provide a useful framework to get past monolingual views of language in the world. If English is indeed spreading worldwide, it does not belong exclusively to *native speakers*—a term that may need to be redefined—but to all users for their particular, local, and regional purposes. The discussion and even arguments relating to all of the issues mentioned here are far from over. Indeed, there is little prospect that a widely shared consensus will soon be reached on any of these points, and academics are not likely to be the final arbiters.

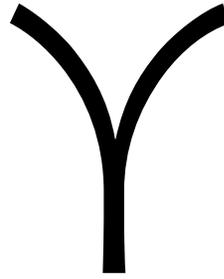
Silvia C. Noguero

See also Accents and Their Meaning; Best English to Learn; Ebonics; English, First World Language; Language and

Identity; Nationalization of Languages; Native English Speakers Redefined; Spanglish

Further Readings

- Bolton, K. (2004). World Englishes. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 367–396). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Fishman, J. A., Conrad, A., & Rubal-López, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Post-imperial English: Status change in former British and American colonies, 1940–1990*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jenkins, J. (2006). Current perspectives on teaching world Englishes and English as a lingua franca. *TESOL Quarterly*, 40, 157–181.
- Kachru, B. (1991). Liberation linguistics and the Quirk concern. *English Today*, 25(7), 3–13.
- Kachru, B. (Ed.). (1992). *The other tongue: English across cultures* (2nd. ed.). Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Quirk, R. (1990). Language varieties and standard language. *English Today*, 21(6), 3–10.
- Smith, L., & Forman, M. (Eds.). (1997). *World Englishes 2000*. Honolulu: College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, University of Hawai'i, and the East-West Center



YARBOROUGH, RALPH (1903–1996)

Ralph Webster Yarborough was born in Chandler, Texas, on June 8, 1903. The Texas politician was a leader in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and was the U.S. Senator who introduced the Bilingual Education Act in 1967. Yarborough attended West Point Military Academy in 1919 and left in 1920 to become a teacher. He taught for 3 years and attended Sam Houston State Teachers College and went on to graduate from the University of Texas Law School in 1927.



After his admission to the bar, Yarborough practiced law in El Paso, Texas, until 1931, when the state attorney general, James V. Allred, hired him to be assistant attorney general. With an expertise in land law, he prosecuted oil companies that failed to pay royalties for drilling on public lands, in violation of production limits. Yarborough drew public attention for winning a million-dollar judgment against the Mid-Kansas Oil and Gas Company for oil royalties. In 1938, he ran for state attorney general but was defeated. During World War II, he served in army ground forces and attained the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1946. Yarborough ran for the gubernatorial nomination in 1952, 1954, and 1956. In a 1957 special election, he was elected U.S. Senator as a liberal Texas Democrat.

As a senator, Yarborough was revered by progressive Texans as “the people’s senator.” He was the only senator representing a former Confederate state who voted for every major piece of civil rights legislation, and he was a major supporter of Johnson’s Great Society programs in education, environmental preservation, and health care. Notably, Yarborough was one of a handful of southern senators who refused to sign the “Southern Manifesto,” a pledge by legislators to resist forced integration. He also voted in favor of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, legislation that proved to be enormously important in cases of education civil rights, including *Lau v. Nichols* (1974). In addition, he defied political convention by opposing powerful political interests as well as speaking out against the Vietnam War.

In 1967, Yarborough became the lead sponsor of the Bilingual Education Act, the first federal legislation concerning minority language students. Its purpose was to provide federal funding to school districts to provide innovative programs, including bilingual instruction to children with “limited-English-speaking ability” (LESA). Originally intended for Spanish-speaking students, the bill recommended that Spanish be taught as a native language and English as a second language and that programs to augment Spanish-speaking students’ appreciation of ancestral languages and cultures be designed. To increase political support in Congress, Yarborough and the other sponsors broadened the bill to include other language groups in addition to Spanish.

Political opposition from those who feared that federal funds would support the maintenance of a

language other than English led to the bill's amendment, while Yarborough assuaged the opposition by noting as follows:

It is not the purpose of this bill to create pockets of different languages throughout the country. It is the main purpose of the bill to bring millions of school children into the mainstream of American life and make them literate in the national language of the country in which they live: namely, English. Not to stamp out the mother tongue and not to make their mother tongue the dominant language, but just to try to make these children fully literate in English, so that the children can move into the mainstream of American life. (*Congressional Record*, 1967, p. 34703)

The bill eventually became the core of the Bilingual Education Act, or Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). School districts were provided the opportunity to offer bilingual education programs that would not violate segregation laws. Yarborough's efforts in part made it possible for the Bilingual Education Act to pass as part of the ESEA.

Yarborough and other supporters of the original Bilingual Education Act linked poor educational practices to high drop-out rates among U.S. Latinos and intended for bilingual education to be a remedy for the problem of low educational achievement among students whose first language is Spanish. However, as Abdul Karim Bangura and Martin Muo note, the act moved from originally being conceived as an enrichment effort for U.S. Latinos to becoming a compensatory education program by the time it was signed into law as part of the ESEA.

Texas voters were becoming increasingly conservative. President Kennedy's trip to Texas in November 1963 was intended to help patch a widening rift between liberals and conservatives in the state. Senator Yarborough, because he was out of favor with the current governor, was assigned to ride in a car behind the president's, which may have saved him from being shot. Yarborough left the Senate when

Texan businessman Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. defeated him in the 1970 Democratic primary. Bentsen ran a campaign that played on fears of social unrest and urban riots. He also took issue with Yarborough's opposition to the war in Vietnam. After leaving the Senate, Yarborough returned to Texas to practice law in Austin, where he died in 1996.

Alberto Esquinca

See also Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Key Historical Marker; Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967 Senate Hearings; Appendix A

Further Readings

- Bangura, A. K., & Muo, M. C. (2001). *United States Congress and bilingual education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bilingual Education Act, Pub. L. No. 90-247, 81 Stat. 816 (1968).
- Cox, P. L. (2002). *Ralph W. Yarborough, the people's senator*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Crawford, J. (1998). *Language politics in the U.S.A.: The paradox of bilingual education*. Retrieved from <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jwcrawford/paradox.htm>
- Debate on the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments Act of 1967 (H.R. 7819), 90th Cong., 1st Sess., Cong. Rec. 34702–34703, 35053 (December 1, 5, 1967).
- Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
- Odintz, M. (n.d.). Yarborough, Ralph Webster. *Handbook of Texas Online*: Retrieved from <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/YY/fyags.html>
- Stewner-Manzanares, G. (1988). *The Bilingual Education Act: Twenty years later* (National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education: Occasional Papers in Bilingual Education No 6). Available from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/classics/#focus>
- Yarborough, R. W. (1969). Bilingual education as a social force. *Bulletin of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association*, 23, 69–72.

Z

ZAMORA, GLORIA L. (1935–2001)

Gloria L. Zamora, born in San Antonio, Texas, in 1935, was a national leader and pioneer in the field of early childhood bilingual education. Upon completing her BS degree in elementary education at Incarnate Word College in 1956, Zamora taught first grade in San Antonio's Westside barrios for 14 years, at a time when Texas law forbade the use of a language other than English in the classroom. Zamora later wrote that upon realizing that her mostly Spanish-speaking students needed understandable instruction in their native language in order to learn, she decided to just "close the classroom door and break the law!"

In the absence of established guidelines for bilingual and English as a Second Language teaching, Zamora created developmentally appropriate dual-language approaches that were effective in helping students achieve academically. Her unique success in teaching English language learners led to her selection by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory as a demonstration teacher for a pilot bilingual education program in the San Antonio Independent School District from 1964 to 1968. Following this, Zamora drew on lessons learned from her classroom experience to help create and disseminate proven models for early childhood bilingual education. From 1968 to 1970, Zamora served as staff development specialist within this same district, being responsible for developing a pilot bilingual education program 5 years prior to the passage of the first bilingual education law in Texas. In 1969, Zamora was selected as demonstration teacher

for a summer training institute cosponsored by the University of Texas and Trinity University. From 1970 to 1973, she directed the bilingual education and kindergarten programs in the Edgewood Independent School District, leading efforts to create innovative bilingual approaches that would set the standard for others in the state and nation seeking to improve educational outcomes for language minority students.

Zamora's impact on the emerging field of bilingual education deepened as she pursued advanced graduate studies and began to teach at the university level. From 1969 to 1974, she taught courses in curriculum development for bilingual education as an adjunct at Our Lady of the Lake University, in San Antonio. Upon completing her PhD in Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Texas at Austin in 1974, she accepted a faculty position in early childhood education at the University of Texas at San Antonio. In 1977, she began a long association with the Intercultural Development Research Association in San Antonio, serving first as director of a bilingual preschool curriculum development project and later as director of the LAU Technical Assistance Center, a position that raised her profile as a national leader in the field of bilingual early childhood education.

Because of her unique perspective as a curriculum specialist with expertise in both early childhood and bilingual education, Zamora clearly understood the critical need for appropriate curriculum materials for young bilingual learners. In response to this need, she coauthored *Amanecer*, a bilingual early childhood curriculum that was adopted by preschool and Head Start programs throughout the United States. She later served as editorial director for the Santillana Publishing

Company, a major publisher of bilingual materials in the United States, and authored numerous articles on the subject.

Zamora became widely known as a passionate advocate for the right of linguistic minority children to receive equal educational opportunity. She served on the founding board of directors for AVANCE (Spanish for “to advance” or “to progress”), a pioneer in the field of parent education and school readiness that serves predominantly poor Latino families. From 1978 to 1981, she served as chair of the Multilingual/Multicultural Early Childhood Education Commission for the National Association for the Education of Young Children. On numerous occasions, she provided expert testimony before the U.S. Congress and the Texas Legislature and conducted research for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund for key court cases dealing with bilingual education. From 1979 to 1981, Zamora served on the National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education, and from 1983 to 1984, she served as president of the National Association for Bilingual Education.

In recognition of her substantial contributions to the education and welfare of young bilingual children, Zamora received numerous awards from professional associations, civic organizations, and advocacy groups. In her final position prior to retirement in 1996, Zamora served as executive director of Educational Collaboratives, Programs, and Research for the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities.

Robert D. Milk

See also National Association for Bilingual Education; Raising Bilingual Children

Further Readings

- Townsend, D., & Zamora, G. L. (1975). The differing interaction patterns in bilingual classrooms. *Contemporary Education*, 4, 196–202.
- Zamora, G. L. (1976). Roots in infancy for later development. In M. D. Cohen (Ed.), *Understanding and nurturing infant development* (pp. 47–53). Washington, DC: Association for Childhood Education International.
- Zamora, G. L. (1994). Bilingual education works. In R. Rodríguez, N. J. Ramos, & J. A. Ruiz-Escalante (Eds.), *Compendium of readings in bilingual education: Issues and practices* (pp. 294–300). San Antonio: Texas Association for Bilingual Education.

ZELASKO, NANCY (1951–)

Nancy Zelasko is well-known for two very public roles in the field of bilingual education: her service as deputy director of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), from 1989 to 1999, and, subsequently, as director of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), later renamed the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition (NCELA).



Zelasko was born in New York City, on June 4, 1951, and grew up on Long Island and in Signal Mountain, Tennessee. She attended elementary school in both communities. From Grades 7 through 12, she and her family lived in White Plains, New York. Zelasko attended Georgetown University, where she received a bachelor's degree in language and teaching in 1973. She studied French extensively and later added Spanish to her language skills. She also earned master's and doctoral degrees in sociolinguistics from Georgetown University.

Zelasko became a certified French teacher, but her first job was the start of a career in bilingual education. When a friend mentioned to her that the Washington, D.C., public schools were in need of linguists, she applied for a position and was hired 2 days later. Her first official duty for the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS) was to write a position paper for the district superintendent on multilingual/multicultural education. According to Zelasko, “That first job made me destined to work in bilingual education.” During her tenure with the DCPS, she accepted voluntary responsibilities in bilingual education that gave her a national view of the field. She assisted every president of NABE until she joined the association as its deputy director in 1989.

In 1974, Zelasko became an educational research assistant in the Division of Bilingual Education of the DCPS. In 1977, she became the project director for the Title VII Bilingual Teacher Training Project of the DCPS. In this role, she helped to prepare teachers and developed and conducted the first home language survey for the Washington, D.C., public schools. Zelasko continued to help shape education policies for English

language learners in her district. This effort resulted in the design of the first bilingual and English as a Second Language teacher license for Washington, D.C., public schools.

Zelasko left the Washington, D.C., public schools in 1980 to become the assistant director of the Georgetown University Bilingual Education Service Center. Helping to direct a nine-state regional service center gave her a broader view of the needs in bilingual education and of the many constituencies that needed attention. During these early formative years, she continued her voluntary association and assistance at the national level by working with all of the NABE presidents and volunteering her time to the organization.

Although she had started as a volunteer in the NABE Washington, D.C., office in the early 1970s, Zelasko did not officially work for the organization until she became deputy to director James Lyons in 1989. One of her first roles in NABE was to produce the annual conference on bilingual education. She took on this effort and brought NABE attendance from approximately 1,000 educators to more than 5,000 each year. In so doing, she standardized the processes and procedures for how the national conference is convened yearly. Zelasko was also the second editor of the *NABE News*, the official newsletter of the association. She prepared the first manual of operational procedures used by the NABE organization. As deputy director of NABE, she also represented the association on the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards Committee on English as a New Language. She left NABE in 1999 to become deputy director of the NCBE.

During her association with bilingual education, Zelasko wrote several important publications, including *If Your Child Learns in Two Languages: A Parent's Guide for Improving Educational Opportunities for*

Children Acquiring English as a Second Language. She also participated in the NABE publication *Professional Standards for the Preparation of Bilingual/Multicultural Teachers*. Zelasko has been a member of the editorial policy board for the *Bilingual Research Journal* since 1999 and has served as a board or committee member of over 20 organizations or associations involved in bilingual education.

In 2003, Zelasko became director of the NCELA (formerly the NCBE). In that role, she oversees an annual budget of more than \$2 million and a staff of 10 professionals and other support staff.

For over 20 years, people throughout the nation have come to know Zelasko as a valued professional colleague. She has collaborated with some of the most noted people in the field of bilingual education and is known for her intense support and advocacy for English language learners.

Eva Midobuche and Alfredo H. Benavides

See also National Association for Bilingual Education;
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education

Further Readings

- National Association for Bilingual Education. (1992). *Professional standards for the preparation of bilingual/multicultural teachers*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Zelasko, N. (1995). National standards and language-minority students. *NABE News*, 18(7), 1, 28, 36.
- Zelasko, N., & Antunez, B. (2000). *If your child learns in two languages: A parent's guide for improving educational opportunities for children acquiring English as a second language*. National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. Available from <http://www.ncele.gwu.edu/pubs/parent>

Appendix A

Policy Landmarks in U.S. Bilingual Education

1923—*Meyer v. Nebraska* decided by the U.S. Supreme Court (262 U.S. 390). The Court overturned a Nebraska state law that made it illegal for schools, private and public, to teach in any language other than English. The case involved a private school in which a teacher used a German Bible to teach reading. *Meyer* affirmed English as the primary language of instruction in Nebraska. It also held that elective learning, in this case learning a language, is among the rights protected, implicitly, by the Constitution.

1927—*Farrington v. Tokushiga*, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court (273 U.S. 298). This U.S. Supreme Court ruling struck down excessive regulation of private nonsectarian schools by the territorial legislature of Hawai'i prior to it becoming a state. The major issue in the case was the degree of parental control of the curricula in private schools. The court overturned the level of regulation over private, nonsectarian schools, finding it to be excessive, including the requirement that the curricula must be in English. In striking down the law and regulations, the Court found that a high degree of regulation was an unreasonable intrusion and that parents can legally exercise greater control over their children's education through curriculum choices.

1958—*National Defense Education Act (NDEA)* enacted. As a reaction to the launching of the Soviet Union's satellite, *Sputnik*, the U.S. government made substantial funding available to promote the teaching of modern languages. The driving motivation was to overtake the Soviet Union in space exploration. The presumed reason for the launching of a Soviet satellite

ahead of the United States was better education in Soviet schools that included greater emphasis on the study of mathematics, science, and modern languages.

1960—*Cuban refugees begin arriving in Florida after Fidel Castro's takeover*. The arrival of refugees in Florida helped establish bilingual education programs at Coral Way and Coral Gables elementary schools. Their objective was to preserve the Spanish language in anticipation of their eventual return to Cuba. The Ford Foundation and the U.S. government provided funding to support these language preservation efforts.

1964—*Congress enacts the Civil Rights Act (CRA)*. This law was meant to protect the rights of racial and ethnic minorities. Title VI of the act became a powerful tool for fighting discrimination cases because it eliminated the necessity to prove intent to discriminate, as required by the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. Although CRA was subsequently eroded by an increasingly conservative Court, it was vitally important in the last quarter of the 20th century, in civil rights litigation.

1965—*Congress passes the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)*. This was the first piece of legislation providing major funding for K–12 schools. Title I, aimed at better serving the nation's poor, was the largest of the various parts of the act. It was meant to leverage improvements in the education of minorities and the poor. There were no earmarks or set-asides for bilingual education in the original ESEA, but the act sparked interest in creating a possible federal

role to assist children and youth who were not fluent in English.

1966—*The National Education Association (NEA) sponsors a national conference in Tucson, Arizona.* This conference focused on the needs of the Spanish-surnamed population of the country. The primary theme of the conference was bilingual education and other programs aimed at resolving the “language barrier” faced by non-English-speaking students. NEA’s involvement helped raise the visibility of this issue in professional educator circles.

1968—*Congress enacts Title VII of the ESEA, the Bilingual Education Act.* This addition to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 had several goals for the development and implementation of bilingual education in U.S. schools. Funding from this source included research, teacher training programs, technical assistance centers, and fellowships for graduate students. In its heyday, Title VII, ESEA, was the largest funding source for bilingual education. With the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), Title VII was not reauthorized and discretionary funding for bilingual education by the federal government ended almost entirely. NCLB focused on English language instruction without a home language component.

1972—*Massachusetts becomes the first state to enact legislation to support transitional bilingual education in K–12 for English language learners.* The Massachusetts legislation inaugurated the use of the term *transitional* to signal the use of the home language for limited purposes. The term gained wide currency as other states adopted the Massachusetts legislative model to their own needs.

1974—*U.S. Supreme Court rules on Lau v. Nichols (414 U.S. 563).* This case was brought by Chinese families against the San Francisco schools. Plaintiffs alleged that San Francisco Unified School District violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act by failing to teach English effectively to these children and subsequently requiring that the children pass a high-stakes graduation test in that language. The High Court overturned a lower-court decision favoring the school district and ruled that schools must take “affirmative steps to open their instructional program” to all students. *Lau v. Nichols* did not mandate bilingual education but acknowledged that a bilingual approach

is one of the options available for complying with Title VI.

1974—*Enactment of the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA).* This legislation codified the findings of *Lau v. Nichols* into federal law. Since the weight of *Lau v. Nichols* and the authority of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act were diminished by subsequent cases decided by the Supreme Court, the EEOA, which prohibits states from denying equal educational opportunity to all students, has become an important tool for suits against school districts in cases similar to *Lau*.

1981—*Castañeda v. Pickard decided by U.S. Court of Appeals (648 F.2d 989 5th Cir.).* A South Texas school district was ordered to adopt an instructional program that satisfied the requirements of *Lau v. Nichols* and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The process ordered by the court, now widely known as “the Castañeda three-part test,” was subsequently adopted by the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education as a template to judge the adequacy of compliance efforts throughout the country. It constitutes current *Lau* enforcement policy.

1981—*Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (Part of Public Law 97–35) enacted to create block grants in education.* The act consolidated 42 funding programs, most of them discretionary grant programs, into 7 block grants that would allow funds to flow directly to state education agencies or to school districts on the basis of formulas. This obviated the need for competitive program proposals to access federal funds. Title VII of the ESEA was among the 7 programs that were not consolidated at this time.

1982—*Plyler v. Doe decided by U.S. Supreme Court (457 U.S. 202).* The Supreme Court held that public schools are prohibited from denying immigrant children access to public education. According to *Plyler*, undocumented children have the same right to a free public education as the children of citizens and permanent residents. The decision also requires that undocumented students obey mandatory attendance laws of the states and remain in school until they reach the age mandated by such laws.

1991—*Native American Language Preservation Act passed.* Through this legislation, the federal government provides funding to assist Native American

peoples to teach and learn their ancestral languages. Previous government actions, such as the creation of Indian boarding schools, contributed to the erosion of native languages among Native American children and youth.

2002—No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act enacted by Congress. The act replaced the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981. The legislation seeks to increase accountability by schools and school districts by imposing a stringent testing program before students may graduate from high school. It threatens penalties for schools in which students fail to make “adequate yearly progress.” Critics charge that taken together, these provisions place the burden of accountability on students rather than on failed policies and practices. NCLB ended the practice of discretionary funding to school districts for bilingual education. It allots the bulk of K–12 federal funds to state departments of education to use at their discretion.

1998/2002—Antibilingual education voter initiatives approved in three states. Under the slogan of “English for the Children,” Arizona, California, and Massachusetts approved initiatives severely curtailing bilingual education in the public schools of those states. A similar measure failed at the polls in

Colorado. Yet another failed to be included on the ballot in New York. (Note: Most states do not have provisions in their constitutions that permit voter initiatives and referenda.)

2006—Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth. This study, financed by the U.S. Department of Education, assessed the value, impact, and effectiveness of various components and approaches to the education of English language learners. The National Literacy Panel was made up of leading authorities in the field appointed by the Education Sciences Institute, an arm of the U.S. Department of Education. The study reported favorably on the use of bilingual instructional methods. Inexplicably, the U.S. Department of Education refused to issue the panel’s report. After a 2-year delay, the panel’s report was published by the contractor through a commercial publisher.

2006—National Security Language Initiative announced by President George W. Bush. This initiative was designed to promote the teaching of languages needed for national security by civilian agencies and the military. Only small levels of funding under this initiative were directed toward public schools. Most of the funds were used to support programs in the military and in national security agencies.

Appendix B

Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968

Title VII— Bilingual Education Programs

Findings of Congress

Sec. 701. The Congress hereby finds that one of the most acute educational problems in the United States is that which involves millions of children of limited English-speaking ability because they come from environments where the dominant language is other than English; that additional efforts should be made to supplement present attempts to find adequate and constructive solutions to this unique and perplexing educational situation; and that the urgent need is for comprehensive and cooperative action now on the local, State, and Federal levels to develop forward-looking approaches to meet the serious learning difficulties faced by this substantial segment of the Nation's school-age population.

Amendment to Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

Sec. 702. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by redesignating title VII as title VIII, by redesignating Sections 701 through 707 and references thereto as Sections 801 through 807, respectively, and by inserting after title VI the following new title:

"Title VII— Bilingual Education Programs

"Short Title

"Sec. 701. This title may be cited as the 'Bilingual Education Act'.

"Declaration of Policy

"Sec. 702. In recognition of the special educational needs of the large numbers of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet these special educational needs. For the purposes of this title, 'children of limited English-speaking ability' means children who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English.

"Authorization and Distribution of Funds

"Sec. 703. (a) For the purposes of making grants under this title, there is authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and \$40,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970.

"(b) In determining distribution of funds under this title, the Commissioner shall give highest priority to States and areas within States having the greatest need for programs pursuant to this title. Such priorities shall take into consideration the number of children of limited English-speaking ability between the ages of three and eighteen in each State.

"Uses of Federal Funds

"Sec. 704. Grants under this title may be used, in accordance with applications approved under section 705, for—

- “(a) planning for and taking other steps leading to the development of programs designed to meet the special educational needs of children of limited English-speaking ability in schools having a high concentration of such children from families (A) with incomes below \$3,000 per year, or (B) receiving payments under a program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under title IV of the Social Security Act, including research projects, pilot projects designed to test the effectiveness of plans so developed, and the development and dissemination of special instructional materials for use in bilingual education programs; and
- “(b) providing preservice training designed to prepare persons to participate in bilingual education programs as teachers, teacher-aides, or other ancillary education personnel such as counselors, and inservice training and development programs designed to enable such persons to continue to improve their qualifications while participating in such programs; and
- “(c) the establishment, maintenance, and operation of programs, including acquisition of necessary teaching materials and equipment, designed to meet the special educational needs of children of limited English-speaking ability in schools having a high concentration of such children from families (A) with incomes below \$3,000 per year, or (B) receiving payments under a program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under title IV of the Social Security Act, through activities such as
- “(1) bilingual education programs;
- “(2) programs designed to impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture associated with their languages;
- “(3) efforts to establish closer cooperation between the school and the home;
- “(4) early childhood educational programs related to the purposes of this title and designed to improve the potential for profitable learning activities by children;
- “(5) adult education programs related to the purposes of this title, particularly for parents of children participating in bilingual programs;

- “(6) programs designed for dropouts or potential dropouts having need of bilingual programs;
- “(7) programs conducted by accredited trade, vocational, or technical schools; and
- “(8) other activities which meet the purposes of this title.

“Applications for Grants and Conditions for Approval

“Sec. 705. (a) A grant under this title may be made to a local educational agency or agencies, or to an institution of higher education applying jointly with a local educational agency, upon application to the Commissioner at such time or times, in such manner and containing or accompanied by such information as the Commissioner deems necessary. Such application shall—

- “(1) provide that the activities and services for which assistance under this title is sought will be administered by or under the supervision of the applicant;
- “(2) set forth a program for carrying out the purpose set forth in section 704 and provide for such methods of administration as are necessary for the proper and efficient operation of the program;
- “(3) set forth a program of such size, scope, and design as will make a substantial step toward achieving the purpose of this title;
- “(4) set forth policies and procedures which assure that Federal funds made available under this title for any fiscal year will be so used as to supplement and, to the extent practicable, increase the level of funds (including funds made available under title I of this Act) that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be made available by the applicant for the purposes described in section 704, and in no case supplant such funds;
- “(5) provide for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this title;
- “(6) provide for making an annual report and such other reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may reasonably require to carry out his functions under this title

and to determine the extent to which funds provided under this title have been effective in improving the educational opportunities of persons in the area served, and for keeping such records and for affording such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports;

- “(7) provide assurance that provision has been made for the participation in the project of those children of limited English-speaking ability who are not enrolled on a full-time basis; and
- “(8) provide that the applicant will utilize in programs assisted pursuant to this title the assistance of persons with expertise in the educational problems of children of limited English-speaking ability and make optimum use in such programs of the cultural and educational resources of the area to be served; and for the purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘cultural and educational resources’ includes State educational agencies, institutions of higher education, nonprofit private schools, public and nonprofit private agencies such as libraries, museums, musical and artistic organizations, educational radio and television, and other cultural and educational resources.

“(b) Applications for grants under title may be approved by the Commissioner only if—

- “(1) the application meets the requirements set forth in subsection (a);
- “(2) the program set forth in the application is consistent with criteria established by the Commissioner (where feasible, in cooperation with the State educational agency) for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of assistance under this title within each State, which criteria shall be developed by him on the basis of a consideration of (A) the geographic distribution of children of limited English-speaking ability, (B) the relative need of persons in different geographic areas within the State for the kinds of services and activities described in paragraph (c) of section 704, and (C) the relative ability of particular local educational agencies within the State to provide those services and activities;

“(3) the Commissioner determines (A) that the program will utilize the best available talents and resources and will substantially increase the educational opportunities for children of limited English-speaking ability in the area to be served by the applicant, and (B) that, to the extent consistent with the number of children enrolled in nonprofit private schools in the area to be served whose educational needs are of the type which this program is intended to meet, provision has been made for participation of such children; and

“(4) the State educational agency has been notified of the application and been given the opportunity to offer recommendations.

“(c) Amendments of applications shall, except as the Commissioner may otherwise provide by or pursuant to regulations, be subject to approval in the same manner as original applications.

“Payments

“Sec. 706. (a) The Commissioner shall pay to each applicant which has an application approved under this title an amount equal to the total sums expended by the applicant under the application for the purposes set forth therein.

“(b) Payments under this title may be made in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments.

“Advisory Committee

“Sec. 707. (a) The Commissioner shall establish in the Office of Education an Advisory Committee on the Education of Bilingual Children, consisting of nine members appointed, without regard to the civil service laws, by the Commissioner with the approval of the Secretary. The Commissioner shall appoint one such member as Chairman. At least four of the members of the Advisory Committee shall be educators experienced in dealing with the educational problems of children whose native tongue is a language other than English.

“(b) The Advisory Committee shall advise the Commissioner in the preparation of general regulations

and with respect to policy matters arising in the administration of this title, including the development of criteria for approval of applications thereunder. The Commissioner may appoint such special advisory and technical experts and consultants as may be useful and necessary in carrying out the functions of the Advisory Committee.

“(c) Members of the Advisory Committee shall, while serving on the business of the Advisory Committee, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding \$100 per day, including traveltime; and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

“Labor Standards

“Sec. 708. All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on all minor remodeling projects assisted under this title shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar minor remodeling in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a–276a-5). The Secretary of Labor shall have, with respect to the labor standards specified in this section, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276c).”

Conforming Amendments

Sec. 703. (a) That part of section 801 (as so redesignated by section 702 of this Act) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 which precedes clause (a)⁷ is amended by striking out “and VI” and inserting in lieu thereof “VI, and VII”.

(b) Clause (j) of such section 801 as amended by this Act⁸ is further amended by striking out “and VI” and inserting in lieu thereof “VI, and VII”.

Amendments to Title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965

Sec. 704. (a) The third sentence of section 521 of the Education Professions Development Act (title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965)⁹ is amended (1) effective for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968 only, by inserting after “a career of teaching in elementary or secondary schools” a new phrase as follows: “a career of teaching children of limited English-speaking ability”, and (2) effective with respect to subsequent fiscal years, by inserting “and including teaching children of limited English-speaking ability” after “including teaching in preschool and adult and vocational education programs”.

(b) Effective for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, only, section 522(a) of such Act¹⁰ is amended by striking out “ten thousand fellowships for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968” and inserting in lieu thereof “eleven thousand fellowships for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968”.

(c) (1) Section 628 of such Act¹¹ is amended, effective with respect to fiscal years ending after June 30, 1967, by striking out “\$275,000,000” and inserting in lieu thereof “\$285,000,000”; striking out “\$195,000,000” and inserting in lieu thereof “\$205,000,000”; striking out “\$240,000,000” and inserting in lieu thereof “\$250,000,000”; and striking out “July 1, 1968” and inserting in lieu thereof “July 1, 1970”.

(2) The amendments made by this subsection shall, notwithstanding section 9(a) of Public Law 90-35, be effective with regard to fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1967.

(d) Section 531(b) of such Act¹² is amended by redesignating clauses (8) and (9) thereof as clauses (9) and (10), respectively, and by inserting immediately after clause (7) the following new clause:

“(8) programs or projects to train or retrain persons engaging in special educational programs for children of limited English-speaking ability”.

Amendments to Title XI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958

Sec. 705. (a) Section 1101 of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 is amended by striking out “and

⁷ 20 U.S.C.A. § 881.

⁸ 20 U.S.C.A. § 881(1)

⁹ 20 U.S.C.A. § 1111.

¹⁰ 20 U.S.C.A. § 1112(a).

¹¹ 20 U.S.C.A. § 1118.

¹² 20 U.S.C. A. § 1119.

for each of the two succeeding fiscal years” and inserting in lieu thereof “and for the succeeding fiscal year and \$51,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968”.

(b) Such section is further amended by striking out the period at the end of clause (3) and inserting in lieu thereof a comma and the word “or”, and by inserting after such clause a new clause as follows.

“(4) who are engaged in or preparing to engage in special educational programs for children of limited English-speaking ability.”

Amendments to Cooperative Research Act

Sec. 706. Subsections (a) and (b) of section 2 of the Cooperative Research Act 14 are each amended by inserting “and title VII” after “section 503(a) (4)”.

Approved January 2, 1968.

Appendix C

Lau v. Nichols and Related Documents

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Office of the Secretary
Washington, D.C.

May 25, 1970

Memorandum

TO: School Districts With More Than Five Percent
National Origin–Minority Group Children
FROM: J. Stanley Pottinger, Director, Office for Civil
Rights
SUBJECT: Identification of Discrimination and
Denial of Services on the Basis of National Origin

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Departmental Regulation (45 CFR Part 80) promulgated thereunder require that there be no discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in the operation of any federally assisted programs.

Title VI compliance reviews conducted in school districts with large Spanish-surnamed student populations by the Office for Civil Rights have revealed a number of common practices which have the effect of denying equality of educational opportunity to Spanish-surnamed pupils. Similar practices which have the effect of discrimination on the basis of national origin exist in other locations with respect to disadvantaged pupils from other national origin-minority groups, for example, Chinese or Portuguese.

The purpose of this memorandum is to clarify DHEW policy on issues concerning the responsibility of school districts to provide equal educational opportunity

to national origin minority group children deficient in English language skills. The following are some of the major areas of concern that relate to compliance with Title VI:

1. Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.
2. School districts must not assign national origin-minority group students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure or evaluate English language skills; nor may school districts deny national origin-minority group children access to college preparatory courses on a basis directly related to the failure of the school system to inculcate English language skills.
3. Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin-minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track.
4. School districts have the responsibility to adequately notify national origin-minority group parents of school activities which are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice in order to be adequate may have to be provided in a language other than English.

School districts should examine current practices which exist in their districts in order to assess compliance with the matters set forth in this memorandum. A school district which determines that compliance problems currently exist in that district should immediately communicate in writing with the Office for Civil Rights and indicate what steps are being taken to remedy the situation. Where compliance questions arise as to the sufficiency of programs designed to meet the language skill needs of national origin-minority group children already operating in a particular area, full information regarding such programs should be provided. In the area of special language assistance, the scope of the program and the process for identifying need and the extent to which the need is fulfilled should be set forth.

School districts which receive this memorandum will be contacted shortly regarding the availability of technical assistance and will be provided with any additional information that may be needed to assist districts in achieving compliance with the law and equal educational opportunity for all children. Effective as of this date the aforementioned areas of concern will be regarded by regional Office for Civil Rights personnel as a part of their compliance responsibilities.

Source: U.S. Department of Education. (2005). *DHEW Memo Regarding Language Minority Children*. Available: <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1970.html>

**Syllabus
Supreme Court
of the United States**

414 U.S. 563

Lau v. Nichols

**Certiorari to the United States
Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit**

No. 72-6520

Argued: December 10, 1973

Decided: January 21, 1974

The failure of the San Francisco school system to provide English language instruction to approximately 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak English, or to provide them with other adequate instructional procedures, denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program, and thus violates § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based “on the ground of race, color, or national origin,” in “any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance,” and the implementing regulations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Pp. 565–569.

483 F.2d 791, *reversed and remanded*.

Edward H. Steinman argued the cause for petitioners. With him on the brief were Kenneth Hecht and David C. Moon.

Thomas M. O’Connor argued the cause for the respondents. With him on the brief were George E. Krueger and Burk E. Delventhal.

Assistant Attorney General Pottinger argued the cause for the United States as amicus curiae urging reversal. With him on the brief were Solicitor General Bork, Deputy Solicitor General Wallace, Mark L. Evans, and Brian K. Landsberg. *

DOUGLAS, J., delivered the opinion of the Court, in which BRENNAN, MARSHALL, POWELL, and REHNQUIST, J., joined. STEWART, J., filed an opinion concurring in the result, in which BURGER, C. J., and BLACKMUN, J., joined, *post*, p. 569. WHITE, J., concurred in the result, in which BURGER, C. J., joined, *post*, p. 571.

DOUGLAS, J., Opinion of the Court

MR. JUSTICE DOUGLAS delivered the opinion of the Court.

The San Francisco, California, school system was integrated in 1971 as a result of a federal court decree, 339 F. supp. 1315. *See Lee v. Johnson*, 404 U.S. 1215. The District Court found that there are 2,856 students of Chinese ancestry in the school system who do not speak English. Of those who have that language deficiency, about 1,000 are given supplemental courses in the English language.¹ About 1,800, however, do not receive that instruction.

This class suit brought by non-English-speaking Chinese students against officials responsible for the operation of the San Francisco Unified School District seeks relief against the unequal educational opportunities, which are alleged to violate, *inter alia*, the Fourteenth Amendment. No specific remedy is urged upon us. Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instructions to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others. Petitioners ask only that the Board of Education be directed to apply its expertise to the problem and rectify the situation.

The District Court denied relief. The Court of Appeals affirmed, holding that there was no violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment or of § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of

* Briefs of amici curiae urging reversal were filed by Stephen J. Pollak, Ralph J. Moore, Jr., David Rubin, and Peter T. Galiano for the National Education Assn. et al.; by W. Reece Bader and James R. Madison for the San Francisco Lawyers’ Committee for Urban Affairs; by J. Harold Flannery for the Center for Law and Education, Harvard University; by Herbert Teitelbaum for the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.; by Mario G. Obledo, Sanford J. Rosen, Michael Mendelson, and Alan Exelrod for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund et al.; by Samuel Rabinove, Joseph B. Robison, Arnold Forster, and Elliot C. Rothenberg for the American Jewish Committee et al.; by F. Raymond Marks for the Childhood and Government Project; by Martin Glick for Efrain Tostado et al.; and by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Assn. et al.

¹ A report adopted by the Human Rights Commission of San Francisco and submitted to the Court by respondents after oral argument shows that, as of April 1973, there were 3,457 Chinese students in the school system who spoke little or no English. The document further showed 2,136 students enrolled in Chinese special instruction classes, but at least 429 of the enrollees were not Chinese, but were included for ethnic balance. Thus, as of April 1973, no more than 1,707 of the 3,457 Chinese students needing special English instruction were receiving it.

1964, 78 Stat. 252, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d which excludes from participation in federal financial assistance, recipients of aid which discriminate against racial groups, 483 F.2d 791. One judge dissented. A hearing en banc was denied, two judges dissenting. *Id.* at 805.

We granted the petition for certiorari because of the public importance of the question presented, 412 U.S. 938.

The Court of Appeals reasoned that

[e]very student brings to the starting line of his educational career different advantages and disadvantages caused in part by social, economic and cultural background, created and continued completely apart from any contribution by the school system. (483 F.2d at 797.)

Yet, in our view, the case may not be so easily decided. This is a public school system of California, and §71 of the California Education Code states that “English shall be the basic language of instruction in all schools.” That section permits a school district to determine “when and under what circumstances instruction may be given bilingually.” That section also states as “the policy of the state” to insure “the mastery of English by all pupils in the schools.” And bilingual instruction is authorized “to the extent that it does not interfere with the systematic, sequential, and regular instruction of all pupils in the English language.”

Moreover, § 8573 of the Education Code provides that no pupil shall receive a diploma of graduation from grade 12 who has not met the standards of proficiency in “English,” as well as other prescribed subjects. Moreover, by § 12101 of the Education Code (Supp. 1973), children between the ages of six and 16 years are (with exceptions not material here) “subject to compulsory full-time education.”

Under these state-imposed standards, there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum, for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.

Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired

those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.

We do not reach the Equal Protection Clause argument which has been advanced, but rely solely on § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d to reverse the Court of Appeals.

That section bans discrimination based “on the ground of race, color, or national origin,” in “any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” The school district involved in this litigation receives large amounts of federal financial assistance. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), which has authority to promulgate regulations prohibiting discrimination in federally assisted school systems, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d-1, in 1968 issued one guideline that

[s]chool systems are responsible for assuring that students of a particular race, color, or national origin are not denied the opportunity to obtain the education generally obtained by other students in the system. (33 Fed.Reg. 4956.)

In 1970, HEW made the guidelines more specific, requiring school districts that were federally funded “to rectify the language deficiency in order to open” the instruction to students who had “linguistic deficiencies,” 35 Fed.Reg. 11595.

By § 602 of the Act, HEW is authorized to issue rules, regulations, and orders² to make sure that recipients of federal aid under its jurisdiction conduct any federally financed projects consistently with § 601. HEW’s regulations, 45 CFR § 80.3(b)(1), specify that the recipients may not:

(ii) Provide any service, financial aid, or other benefit to an individual which is different, or is provided in a different manner, from that provided to others under the program;

....

(iv) Restrict an individual in any way in the enjoyment of any advantage or privilege enjoyed by others receiving any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program.

² Section 602 provides:

Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 2000d of this title with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. . . .

42 U.S.C. § 2000d-1.

Discrimination among students on account of race or national origin that is prohibited includes “discrimination . . . in the availability or use of any academic . . . or other facilities of the grantee or other recipient.” *Id.*, § 80.5(b).

Discrimination is barred which has that effect even though no purposeful design is present: a recipient “may not . . . utilize criteria or methods of administration which have the effect of subjecting individuals to discrimination” or have the effect of defeating or substantially impairing accomplishment of the objectives of the program as respect individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin.” *Id.* § 80.3(b)(2).

It seems obvious that the Chinese-speaking minority receive fewer benefits than the English-speaking majority from respondents’ school system, which denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the educational program—all earmarks of the discrimination banned by the regulations.³ In 1970, HEW issued clarifying guidelines, 35 Fed.Reg. 11595, which include the following:

Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible, and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track.

Respondent school district contractually agreed to “comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 . . . and all requirements imposed by or pursuant to the Regulation” of HEW (45 CFR pt. 80) which are “issued pursuant to that title . . .” and also immediately to “take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement.” The Federal Government has power to fix the terms on which its money allotments to the States shall be disbursed. *Oklahoma v. CSC*, 330 U.S. 127, 142-143. Whatever may be the limits of that power, *Steward Machine Co. v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548, 590

et seq., they have not been reached here. Senator Humphrey, during the floor debates on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, said:⁴

Simple justice requires that public funds, to which all taxpayers of all races contribute, not be spent in any fashion which encourages, entrenches, subsidizes, or results in racial discrimination.

We accordingly reverse the judgment of the Court of Appeals and remand the case for the fashioning of appropriate relief.

Reversed and remanded.

MR. JUSTICE WHITE concurs in the result.

STEWART, J., Concurring Opinion

MR. JUSTICE STEWART, with whom THE CHIEF JUSTICE and MR. JUSTICE BLACKMUN join, concurring in the result.

It is uncontested that more than 2,800 school children of Chinese ancestry attend school in the San Francisco Unified School District system even though they do not speak, understand, read, or write the English language, and that, as to some 1,800 of these pupils, the respondent school authorities have taken no significant steps to deal with this language deficiency. The petitioners do not contend, however, that the respondents have affirmatively or intentionally contributed to this inadequacy, but only that they have failed to act in the face of changing social and linguistic patterns. Because of this *laissez faire* attitude on the part of the school administrators, it is not entirely clear that § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d standing alone, would render illegal the expenditure of federal funds on these schools. For that section provides that

[n]o person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

On the other hand, the interpretive guidelines published by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1970, 35 Fed.

³ And see Report of the Human Rights Commission of San Francisco, Bilingual Education in the San Francisco Public Schools, Aug. 9, 1973.

⁴ 110 Cong.Rec. 6543 (Sen. Humphrey, quoting from President Kennedy’s message to Congress, June 19, 1963).

Reg. 11595, clearly indicate that affirmative efforts to give special training for non-English-speaking pupils are required by Tit. VI as a condition to receipt of federal aid to public schools:

Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.¹

The critical question is, therefore, whether the regulations and guidelines promulgated by HEW go beyond the authority of § 601.² Last Term, in *Mourning v. Family Publications Service, Inc.*, 411 U.S. 356, 369, we held that the validity of a regulation promulgated under a general authorization provision such as § 602 of Tit. VI.³

will be sustained so long as it is “reasonably related to the purposes of the enabling legislation.” *Thorpe v. Housing Authority of the City of Durham*, 393 U.S. 268, 280-281 (1969).

I think the guidelines here fairly meet that test. Moreover, in assessing the purposes of remedial legislation, we have found that departmental regulations and “consistent administrative construction” are “entitled to great weight.” *Trafficante v. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.*, 409 U.S. 205, 210; *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, 401 U.S. 424, 433-434; *Udall v. Tallman*, 380 U.S. 1. The Department has reasonably and consistently interpreted § 601 to require affirmative remedial efforts to give special attention to linguistically deprived children.

For these reasons I concur in the result reached by the Court.

BLACKMUN, J., Concurring Opinion

MR. JUSTICE BLACKMUN, with whom THE CHIEF JUSTICE joins, concurring in the result.

I join MR. JUSTICE STEWART’s opinion, and thus I, too, concur in the result. Against the possibility that the Court’s judgment may be interpreted too broadly, I stress the fact that the children with whom we are concerned here number about 1,800. This is a very substantial group that is being deprived of any meaningful schooling because the children cannot understand the language of the classroom. We may only guess as to why they have had no exposure to English in their preschool years. Earlier generations of American ethnic groups have overcome the language barrier by earnest parental endeavor or by the hard fact of being pushed out of the family or community nest and into the realities of broader experience.

I merely wish to make plain that, when, in another case, we are concerned with a very few youngsters, or with just a single child who speaks only German or Polish or Spanish or any language other than English, I would not regard today’s decision, or the separate concurrence, as conclusive upon the issue whether the statute and the guidelines require the funded school district to provide special instruction. For me, numbers are at the heart of this case, and my concurrence is to be understood accordingly.

Source: National Clearinghouse of English Language Acquisition (n.d.). *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court Decision [Online]. Available from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/lau>

¹ These guidelines were issued in further clarification of the Department’s position as stated in its regulations issued to implement Tit. VI, 45 CFR pt. 80. The regulations provide in part that no recipient of federal financial assistance administered by HEW may

Provide any service, financial aid, or other benefit to an individual which is different, or is provided in a different manner, from that provided to others under the program; [or]

Restrict an individual in any way in the enjoyment of any advantage or privilege enjoyed by others receiving any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program.

45 CFR § 80.3(b)(1)(ii), (iv).

² The respondents do not contest the standing of the petitioners to sue as beneficiaries of the federal funding contract between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the San Francisco Unified School District.

³ Section 602, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d-1, provides in pertinent part:

Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 2000d of this title with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken:

The United States as amicus curiae asserts in its brief, and the respondents appear to concede, that the guidelines were issued pursuant to § 602.

Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under *Lau v. Nichols*

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of the Secretary

Washington, D.C. 20201
Office for Civil Rights
Summer 1975

Editor's Note: *This document is more commonly known as "Lau Remedies."*

I. Identification of Student's Primary or Home Language

The first step to be included in a plan submitted by a district found to be in noncompliance with Title VI under *Lau* is the method by which the district will identify the student's primary or home language. A student's primary or home language, for the purpose of this report, is other than English if it meets at least one of the following descriptions:

- A. The student's first acquired language is other than English.
- B. The language most often spoken by the student is other than English.
- C. The language most often spoken in the student's home is other than English, regardless of the language spoken by the student.

These assessments (A–C, above) must be made by persons who can speak and understand the necessary language(s). Then the district must assess the degree of linguistic function or ability of the student(s) so as to place the student(s) in one of the following categories by language.

- A. Monolingual speaker of the language other than English (speaks the language other than English exclusively).
- B. Predominantly speaks the language other than English (speaks mostly the language other than English, but speaks some English).
- C. Bilingual (speaks both the language other than English and English with equal ease).

D. Predominantly speaks English (speaks mostly English, but some of the language other than English).

E. Monolingual speaker of English (speaks English exclusively).

In the event that the student is multilingual (is functional in more than two languages in addition to English), such assessment must be made in all the necessary languages.

In order to make the aforementioned assessments the district must, *at a minimum, determine the language most often spoken in the student's home*, regardless of the language spoken by the student, the language most often spoken by the student in the home and the language spoken by the student in the social setting (by observation).

These assessments must be made by persons who can speak and understand the necessary language(s). An example of the latter would be to determine by observation, the language used by the student to communicate with peers between classes or in informal situations. These assessments must cross-validate one another (Example: student speaks Spanish at home and Spanish with classmates at lunch). Observers must estimate the frequency of use of each language spoken by the student in these situations.

In the event that the language determinations conflict (Example: student speaks Spanish at home, but English with classmates at lunch), *an additional method must be employed by the district to make such a determination.* (for example the district may wish to employ a test of language dominance as a third criterion). In other words, two of the three criteria will cross-validate or the majority of criteria will cross-validate (yield the same language).

Due to staff limitations and priorities, we will require a plan under *Lau* during this initial stage of investigation when the district has 20 or more students

of the same language group identified as having a primary or home language other than English. However, a district does have an obligation to serve any student whose primary or home language is other than English.

II. Diagnostic/Prescriptive Approach

The second part of a plan must describe the diagnostic/prescriptive measures to be used to identify the nature and extent of each student's educational needs and then prescribe an educational program utilizing the most effective teaching style to satisfy the diagnosed educational needs. The determination of which teaching style(s) are to be used will be based on a careful review of both the cognitive and affective domains and should include an assessment of the responsiveness of students to different types of cognitive learning styles and incentive motivational styles (e.g., competitive versus cooperative learning patterns). The diagnostic measures must include diagnoses of problems related to areas or subjects required of other students in the school program *and* prescriptive measures must serve to bring the linguistically/culturally different student(s) to the educational performance level that is expected by the Local Education Agency (LEA) and State of nonminority students. A program designed for students of limited English-speaking ability must not be operated in a manner so as to solely satisfy a set of objectives divorced or isolated from those educational objectives established for students in the regular school program.

III. Educational Program Selection

In the third step the district must implement the appropriate type(s) of educational program(s) listed in this section (III, 1–5), dependent upon the degree of linguistic proficiency of the students in question. If none seem applicable check with your *Lau* coordinator for further action.

1. In the case of the monolingual speaker of the language other than English (speaks the language other than English exclusively).

A. At the Elementary and Intermediate Levels:

Any one or combination of the following programs is acceptable.

1. Transitional Bilingual Education Program (TBE).
2. Bilingual/Bicultural Program.
3. Multilingual/Multicultural Program (see IX, Definition of Terms).

In the case of a TBE, the district must provide predictive data which show that such student(s) are ready to make the transition into English and will succeed educationally in content areas and in the educational program(s) in which he/she is to be placed. This is necessary so the district will not prematurely place the linguistically/culturally different student who is not ready to participate effectively in an English language curriculum in the regular school program (conducted exclusively in English).

Because an ESL program does not consider the affective nor cognitive development of students in this category and time and maturation variables are different here than for students at the secondary level, an ESL program *is not* appropriate.

B. At the Secondary Level:

Option 1: Such students may receive instruction in subject matter (example: math, science) in the native language(s) and receive English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) as a class component (see IX, Definition of Terms).

Option 2: Such students may receive required and elective subject matter (examples: math, science, industrial arts) in the native language(s) and bridge into English while combining English with the native language as appropriate (learning English as a first language, in a natural setting).

Option 3: Such students may receive ESL or High Intensive Language Training (HILT) (see IX, Definition of Terms), in English until they are fully functional in English (can operate equally successfully in school in English) then bridge into the school program for all other students.

A district may wish to utilize a TBE, Bilingual/Bicultural or Multilingual/Multicultural program in lieu of the three options presented in this section (III.I.B.). This is permissible. However, if the necessary prerequisite

skills in the native language(s) have not been taught to these students, some form of compensatory education in the native language must be provided.

In any case, students in this category (III.1.B.) must receive such instruction in a manner that is expeditiously carried out so that the student in question will be able to participate to the greatest extent possible in the regular school program as soon as possible. At no time can a program be selected in this category (III.1.B.) to place the students in situations where the method of instruction will result in a substantial delay in providing these students with the necessary English language skills needed by or required of other students at the time of graduation.

NOTE: You will generally find that students in this category are recent immigrants.

2. In the case of the predominant speaker of the language other than English (speaks mostly the language other than English, but speaks some English).

A. At the Elementary Level:

Any one or combination of the following programs is acceptable.

1. TBE
2. Bilingual/Bicultural Program
3. Multilingual/Multicultural Program

In the case of a TBE, the district must provide predictive data which show that such student(s) are ready to make the transition into English and will educationally succeed in content areas and the educational program in which he/she is to be placed.

Since an ESL program does not consider the affective nor cognitive development of the students in this category and the time and maturation variables are different here than for students at the secondary level, an ESL program *is not* appropriate.

B. At the Intermediate and High School Levels:

The district must provide data relative to the student's academic achievement and identify those students who have been in the school system for less than a year. If the student(s) who have been in the school system for less than a year are achieving at grade level or better, the district is not required to provide additional educational programs. If, however, the students who have been in the school system for a year or more are underachieving (not achieving at grade level) (see

IX, Definition of Terms), the district must submit a plan to remedy the situation. This may include smaller class size, enrichment materials, etc. In either this case or the case of students who are underachieving and have been in the school system for less than a year, the remedy must include any one or combination of the following (1) an ESL, (2) a TBE, (3) a Bilingual/Bicultural Program, (4) a Multilingual/Multicultural Program. *But* such students may not be placed in situations where all instruction is conducted in the native language as may be prescribed for the monolingual speaker of a language other than English, if the necessary prerequisite skills in the native language have not been taught. In this case some form of compensatory education in the native language must be provided.

NOTE: You will generally find that students in this category are not recent immigrants.

3. In the case of the bilingual speaker (speaks both the language other than English and English with equal ease) the district must provide data relative to the student(s) academic achievement.

In this case the treatment is the same at the elementary, intermediate and secondary levels and differs only in terms of underachievers and those students achieving at grade level or better.

- A. For the students in this category who are underachieving, treatment corresponds to the regular program requirements for all racially/ ethnically identifiable classes or tracks composed of students who are underachieving, regardless of their language background.
- B. For the students in this category who are achieving at grade level or better, the district is not required to provide additional educational programs.

4. In the case of the predominant speaker of English (speaks mostly English, but some of a language other than English) treatment for these students is the same as III, 3 above.

5. In the case of the monolingual speaker of English (speaks English exclusively) treat the same as III, 3 above.

NOTE: ESL is a necessary component of all the aforementioned programs. However, an ESL program may not be sufficient as the *only* program operated by a district to respond to the educational needs of all the types of students described in this document.

IV. Required and Elective Courses

In the fourth step of such plan the district must show that the required and elective courses are not designed to have a discriminatory effect.

A. Required courses

Required courses (example: American History) must not be designed to exclude pertinent minority developments which have contributed to or influenced such subjects.

B. Elective courses and co-curricular activities

Where a district has been found out of compliance and operates racially/ethnically identifiable elective courses or co-curricular activities, the plan must address this area by either educationally justifying the racial/ethnic identifiability of these courses or activities, eliminating them, or guaranteeing that these courses or co-curricular activities will not remain racially/ethnically identifiable.

There is a prima facie case of discrimination if courses are racially/ethnically identifiable.

Schools must develop strong incentives and encouragement for minority students to enroll in electives where minorities have not traditionally enrolled. In this regard, counselors, principals and teachers have a most important role. Title VI compliance questions are raised by any analysis of counseling practices which indicates that minorities are being advised in a manner which results in their being disproportionately channeled into certain subject areas or courses. The school district must see that all of its students are encouraged to fully participate and take advantage of all educational benefits.

Close monitoring is necessary to evaluate to what degree minorities are in essence being discouraged from taking certain electives and encouraged to take other elective courses and insist that to eliminate discrimination and to provide equal educational opportunities, districts must take affirmative duties to see that minority students are not excluded from any elective courses and over included in others.

All newly established elective courses cannot be designed to have a discriminatory effect. This means that a district cannot, for example, initiate a course in Spanish literature designed exclusively for Spanish-speaking students so that enrollment in that subject is designed to result in the exclusion of students whose native language is English but who could equally

benefit from such a course and/or be designed to result in the removal of the minority students in question from a general literature course which should be designed to be relevant for all the students served by the district.

V. Instructional Personnel Requirements (see IX, Definition of Terms)

Instructional personnel teaching the students in question must be linguistically/culturally familiar with the background of the students to be affected.

The student/teacher ratio for such programs should equal or be less than (fewer students per teacher) the student/teacher ratio for the district. However, we will not require corrective action by the district if the numbers of students in such programs are no more than five greater per teacher than the student/teacher ratio for the district.

If instructional staffing is inadequate to implement program requirements, in-service training, directly related to improving student performance is acceptable as an immediate and temporary response. Plans for providing this training must include at least the following:

1. Objectives of training (must be directly related to ultimately improving student performance).
2. Methods by which the objective(s) will be achieved.
3. Method for selection of teachers to receive training.
4. Names of personnel doing the training and location of training.
5. Content of training.
6. Evaluation design of training and performance criteria for individuals receiving the training.
7. Proposed timetables.

This temporary in-service training must continue until staff performance criteria has been met.

Another temporary alternative is utilizing para professional persons with the necessary language(s) and cultural background(s). Specific instructional roles of such personnel *must be* included in the plan. Such plan must show that this personnel will aid in teaching and not be restricted to those areas unrelated to the teaching process (checking roll, issuing tardy cards, etc.).

In addition, the district must include a plan for securing the number of qualified teachers necessary to fully implement the instructional program. Development and training of paraprofessionals may be an important source for the development of bilingual/bicultural teachers.

VI. Racial/Ethnic Isolation and/or Identifiability of Schools and Classes

A. Racially/ethnically isolated and/or identifiable schools

It is not educationally necessary nor legally permissible to create racially/ethnically identifiable schools in order to respond to student language characteristics as specified in the programs described herein.

B. Racially/ethnically isolated and/or identifiable classes

The implementation of the aforementioned educational models do not justify the existence of racially/ethnically isolated or identifiable classes, per se. Since there is no conflict in this area as related to the application of the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) and existing Title VI regulations, standard application of those regulations is effective.

VII. Notification to Parents of Students Whose Primary or Home Language Is Other Than English

A. School districts have the responsibility to effectively notify the parents of the students identified as having a primary or home language other than English of all school activities or notices which are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice, in order to be adequate, must be provided in English and in the necessary language(s) comprehensively paralleling the exact content in English. Be aware that a literal translation may not be sufficient.

B. The district must inform all minority and non-minority parents of all aspects of the programs designed for students of limited English-speaking ability and that these programs constitute an integral part of the total school program.

VIII. Evaluation

A “Product and Process” evaluation is to be submitted in the plan. This type of evaluation, in addition to stating the “product” (end result), must include “process evaluation” (periodic evaluation throughout the implementation stage). A description of the *evaluation design* is required. Time-lines (target for completion of steps) is an essential component.

For the *first three years*, following the implementation of a plan, the district must submit to the OCR Regional Office at the close of sixty days after school starts, a “progress report” which will show the steps which have been completed. For those steps which have not been completed, a narrative from the district is necessary to explain why the targeted completion dates were not met. Another “progress report” is also due at the close of 30 days after the last day of the school year in question.

IX. Definition of Terms:

1. *Bilingual/Bicultural Program*: A program which utilizes the student’s native language (example: Navajo) and cultural factors in instruction maintaining and further developing all the necessary skills in the student’s native language and culture while introducing, maintaining and developing all the necessary skills in the second language and culture (example: English). The end result is a student who can function, totally, in both languages and cultures.
2. *English-as-a-Second Language (ESL)*: A structured language acquisition program designed to teach English to students whose native language is not English.
3. *High Intensive Language Training (HILT)*: A total immersion program designed to teach students a new language.
4. *Multilingual/Multicultural Program*: A program operated under the same principles as a Bilingual/Bicultural program (X, 1) *except* that more than one language and culture, in addition to English language and culture, is treated. The end result is a student who can function, totally, in more than two languages and cultures.

5. *Transitional Bilingual Education Program (TBE)*: A program operated in the same manner as a Bilingual/Bicultural Program, except that once the student is fully functional in the second language (English), further instruction in the native language is no longer required.
6. *Underachievement*: Underachievement is defined as performance in each subject area (e.g., reading, problem solving) at one or more standard deviations below district norms as determined by some objective measures for non-ethnic/racial minority

students. Mental ability scores cannot be utilized for determining grade expectancy.

7. *Instructional Personnel*: Persons involved in teaching activities. Such personnel includes, but is not limited to, certified, credentialized teachers, paraprofessionals, teacher aides, parents, community volunteers, youth tutors, etc.

Source: Archival Document. Southwest Center for Education Equity and Language Diversity. Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

**United States
Department of Education**

**Office of the Assistant
Secretary for Civil Rights**

April 6, 1990

TO: OCR Senior Staff
FROM: William L. Smith, Acting Assistant Secretary
for Civil Rights
SUBJECT: Office for Civil Rights Policy Regarding
the Treatment of National Origin Minority
Students Who Are Limited English Proficient

I have recently received a number of inquiries regarding the Office for Civil Rights' (OCR) policy related to making determinations of compliance under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as regards the treatment of national origin minority students who are limited English proficient (language minority students). In responding to these inquiries, I am aware that our existing policy and procedures were issued several years ago and may be in need of updating. In fact, the Policy and Enforcement Service (PES) will issue such an update during the third quarter of FY 1990.

Until that document is available, you can, of course, continue to follow our current policy documents available to you. The May 25th Memorandum, as affirmed by the Supreme Court in the *Lau v. Nichols* decision, 44 U.S. 653 (1974), provides the legal standard for the Education Department's Title VI policy concerning discrimination on the basis of national origin. The procedures OCR follows in applying this legal standard on a case-by-case basis are set forth in a document issued to OCR staff on December 3, 1985, entitled, *OCR's Title VI Language Minority Compliance Procedures* (copy attached).

In developing its policy update, PES staff will review the cases we have investigated over the past few years, in addition to examining the case law, to determine where additional guidance may be needed. It will be helpful for PES attorneys to discuss various aspects of these cases with some regional staff who have had substantial recent experience in applying our case-by-case approach. I understand that there have been some excellent investigations carried out under this policy. You will be consulted prior to any discussions on these matters with members of your staff. In the meantime, I urge you to continue to investigate complaints of discrimination against national origin minority students and to conduct compliance reviews on this issue where appropriate.

If you have questions about the application of current policy, or if you have suggestions for policy modifications, you may call Cathy Lewis or send your information to me in writing.

[Attachment below]

**United States
Department of Education**

**Office of the Assistant
Secretary for Civil Rights**

**The Office for Civil Rights' Title VI
Language Minority
Compliance Procedures**

Issue

This discussion provides a description of the procedures followed by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) in making determinations of compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as regards the treatment of national origin minority students with limited-English proficiency (language minority students) enrolled in educational programs that receive Federal financial assistance from the Department of Education.

Background

As part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress enacted Title VI, prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in programs or activities that receive Federal financial assistance. In May 1970, the former Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) published a memorandum to school districts on the *Identification of Discrimination and Denial of Services on the Basis of National Origin* (the May 25th Memorandum, 35 *Fed. Reg.* 11595—Tab A). The purpose of the May 25th Memorandum was to clarify OCR's Title VI policy on issues concerning the responsibility of school districts to provide equal educational opportunity to language minority students. The May 25th Memorandum stated in part:

Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin minority-group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language

deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

In 1974, the Supreme Court upheld this requirement to take affirmative steps in the *Lau v. Nichols* decision, 414 U.S. 653 (1974). The May 25th Memorandum, as affirmed by *Lau*, continues to provide the legal standard for the Education Department's (the Department) Title VI policy concerning discrimination on the basis of national origin. The *Lau* decision did not require school districts to use any particular program or teaching method. The opinion of the Court states:

No specific remedy is urged upon us. Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instruction to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others. *Id.* at 565.

In 1975, the former DHEW promulgated a document designed to describe appropriate educational steps that would satisfy the Supreme Court's *Lau* mandate (*Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Unlawful Under Lau v. Nichols*). These "*Lau Remedies*" evolved into *de facto* compliance standards, which allowed undue Federal influence over educational judgments that could and should be made by local and state educational authorities.

In August 1980, the newly-formed Department of Education published a Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (NPRM) that sought to replace the unofficial "*Lau Remedies*" with a document that would have set forth requirements for all schools enrolling language minority students. The 1980 NPRM proposed bilingual education as the required method of instruction in schools with sufficient numbers of language minority students of one language group.

Subsequently, the Department determined that the proposed regulations were intrusive and burdensome. They were withdrawn on February 2, 1981, and OCR put into effect nonprescriptive interim procedures pertaining to the effective participation of language minority students in the educational program offered by a school district. Under these procedures, OCR reviews the compliance of school districts on a case-by-case basis. Any educational approach that ensures the effective participation of language minority students in the district's educational program is accepted as a means of complying with the Title VI requirements.

Since this compliance approach has been successful, OCR has determined that these procedures

provide sufficient guidance for OCR staff and school districts. Accordingly, OCR will continue to follow procedures which allow for a case-by-case determination of a district's compliance status. Set forth below is an updated statement of OCR's current procedures, and a discussion of the analysis applied by OCR in assessing a district's efforts to meet the requirements of Title VI and the May 25th Memorandum.

OCR's Current Procedures

OCR conducts investigations of the educational services provided for language minority students either as a result of a complaint allegation or through a compliance review. Although the May 25th Memorandum and *Lau v. Nichols* decision require school districts to "take affirmative steps" to open their instructional programs to language minority students, OCR does not require the submission of a written compliance agreement (plan) unless a violation of Title VI has been established.

The affirmative steps required by the May 25th Memorandum have been interpreted to apply to national origin minority students who are learning English as a second language, or whose ability to learn English has been substantially diminished through lack of exposure to the language. The May 25th Memorandum does not generally cover national origin minority students whose only language is English, and who may be in difficulty academically, or who have language skills that are less than adequate.

In providing educational services to language minority students, school districts may use any method or program that has proven successful, or may implement any sound educational program that promises to be successful. Districts are expected to carry out their programs, evaluate the results to make sure the programs are working as anticipated, and modify programs that do not meet these expectations.

OCR considers two general areas in determining whether a school district that enrolls language minority students is in compliance with Title VI. These are:

- whether there is a need for the district to provide an alternative program designed to meet the educational needs of all language minority students; and
- whether the district's alternative program is likely to be effective in meeting the educational needs of its language minority students.

The question of need for an alternative program is resolved by determining whether language minority

students are able to participate effectively in the regular instructional program. When they are not, the school district must provide an alternative program. In cases where the number of these students is small, the alternative program may be informal (i.e., no formal program description is required).

The second major area of consideration is whether the district's alternative program is likely to be effective in meeting the educational needs of its language minority students. There is considerable debate among educators about the most effective way to meet the educational needs of language minority students in particular circumstances. A variety of factors influence the success of any approach or pedagogy. These factors include not only individual student characteristics, such as age and previous education, but also school characteristics, such as the number and the concentration of different language groups. OCR staff is not in the position to make programmatic determinations and does not presume to make those decisions.

OCR's deliberations are appropriately directed to determining whether the district has addressed these problems, and has developed and implemented an educational program designed to ensure the effective participation of language minority students. The following sets forth an analytical framework used by OCR in determining whether a school district's program is in compliance with Title VI in this area:

I. Whether there is a Need for an Alternative Program.

The determination of whether all language minority students in need have been served may be made in a number of ways. For example, a district may establish cut-off criteria for the placement of language minority students in either the regular or alternative programs based on the English language proficiency levels required for effective participation in their regular instructional programs. Alternatively, past academic records of language minority students may be used to predict, for example, which new students are likely to require the assistance provided by the alternative program.

Many school districts screen students using information such as a language assessment test, information from parents, or structured interviews, to determine which language minority students may need further assessment and possible placement into an alternative program. The appropriateness of assessment methods and procedures depends upon several variables, such as the number of language minority students in each

language group, the ages of these students, the size of the school district, and the availability of reliable assessment instruments in the different languages.

The district may show that the academic performance of language minority students in the regular instructional program indicates that these students do not require the assistance provided by the alternative program. The district may also show that language minority students who need assistance can readily transfer from the regular to the alternative program for the portion of the school day during which assistance is needed.

OCR will find a violation of Title VI if language minority students in need of an alternative program are not being provided such a program. However, the mere absence of formal identification and assessment procedures and of a formal program does not, per se, constitute a violation of Title VI. Regional staff is cautioned to review carefully the school district's reasons for not having such procedures, and the effectiveness of any informal methods that may be used. For example, a school district that has received a recent influx of language minority students may not be reasonably expected to have in place the type of procedures and programs that other districts with more predictable language minority student populations should have. Similarly, a school district with only a small number of language minority students, may not need the formal procedures and programs necessary in districts with much larger numbers of such students. In the past, OCR has worked with such districts, in conjunction with State education agencies, to provide technical assistance in an effort to prevent future Title VI problems.

II. Whether the Alternative Program is likely to be Effective.

- A. Is the alternative program based on a sound design?

School districts must demonstrate that the alternative program designed to ensure the effective participation of language minority students in the educational program is based on a sound educational approach.

OCR avoids making educational judgments or second-guessing decisions made by local education officials. Instead, OCR looks at all the available evidence describing the steps taken to ensure that sound and appropriate programs are in place. Example of factors that would be considered are:

- Whether the program has been determined to be a sound educational program by at least some experts in the field.

An expert in the field can be defined as someone whose experience and training expressly qualifies him or her to render such judgments and whose objectivity is not at issue.

- Whether there is an explanation of how the program meets the needs of language minority students.

Such an explanation would normally include a description of the program components and activities, along with a rationale that explains how the program activities can be reasonably expected to meet the educational needs of language minority students.

- Whether the district is operating under an approved state plan or other accepted plans.

Plans that have previously been accepted by OCR as being in compliance with Title VI continue to be acceptable. These plans may be modified by school districts at any time. When comprehensive programs are mandated by state law, OCR will approve such plans, upon request, where it can be demonstrated that the plans provide a sound educational program that will meet the educational needs of language minority students. When a plan applies only to certain grade levels, the acceptance memorandum is limited to those grades covered under the state plan.

- B. Is the alternative program being carried out in such a way as to ensure the effective participation of the language minority students as soon as reasonably possible?

Districts are expected to carry out their programs effectively, with appropriate staff (teachers and aides), and with adequate resources (instructional materials and equipment).

- Appropriateness of staff

The appropriateness of staff is indicated by whether their training, qualifications, and experience are consonant with the requirements of the program. For example, their appropriateness would be questioned if a district has established an English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) program, but the staff had no ESL training and there was no provision for ESL teacher training.

- Adequacy of resources

The adequacy of resources is determined by the timely availability of required equipment and instructional materials. Limited financial resources do not justify failure to remedy a Title VI violation. However, OCR considers the extent to which a particular remedy would require a district to divert resources from other necessary educational resources and services.

Similarly, districts faced with a shortage of trained teachers, or with a multiplicity of languages, may not be able to meet certain staffing requirements, such as those needed for an intensive ESL program or a bilingual program. OCR does not require a program that places unrealistic expectations on a district.

- C. Is the alternative program being evaluated by the district and are modifications made in the program when the district's evaluation indicates they are needed?

A district will be in compliance with Title VI when it has adopted an alternative educational program that, when viewed in its entirety, effectively teaches language minority students English, and moves them into the regular educational program within a reasonable period of time. A more difficult compliance determination arises when a district implements an educational approach which, by all available objective measures, does not provide language minority students with the opportunity for effective participation.

For the reasons discussed earlier in this document, OCR approaches this compliance issue with great caution. Since OCR does not presume to know which educational strategy is most appropriate in a given situation, the failure of any particular strategy or program employed by a school district is more properly addressed by school officials. OCR looks to local school officials to monitor the effectiveness of their programs, to determine what modifications may be needed when the programs are not successful after a reasonable trial period, and to implement such modifications. A school district's continued or consistent failure to improve an ineffective alternative program for language minority students may lead to a finding of noncompliance with Title VI.

There are no specific regulatory requirements regarding the data a district must keep on its alternative programs for language minority students. OCR's current approach to determining compliance with Title VI on this issue does not require that new, additional,

or specifically designed records be kept. It is expected that a sound educational program will include the maintenance of reasonably accurate and complete data regarding its implementation and the progress of students who move through it.

Conclusion

In viewing a school district's compliance with Title VI regarding effective participation of language minority students in the educational program, OCR does not require schools to follow any particular educational approach. The test for legal adequacy is whether the strategy adopted works—or promises to work—on the basis of past practice or in the judgment of experts in the field. OCR examines all the available evidence

within the analytical framework described, and determines whether the preponderance of evidence supports the conclusion that the district is implementing a sound educational program that ensures the effective participation of its language minority students.

Issued Initially on December 3, 1985
Reissued Without Change on April 6, 1990

William L. Smith
Acting Assistant Secretary
for Civil Rights

Source: U.S. Department of Education. (2005). *Policy Regarding the Treatment of National Origin Minority Students Who Are Limited English Proficient* [Online]. Available: http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1990_and_1985.html

**United States
Department of Education**

Washington, D.C. 20202

Memorandum

Sep. 27, 1991

TO: OCR Senior Staff
FROM: Michael L. Williams, Assistant Secretary for
Civil Rights
SUBJECT: Policy Update on Schools' Obligations
Toward National Origin Minority Students With
Limited-English Proficiency (LEP students)

This policy update is primarily designed for use in conducting *Lau*¹ compliance reviews—that is, compliance reviews designed to determine whether schools are complying with their obligation under the regulation implementing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to provide any alternative language programs necessary to ensure that national origin minority students with limited-English proficiency (LEP students) have meaningful access to the schools' programs. The policy update adheres to OCR's past determination that Title VI does not mandate any particular program of instruction for LEP students. In determining whether the recipient is operating a program for LEP students that meets Title VI requirements, OCR will consider whether: (1) the program the recipient chooses is recognized as sound by some experts in the field or is considered a legitimate experimental strategy; (2) the programs and practices used by the school system are reasonably calculated to implement effectively the educational theory adopted by the school; and (3) the program succeeds, after a legitimate trial, in producing results indicating that students' language barriers are actually being overcome. The policy update also discusses some difficult issues that frequently arise in *Lau* investigations. An appendix to the policy discusses the continuing validity of OCR's use of the *Castañeda*² standard to determine compliance with the Title VI regulation.

This document should be read in conjunction with the December 3, 1985, guidance document entitled, "The Office for Civil Rights' Title VI Language

Minority Compliance Procedures," and the May 1970 memorandum to school districts entitled, "Identification of Discrimination and Denial of Services on the Basis of National origin," 35 Fed. Reg. 11595 (May 1970 Memorandum). It does not supersede either document.³ These two documents are attached for your convenience.

Part I of the policy update provides additional guidance for applying the May 1970 and December 1985 memoranda that describe OCR's Title VI *Lau* policy. In Part I, more specific standards are enunciated for staffing requirements, exit criteria and program evaluation. Policy issues related to special education programs, gifted/talented programs, and other special programs are also discussed. Part II of the policy update describes OCR's policy with regard to segregation of LEP students.

The appendix to this policy update discusses the use of the *Castañeda* standard and the way in which Federal courts have viewed the relationship between Title VI and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974.

With the possible exception of *Castañeda*, which provides a commonsense analytical framework for analyzing a district's program for LEP students that has been adopted by OCR, and *Keyes v. School Dist. No. 1*, which applied the *Castañeda* principles to the Denver Public Schools, most court decisions in this area stop short of providing OCR and recipient institutions with specific guidance. The policy standards enunciated in this document attempt to combine the most definitive court guidance with OCR's practical legal and policy experience in the field. In that regard, the issues discussed herein, and the policy decisions reached, reflect a careful and thorough examination of *Lau* case investigations carried out by OCR's regional offices over the past few years, comments from the regional offices on a draft version of the policy, and lengthy discussions on the issues with some of OCR's most experienced investigators. Specific recommendations from participants at the Investigative Strategies Workshop have also been considered and incorporated where appropriate.

¹ *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563, 94 S.Ct. 786 (1974).

² *Castañeda v. Pickard*, 648 F. 2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).

³ These and other applicable policy documents can be located through OCR's automated Policy Codification System (PCS) by selecting "current" policy and the keywords "Limited-English Proficient (LEP) Student" (F054). Documents not listed as "current" policy in the PCS should not be used.

I. Additional guidance for applying the May 1970 and December 1985 memoranda

The December 1985 memorandum listed two areas to be examined in determining whether a recipient was in compliance with Title VI: (1) the need for an alternative language program for LEP students; and (2) the adequacy of the program chosen by the recipient. Issues related to the adequacy of the program chosen by the recipient will be discussed first, as they arise more often in *Lau* investigations. Of course, the determination of whether a recipient is in violation of Title VI will require a finding that language minority students are in need of an alternative language program in order to participate effectively in the recipient's educational program.

A. Adequacy of Program

This section of the memorandum provides additional guidance for applying the three-pronged *Castañeda* approach as a standard for determining the adequacy of a recipient's efforts to provide equal educational opportunities for LEP students.

1. Soundness of educational approach

Castañeda requires districts to use educational theories that are recognized as sound by some experts in the field, or at least theories that are recognized as legitimate educational strategies. 648 F. 2d at 1009. Some approaches that fall under this category include transitional bilingual education, bilingual/bicultural education, structured immersion, developmental bilingual education, and English as a Second Language (ESL). A district that is using any of these approaches has complied with the first requirement of *Castañeda*. If a district is using a different approach, it is in compliance with *Castañeda* if it can show that the approach is considered sound by some experts in the field or that it is considered a legitimate experimental strategy.

2. Proper Implementation

Castañeda requires that "the programs and practices actually used by a school system [be] reasonably calculated to implement effectively the educational theory adopted by the school." 648 F. 2d at 1010. Some problematic implementation issues have included staffing requirements for programs, exit criteria, and access to programs such as gifted/talented programs. These issues are discussed below.

Staffing requirements. Districts have an obligation to provide the staff necessary to implement their chosen program properly within a reasonable period of time. Many states and school districts have established formal qualifications for teachers working in a program for limited-English-proficient students. When formal qualifications have been established, and when a district generally requires its teachers in other subjects to meet formal requirements, a recipient must either hire formally qualified teachers for LEP students or require that teachers already on staff work toward attaining those formal qualifications. *See Castañeda*, 648 F. 2d at 1013. A recipient may not in effect relegate LEP students to second-class status by indefinitely allowing teachers without formal qualifications to teach them while requiring teachers of non-LEP students to meet formal qualifications. *See* 34 C.F.R. § 100.3(b)(ii).⁴

Whether the district's teachers have met any applicable qualifications established by the state or district does not conclusively show that they are qualified to teach in an alternative language program. Some states have no requirements beyond requiring that a teacher generally be certified, and some states have established requirements that are not rigorous enough to ensure that their teachers have the skills necessary to carry out the district's chosen educational program.⁵ Discussed below are some minimum qualifications for teachers in alternative language programs.

⁴But *cf. Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District*, 724 F. Supp. 698, 714 (N.D. Cal. 1989) (finding that district had adequately implemented its language remediation program even though many of its bilingual and ESL teachers did not hold applicable credentials; court noted that district probably could not have obtained fully credentialed teachers in all language groups, district was requiring teachers to work toward completion of credential requirements as a condition of employment, record showed no differences between achievement of students taught by credentialed teachers and achievement of students taught by uncredentialed teachers, and district's financial resources were severely limited).

⁵*Cf. Castañeda*, 648 F. 2d at 1013 (court of appeals remanded for determination as to whether deficiencies in teaching skills were due to inadequate training program [100-hour program designed to provide 700-word Spanish vocabulary] or whether failure to master program caused teaching deficiencies).

If a recipient selects a bilingual program for its LEP students, at a minimum, teachers of bilingual classes should be able to speak, read, and write both languages, and should have received adequate instruction in the methods of bilingual education. In addition, the recipient should be able to show that it has determined that its bilingual teachers have these skills. *See Keyes*, 576 F. Supp. at 1516-17 (criticizing district for designating teachers as bilingual based on an oral interview and for not using standardized tests to determine whether bilingual teachers could speak and write both languages); *cf. Castañeda*, 648 F. 2d at 1013 (“A bilingual education program, however sound in theory, is clearly unlikely to have a significant impact on the language barriers confronting limited English speaking school children, if the teachers charged with the day-to-day responsibility for educating these children are termed ‘qualified’ despite the fact that they operate in the classroom under their own unremedied language disability”). In addition, bilingual teachers should be fully qualified to teach their subject.

If a recipient uses a method other than bilingual education (such as ESL or structured immersion), the recipient should have ascertained that teachers who use those methods have been adequately trained in them. This training can take the form of in-service training, formal college coursework, or a combination of the two. In addition, as with bilingual teachers, a recipient should be able to show that it has determined that its teachers have mastered the skills necessary to teach effectively in a program for LEP students. In making this determination, the recipient should use validated evaluative instruments—that is, tests that have been shown to accurately measure the skills in question. The recipient should also have the teacher’s classroom performance evaluated by someone familiar with the method being used.

ESL teachers need not be bilingual if the evidence shows that they can teach effectively without bilingual skills. *Compare Teresa P.*, 724 F. Supp. at 709 (finding that LEP students can be taught English effectively by monolingual teachers), *with Keyes*, 576 F. Supp. at 1517 (“The record shows that in the secondary schools there are designated ESL teachers who have no second language capability. There is no basis for assuming that the policy objectives of the

[transitional bilingual education] program are being met in such schools”).

To the extent that the recipient’s chosen educational theory requires native language support, and if the program relies on bilingual aides to provide such support, the recipient should be able to demonstrate that it has determined that its aides have the appropriate level of skill in speaking, reading, and writing both languages.⁶ In addition, the bilingual aides should be working under the direct supervision of certificated classroom teachers. Students should not be getting instruction from aides rather than teachers. 34 C.F.R. § 100.3(b)(1)(ii); *see Castañeda*, 648 F.2d at 1013 (“The use of Spanish speaking aides may be an appropriate interim measure, but such aides cannot . . . take the place of qualified bilingual teachers”).

Recipients frequently assert that their teachers are unqualified because qualified teachers are not available. If a recipient has shown that it has unsuccessfully tried to hire qualified teachers, it must provide adequate training to teachers already on staff to comply with the Title VI regulation. *See Castañeda*, 648 F. 2d at 1013. Such training must take place as soon as possible. For example, recipients sometimes require teachers to work toward obtaining a credential as a condition of employment in a program for limited-English-proficient students. This requirement is not, in itself, sufficient to meet the recipient’s obligations under the Title VI regulation. To ensure that LEP students have access to the recipient’s programs while teachers are completing their formal training, the recipient must ensure that those teachers receive sufficient interim training to enable them to function adequately in the classroom, as well as any assistance from bilingual aides that may be necessary to carry out the recipient’s interim program.

Exit Criteria for Language Minority LEP Students. Once students have been placed in an alternative language program, they must be provided with services until they are proficient enough in English to participate meaningfully in the regular educational program. Some factors to examine in determining whether formerly LEP students are able to participate meaningfully in the regular educational program include: (1) whether

⁶Aides at the kindergarten and first-grade levels need not demonstrate reading and writing proficiency.

they are able to keep up with their non-LEP peers in the regular educational program; (2) whether they are able to participate successfully in essentially all aspects of the school's curriculum without the use of simplified English materials; and (3) whether their retention in-grade and drop-out rates are similar to those of their non-LEP peers.

Generally, a recipient will have wide latitude in determining criteria for exiting students from an alternative language program, but there are a few basic standards that should be met. First, exit criteria should be based on objective standards, such as standardized test scores, and the district should be able to explain why it has decided that students meeting those standards will be able to participate meaningfully in the regular classroom. Second, students should not be exited from the LEP program unless they can read, write, and comprehend English well enough to participate meaningfully in the recipient's program. Exit criteria that simply test a student's oral language skills are inadequate. *Keyes*, 576 F. Supp. at 1518 (noting importance of testing reading and writing skills as well as oral language skills). Finally, alternative programs cannot be "dead end" tracks to segregate national origin minority students.

Many districts design their LEP programs to temporarily emphasize English over other subjects. While schools with such programs may discontinue special instruction in English once LEP students become English-proficient, schools retain an obligation to provide assistance necessary to remedy academic deficits that may have occurred in other subjects while the student was focusing on learning English. *Castañeda*, 648 F. 2d at 1011.

Special Education Programs. OCR's overall policy on this issue, as initially announced in the May 1970 memorandum, is that school systems may not assign students to special education programs on the basis of criteria that essentially measure and evaluate English language skills. The additional legal requirements imposed by Section 504 also must be considered when conducting investigations on this issue. This policy update does not purport to address the numerous Title VI and Section 504 issues related to the placement of limited-English-proficient students in special education programs. Although OCR staff are very familiar with Section 504 requirements, additional guidance on the relationship between Section 504 and *Lau* issues that arise under

Title VI may be helpful. A separate policy update will be prepared on those issues.

Pending completion of that policy update, *Lau* compliance reviews should continue to include an inquiry into the placement of limited-English-proficient students into special education programs where there are indications that LEP students may be inappropriately placed in such programs, or where special education programs provided for LEP students do not address their inability to speak or understand English. In addition, compliance reviews should find out whether recipients have policies of "no double services": that is, refusing to provide both alternative language services and special education to students who need them. Such inquiries would entail obtaining basic data and information during the course of a *Lau* compliance review regarding placement of LEP students into special education programs. If data obtained during the inquiry indicates a potential problem regarding placement of LEP students into special education, the regional office may want to consult headquarters about expanding the time frames for the review to ensure that it can devote the time and staff resources to conduct a thorough investigation of these issues. Alternatively, the region could schedule a compliance review of the special education program at a later date. In small- to medium-sized school districts, regional offices may be able to gather sufficient data to make a finding regarding the special education program as part of the overall *Lau* review.

Gifted/Talented Programs and Other Specialized Programs. The exclusion of LEP students from specialized programs such as gifted/talented programs may have the effect of excluding students from a recipient's programs on the basis of national origin, in violation of 34 C.F.R. § 100.3(b)(2), unless the exclusion is educationally justified by the needs of the particular student or by the nature of the specialized program.

LEP students cannot be categorically excluded from gifted/talented or other specialized programs. If a recipient has a process for locating and identifying gifted/talented students, it must also locate and identify gifted/talented LEP students who could benefit from the program.

In determining whether a recipient has improperly excluded LEP students from its gifted/talented or other specialized programs, OCR will carefully examine the recipient's explanation for the lack of participation by

LEP students. OCR will also consider whether the recipient has conveyed these reasons to students and parents.

Educational justifications for excluding a particular LEP student from a specialized program should be comparable to those used in excluding a non-LEP peer and include: (1) that time for the program would unduly hinder his/her participation in an alternative language program; and (2) that the specialized program itself requires proficiency in English language skills for meaningful participation.

Unless the particular gifted/talented program or program component requires proficiency in English language skills for meaningful participation, the recipient must ensure that evaluation and testing procedures do not screen out LEP students because of their limited-English proficiency. To the extent feasible, tests used to place students in specialized programs should not be of a type that the student's limited proficiency in English will prevent him/her from qualifying for a program for which they would otherwise be qualified.

3. Program Evaluation

In return for allowing a school's flexibility in choosing and implementing an alternative language program, *Castañeda* requires recipients to modify their programs if they prove to be unsuccessful after a legitimate trial. As a practical matter, recipients cannot comply with this requirement without periodically evaluating their programs. If a recipient does not periodically evaluate or modify its programs, as appropriate, it is in violation of the Title VI regulation unless its program is successful. *Cf. Keyes*, 576 F. Supp. at 1518 ("The defendant's program is also flawed by the failure to adopt adequate tests to measure the results of what the district is doing. . . . The lack of an adequate measurement of the effects of such service [to LEP students] is a failure to take reasonable action to implement the transitional bilingual policy").

Generally, "success" is measured in terms of whether the program is achieving the particular goals the recipient has established for the program. If the recipient has established no particular goals, the program is successful if its participants are overcoming

their language barriers sufficiently well and sufficiently promptly to participate meaningfully in the recipient's programs.

B. Need for a formal program

Recipients should have procedures in place for identifying and assessing LEP students. As the December 1985 memorandum stated, if language minority students in need of an alternative language program are not being served, the recipient is in violation of Title VI.

The type of program necessary to adequately identify students in need of services will vary widely depending on the demographics of the recipients' schools. In districts with few LEP students, at a minimum, school teachers and administrators should be informed of their obligations to provide necessary alternative language services to students in need of such services, and of their obligation to seek any assistance necessary to comply with this requirement. Schools with a relatively large number of LEP students would be expected to have in place a more formal program.

Title VI does not require an alternative program if, without such a program, LEP students have equal and meaningful access to the district's programs. It is extremely rare for an alternative program that is inadequate under *Castañeda* to provide LEP students with such access. If a recipient contends that its LEP students have meaningful access to the district's programs, despite the lack of an alternative program or the presence of a program that is inadequate under *Castañeda*, some factors to consider in evaluating this claim are: (1) whether LEP students are performing as well as their non-LEP peers in the district, unless some other comparison seems more appropriate;⁷ (2) whether LEP students are successfully participating in essentially all aspects of the school's curriculum without the use of simplified English materials; and (3) whether their dropout and retention-in-grade rates are comparable to those of their non-LEP peers. *Cf. Keyes*, 576 F. Supp. at 1519 (high drop-out rates and use of "levelled English" materials indicate that district is not providing equal educational opportunity for LEP students). If LEP students have equal access to the district's programs under the above standards,

⁷ For example, when an overwhelming majority of students in a district are LEP students, it may be more appropriate to compare their performance with their non-LEP peers county- or statewide.

the recipient is not in violation of Title VI even if it has no program or its program does not meet the *Castañeda* standard. If application of the above standards shows that LEP students do not have equal access to the district's programs, and the district has no alternative language program, the district is in violation of Title VI. If the district is implementing an alternative program, it then will be necessary to apply the three-pronged *Castañeda* approach to determine whether the program complies with Title VI.

II. Segregation of LEP students

Providing special services to LEP students will usually have the effect of segregating students by national origin during at least part of the school day. *Castañeda* states that this segregation is permissible because "the benefits which would accrue to [LEP] students by remedying the language barriers which impede their ability to realize their academic potential in an English language educational institution may outweigh the adverse effects of such segregation." 648 F. 2d at 998.

OCR's inquiry in this area should focus on whether the district has carried out its chosen program in the least segregative manner consistent with achieving its stated goals. In other words, OCR will not examine whether ESL, transitional bilingual education, developmental bilingual education, bilingual/bicultural education, structured immersion, or any other theory adopted by the district is the least segregative program for providing alternative language services to LEP students. Instead, OCR will examine whether the degree of segregation in the program is necessary to achieve the program's educational goals.

The following practices could violate the anti-segregation provisions of the Title VI regulation: (1) segregating LEP students for both academic and nonacademic subjects, such as recess, physical education, art and music;⁸ and (2) maintaining students in an alternative language program longer than necessary to achieve the district's goals for the program.

APPENDIX: Use of the *Castañeda* standard to determine compliance with Title VI

In determining whether a recipient's program for LEP students complies with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, OCR has used the standard set forth in *Castañeda v. Pickard*, 648 F. 2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981). Under this standard, a program for LEP students is acceptable if: (1) "[the] school system is pursuing a program informed by an educational theory recognized as sound by some experts in the field or, at least, deemed a legitimate experimental strategy"; (2) "the programs and practices actually used by [the] school system are reasonably calculated to implement effectively the educational theory adopted by the school"; and (3) the school's program succeeds, after a legitimate trial, in producing results indicating that the language barriers confronting students are actually being overcome." *Id.* at 1009–10.

The *Castañeda* court based its standard on the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974 (EEOA), P.L. No. 93-380, *codified at* 20 U.S.C. §§ 1701–1720, rather than on Title VI or its implementing regulation (20 C.F.R. Part 100). The relevant portion of the EEOA (20 U.S.C. § 1703(f)) is very similar to OCR's May 1970 memorandum describing the obligations of districts toward limited-English-proficient students under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1974.⁹ In *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563, 94 S.Ct. 786 (1974), the Supreme Court upheld OCR's authority to establish the policies set forth in the May 1970 memorandum.

In view of the similarity between the EEOA and the policy established in the 1970 OCR memorandum, in 1985 OCR adopted the *Castañeda* standard for determining whether recipients' programs for LEP students complied with the Title VI regulation. Several courts have also treated Title VI and the EEOA as imposing the same requirements regarding limited-English-proficient students. *See Heavy Runner v. Bremner*, 522 F. Supp. 162, 165 (D. Mont. 1981); *Rios v. Read*, 480 F. Supp. 14, 21–24 (E.D.N.Y. 1978) (considered Title VI, §

⁸ For an example of a program exclusively for newly-arrived immigrants consistent with Title VI, see OCR's Letter of Findings in Sacramento City Unified School District, Compliance Review Number 09-89-5003, February 21, 1991.

⁹ Section 1703(f) of the EEOA states, in pertinent part, "No State shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin, by . . . the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs." The pertinent section of the OCR 1970 memorandum states, "Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students."

1703(f), and Bilingual Education Act of 1974 claims together; used 1975 *Lau Remedies*¹⁰ to determine compliance); *Cintron v. Brentwood Union Free School Dist.*, 455 F. Supp. 57, 63–64 (E.D.N.Y. 1978) (same); see also *Gómez v. Illinois State Bd. of Educ.*, 811 F.2d 1030 (7th Cir. 1987) (used *Castañeda* standard for § 1703(f) claim; remanded claim under Title VI regulation without specifying standard to be used in resolving it, except to note that proof of discriminatory intent was not necessary to establish a claim under the Title VI regulation); *Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education*, 647 F.2d 69 (9th Cir. 1981) (Idaho state education agency had an obligation under § 1703(f) and Title VI to ensure that needs of LEP students were addressed; did not discuss any differences in obligations under Title VI and § 1703(f)).

Castañeda itself did not treat Title VI and the EEOA interchangeably, however. Instead, it distinguished between them on the ground that a showing of intentional discrimination was required for a Title VI violation, while such a showing was not required for a § 1703(f) violation. *Castañeda*, 648 F.2d at 1007. See also *Keyes v. School Dist. No. 1*, 576 F. Supp. 1503, 1519 (D. Colo. 1983) (court found that alternative language program violated § 1703(f) and elected not to determine whether it also violated Title VI; questioned continuing validity of *Lau* in light of *Bakke* and noted that remedying § 1703(f) violation would necessarily remedy any Title VI violation).

Castañeda and *Keyes* were decided before *Guardians Association v. Civil Service Commission of New York*, 463 U.S. 582, 607 n.27, 103 S. Ct. 3221, 3235 n.27 (1983). In *Guardians*, a majority of the Supreme Court upheld the validity of administrative regulations incorporating a discriminatory effect

standard for determining a Title VI violation.¹¹ Thus, *Castañeda* and *Keyes* do not undermine the validity of OCR's decision to apply § 1703(f) standards to determine compliance with the Title VI regulation.

A recent California case, however, distinguished § 1703(f) and the Title VI regulation on other grounds. *Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School Dist.*, 724 F. Supp. 698 (N.D. Cal. 1989). In analyzing the § 1703(f) claim in *Teresa P.*, the court used the three-part *Castañeda* standard and determined that the district's program was adequate under that standard. *Id.* at 712–16. In addressing the claim brought under the Title VI regulation, however, the court stated that plaintiffs had failed to make a *prima facie* case because they had not alleged discriminatory intent on the part of the defendants, nor had they “offered any evidence, statistical or otherwise,” that the alternative language program had a discriminatory effect on the district's LEP students. *Id.* at 716–17.

In *Teresa P.*, the district court found that the district's LEP students were participating successfully in the district's curriculum, were competing favorably with native English speakers, and were learning at rates equal to, and in some cases greater than, other LEP students countywide and statewide. 724 F. Supp. at 711. The court also found that, in general, the district's LEP students scored higher than the county- and statewide average on academic achievement tests. *Id.* at 712. Given these findings, the dismissal of the Title VI claim in *Teresa P.* can be regarded as consistent with OCR's May 1970 and December 1985 memoranda, both of which require proof of an adverse impact on national origin minority LEP students to establish a violation of the Title VI regulation.¹²

¹⁰OCR's 1975 *Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under Lau v. Nichols*.

¹¹The applicable Department of Education regulation is 34 C.F.R. § 100.3(b)(2).

¹²A Ninth Circuit case also treated § 1703(f) and Title VI claims differently, but in such a terse fashion that it cannot be determined whether these differences would ever have a practical effect. See *Guadalupe Org. v. Tempe Elementary School Dist. No. 3.*, 587 F. 2d 1022, 1029–30 (9th Cir. 1978) (court found that maintenance of bilingual/bicultural education was not necessary to provide students with the “meaningful education and the equality of educational opportunity that [Title VI] requires”; court also found that districts did not have to provide maintenance bilingual/bicultural education to be deemed to have taken “appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional program” (quoting § 1703(f)).

Neither *Teresa P.* nor any other post-*Castañeda* case undermines OCR's decision to use the *Castañeda* standard to evaluate the legality of a recipient's alternative language program. OCR will continue to use the *Castañeda* standard, and if a recipient's alternative language program complies with this standard the

recipient will have met its obligation under the Title VI regulation to open its program to LEP students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education. (2005). *Policy Update on Schools' Obligations Toward National Origin Minority Students With Limited-English Proficiency* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/lau1991.html>

Appendix D

The Challenge of a Multicultural America (Speech by Senator Joseph M. Montoya)

Editor's note: *The following is the text of the speech delivered by Senator Joseph M. Montoya (D-NM) at the conference "A Re-look at Tucson '66." (November, 1973. Albuquerque, New Mexico.)*

1966: Commitment

The National Education Association Symposium of 1966 was a challenge to those of us who lived in the Southwest, where the need was greatest for a change in the way we taught Mexican American children. It was in Tucson that we first determined to build what we called "bridges of understanding" for the people in this country so that America would become the truly united nation it should be: a nation, which valued its own variety and could speak and understand its own languages.

We left that meeting determined to generate interest in new kinds of schools wherever language-minority children needed them. We wanted to generate new ideas in colleges and universities where teachers were preparing for the future. We wanted to generate concern in governments at every level.

Senator Yarborough and I returned to Washington with your words reinforcing our own awareness of the needs in our states and in the nation. The first Bilingual Education Act was the result.¹ That was

seven years ago—a time when new and progressive ideas about education were welcome in Washington, and when many of us thought it was enough to spotlight a need, develop a program to meet that need, provide federal help to get things going—and then settle back to wait for good results.

1973: Reappraisal

That was naive, of course. Things didn't work out quite the way we planned. We have helped some children, produced some teachers, funded some programs. But somehow, in these last seven years we have failed to do the job we pledged to do.

We have not been able to help the millions of students who entered our schools in those years since 1966—children who were poor and spoke a language other than English. We called them "bilingual" children. But they were not bilingual. They were monolingual—but in the wrong language. Wrong for most Americans, that is. We encouraged that "wrong" definition by calling them children of "limited English speaking ability." We offered them, at best, remedial education as a temporary measure—and we found that "remedial" education was expensive, difficult, and unpopular.

These children brought to their schools the language and culture of their homes, and in kindergarten

¹ Bilingual Education Reform Act of 1973—Companion Bills S. 2552 and 2553. introduced by Senators Montoya, Kennedy, and Cranston.

or the first grade they were asked to forget all that they had learned in their first six years, to sacrifice their heritage, their individual worth, their unique talents, their pride in their communities and homes—all so they could be taught to think and read and write in English and lose that definition of being limited.

At six or seven years of age they were asked to perform a kind of mental miracle—and when that miracle didn't happen those around them, too, often pretended it was the children's failure, instead of ours. Of course it was our failure, because we did not understand the values of the languages and cultures we were asking those children to leave behind. Most of the programs we offered did not have the goal of real bilingualism, but simply offered a change in the brand of monolingualism the children used. We tried to turn a child with "limited English-speaking" ability into a child with "limited Spanish-speaking" ability or "limited Indian-language" ability.

In all the years between that first meeting in Tucson and this one in Albuquerque, we have only managed to provide programs for a few hundred thousand children—a tiny 2 percent of those who needed our help. And most of the programs we offered were transitional programs designed to change one limiting handicap for another.

Even now, seven years later and six years after the legislation which was supposed to solve the problem, the federal government is helping only 217 programs in the whole United States. Some states have joined in the effort to help, and some local schools have begun to think about the problem—but very few places have faced the depth of the need or the realities of the problem.

For most children who spoke a language other than English in 1966, the reality of the last seven years has been not bilingual or bicultural education, but instead the gradual loss of learning potential; the frustration and indignity of falling further and further behind other children every year; the anger at a system which refused to teach them in a language they understood, and demanded instead conformity in a language they could not comprehend.

Those children who entered school in 1966, when we first pledged to provide a better kind of education for them, should be in the eighth grade today. For those who did not speak English we know statistically what has happened. Ten percent of them have dropped out of school already. Of those who are still in school, 64 percent are reading below grade level and 10 percent are at least two years behind, in the fourth or fifth

grades. And by the time they should be in the twelfth grade—just four years from now—40 percent of these students will have dropped out of school. Only 5 percent of them will ever complete college.

What those statistics mean to the dropouts is painfully clear. They will always face the handicaps of higher unemployment, less income, less opportunity. All the fringe benefits of poverty will be theirs: more illness, harder and less rewarding work, and earlier death.

The truth is that we failed those children who entered school in 1966—and we may be going to fail their children, too.

What went wrong?

We *did* pass the legislation. But we failed to make it live up to its promise. Other priorities were greater in Washington, and in 1968 we elected a president who did not share our belief in this new kind of education. By 1970 we heard the rumblings of discontent from the White House about money we were "wasting"—and finally this year we heard the requests that no money at all be budgeted for bilingual education.

In addition to our failures in government, educators themselves were discovering that the problem was more complex than we thought. Even if the money and support had been available, you educators were not really ready. You did not have the teachers trained, the textbooks written, the testing materials and teaching techniques developed.

Lessons of Experience

But all of us know more today than we did in 1966. We know that:

- We need not only bilingual but also bicultural programs and one without the other is meaningless.
- Not just Spanish children or Indian children, children who speak any language other than English, will benefit from bilingual and bicultural education, all children would benefit from that kind of opportunity in our schools.
- In the few places where bilingual education has been tried, the results have been a sharp increase in achievement, not only for the child who speaks a language other than English, but for the English speaking child who shares the program.
- Literacy in two languages is better than literacy in one and if children are allowed to read and write first in the

language they know best they can soon learn to read and write in a second language at a faster pace. They can become literate in the language they bring to school and in the language they find in school instead of becoming illiterate and nonfunctioning in both.

- The teachers for successful bilingual programs are not just people who speak Spanish or French or Chinese or Indian—but are people who are bilateral (sic) and have been trained to teach in two languages, not one.
- We have very few universities or colleges which are prepared to train that special kind of teacher—that is why we do not have enough teachers even for the few programs in existence. (A recent survey shows that only about one-fourth of the teachers listed as being “bilingual” actually are trained to teach bilingually.)
- It will take us many years to produce the teachers in the numbers needed, or the books and histories, the testing materials, the counseling and administration for these new programs. We are not ready yet—and we know that.
- Bilingualism means more than just getting through the transition period from kindergarten to third grade—and then being transformed overnight into a “normal” student who works only in English. It means instead learning in two languages steadily right on through high school and college—so that in the end the language you bring to school and the language you find in school are tools you can use all your life.

Most challenging of all, we know that there are still many American citizens who don’t share our concern and don’t understand the valuable resources that our multicultural population represents. In the crisis world of 1973, with inflation and shortages and world environmental problems pressing from every side, it is going to be even more difficult to make bilingual education a first priority. What can we do?

Legislative Proposals: Promises and Constraints

The Title VII Amendments now being considered by the Senate Education Committee will provide more money, more teacher training, a greater emphasis on biculturalism and on expansion into adult and vocational education, better supervision and administration, research into innovative techniques, and cooperation with state and local governments and with families and communities.

The most important change in this legislation is that it presents the bilingual child as “advantaged and not disadvantaged” and it offers opportunities to the monolingual English-speaking child as well as to the child who is monolingual in another language.

However, the money that we can honestly promise to appropriate will not be enough to do the job—not nearly enough. Before we can provide that kind of money from government at any level we are going to have to convince other Americans that bilingual education is not remedial or a program to help handicapped children.

Bilingualism—Resource Education

We are going to have to make all Americans understand that bilingual education is resource education—that it will provide better education for children who come to school speaking *only* English.

We must somehow make sure that our neighbors and friends who are handicapped by not being able to speak any language except English understand the great gift which children who speak another language bring to the schools—a “gift” they can share with all children if they are talked to in that language.

We must find a way that every child is allowed to learn about the many kinds of people who have written the history of America, and about the treasure of many cultures that are now ignored.

People from many nations came here to find freedom—and brought with them the stored knowledge of their many homelands. Today, as a result of that rich heritage, we should be the focal point of understanding and progress.

Knowing that, and understanding the thousands of ways in which America would be better today if we had taught our children about the riches of history and language and culture which were present in the Native Americans who were here first and in every group that came later, we can see now how foolish it was to try to melt people down into something homogeneous so that all Americans would be limited and identical.

Multicultural Understandings: A Future Imperative

The challenge we must take from this meeting is not only the challenge of increasing and improving

bilingual education for minorities. We must also accept the challenge to provide for our country the multicultural knowledge which the twenty-first century will demand.

We must see that every citizen in the United States understands that when children are asked to forget their own identity and their own traditions they do not miraculously turn into something better—instead, they shrink inside, and when that happens our whole nation shrinks too. As these small citizens are diminished, so the opportunities and knowledge and future of this nation are diminished too. The dollar loss is monstrous. For every child who only graduates from the eighth grade when he could have graduated from high school, the lifetime income loss is more than \$100,000. Multiply that by the millions who drop out of the schools that fail to provide the education they need, and the gross productivity loss to the nation is staggering.

But even more important to average Americans must be the loss of education *their* children could

have had, but missed—the chance to learn two languages instead of one, the chance to expand into many cultures, instead of one, the opportunity to be ready for the many-cultured world of the twenty-first century instead of being forever handicapped by being both monolingual and monocultural.

When we talk about bilingual education in the last 10 years, we have to say that in many ways we have failed. But in trying to solve the problem, we have learned; and we know enough now to be able to enlarge our own horizons and the horizons of every American.

If we can leave this meeting in Albuquerque understanding that opportunity, we can more easily open the doors to rapid expansion of bilingual and bicultural education. But we will have done more—we will have started on the road to a multicultural America, a place of leadership in the multicultural world in which we must all learn to live harmoniously if we are to survive.

Appendix E

Official English Legislation, Opposed

Editor's note: *This statement summarizes arguments against making English the official language of the United States through Congressional action and/or by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It was originally prepared as testimony by Mr. James Crawford to a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives in 2006 and titled "Official English Legislation: Bad for Civil Rights, Bad for America's Interests, and Even Bad for English." It is reprinted here with permission of the copyright holder. The opposing view is presented in the entry "Official English Legislation, Favored."*

**Testimony Before the House
Subcommittee on Education Reform
by James Crawford, Director,
Institute for Language and Education Policy**

July 26, 2006

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee:

My name is James Crawford. I am director of the Institute for Language and Education Policy, a newly formed nonprofit organization dedicated to research-based advocacy for English-language and heritage-language learners. We represent professionals in the field of language education who are working to promote academic excellence and equity for these students.

I want to thank Chairman Castle and Representative Woolsey for the opportunity to present testimony regarding proposals to designate English as the official language.

We at the Institute believe that such legislation is ill-advised: harmful to individuals, to the nation, and to the goal of language learning. We are concerned that the U.S. Senate recently passed a "national language"

amendment without holding a single hearing to consider its potential impact and with only limited debate. So we commend the Subcommittee on Education Reform for convening today's hearing in the House.

In our view, "official English" is:

- (1) *Unnecessary*—The overwhelming dominance of English in the United States is not threatened in any way. Newcomers to this country are learning it more rapidly than ever before. Our language does not need "legal protection."
- (2) *Punitive*—Restricting government's ability to communicate in other languages would threaten the rights and welfare of millions of people, including many U.S. citizens, who are not fully proficient in English.
- (3) *Pointless*—Official-English legislation offers no practical assistance to anyone trying to learn English. In fact, it is likely to frustrate that goal by outlawing programs designed to bring immigrants into the mainstream of our society.
- (4) *Divisive*—The campaign to declare English the official language often serves as a proxy for hostility toward minority groups, Latinos and Asians in particular. It is exacerbating ethnic tensions in a growing number of communities.
- (5) *Inconsistent with American values*—Official-English laws have been declared unconstitutional in state and federal courts, because they violate guarantees of freedom of speech and equal protection of the laws.
- (6) *Self-defeating*—English Only policies are foolish in an era of globalization, when multilingual skills are essential to economic prosperity and national security. Language resources should be conserved and developed, not suppressed.

Language and Liberty

Our nation has gotten by for more than 200 years without adopting an official language. So the obvious question arises: *Why do we need one now?*

Proponents of official English have responded with platitudes (“A common language is what unites us as Americans”) or truisms (“In this country it’s essential to know English”) or anxieties (“Spanish is spreading at unhealthy rates”) or unsupported claims. (“Bilingual programs discourage people from learning English”.) These are not compelling arguments. They also reflect an ignorance of history.

Language has been far less central to American identity than to, say, French or Greek or Russian identity. From its infancy the United States was conceived as a nation that newcomers could join, whatever their ethnic background,¹ simply by swearing loyalty to the *democratic principles* on which it was founded. To be sure, there have been ugly episodes of language-based discrimination, such as the English Only school policies that once targeted Native Americans and Mexican Americans. Unlike many other countries, however, we have seldom passed laws to repress or restrict minority tongues. Language has usually been taken for granted here—as a practical rather than a symbolic issue—despite the diversity that has historically prevailed.

Today there are more non-English languages spoken in America than ever before, owing to the ease of travel, which has brought immigrants from all over the world. But the *proportion of minority language speakers* was certainly as large, if not larger, in 1776, 1865, and 1910. Where immigrant groups were numerous and enjoyed political clout, they were often accommodated in their own vernaculars. Until the early 20th century, state and local governments provided documents and services in languages such as German, French, Spanish, Swedish, Norwegian, Welsh, and Czech. Bilingual education was more widespread in German and English in 1900 than it is today in all languages.²

Despite or—more likely—because of these tolerant policies, immigrant groups gradually adopted English and stopped speaking their ancestral tongues. Sociologist Nathan Glazer has noted the irony: “Languages shriveled in the air of freedom while they had apparently flourished under adversity in Europe.” Except in a few periods of nativist hysteria, such as

the World War I era, laissez-faire policies made language conflicts relatively rare in the United States.

Is there any reason to abandon our tradition of tolerance now? Certainly there is no threat to English in America, no challenge to its status as the language of educational advancement, economic success, and political discourse. According to the 2000 census, 92% of U.S. residents speak English fluently; 96% speak it “well” or “very well”; and only 1.3% speak no English at all.

Language Spoken at Home and English-Speaking Ability, 2000

All speakers, age 5+	262,375,152	100.0%
English only	215,423,557	82.1%
Other language	46,951,595	17.9%
Speaks English “very well”	25,631,188	9.8%
“well”	10,333,556	3.9%
“not well”	7,620,719	2.9%
“not at all”	3,366,132	1.3%

Source: 2000 Census of Population.

Demographic research also shows that, while the number of minority language speakers is increasing, largely because of immigration, the *rate of Anglicization* is also on the rise. Immigrants at the turn of the 21st century are learning English—and losing other languages—more rapidly than those at the turn of the 20th.

Official English is truly a “solution in search of a problem.”

All Stick and No Carrot

While official-English proposals vary, those now pending before Congress take a radical, restrictionist approach. They would not merely celebrate “our common language.” In addition, they would prohibit most uses of other languages by the federal government—whether to communicate information, provide services, or enable limited-English speakers to exercise rights they would otherwise enjoy.

The assumption is that English Only policies would create an incentive to learn English by making life as

¹ Except in a few shameful cases, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

² For more details, see “Frequently Asked Questions About Official English,” an attachment to this testimony.

difficult as possible for those who have yet to do so. Yet where is the evidence that the current patchwork of basic services in other languages provides a *disincentive* to English acquisition? How many immigrants say to themselves, for example, “If I can read pamphlets about Social Security in Spanish or visit a bilingual health clinic or rely on a court interpreter if I’m charged with a crime, why should I worry about learning English?” Don’t limited-English speakers face language barriers in countless other situations on a daily basis? It would be irresponsible for Congress to legislate without empirical data in this area, considering that millions of people could be adversely affected.

English-as-a-second-language instruction, by contrast, has proven quite effective in helping adult immigrants learn the language. Yet, to date, no official-English bill has included any provisions to address the chronic shortage of such classes in most parts of the country. Coercion, not empowerment, is the operative principle here.

A major target of official-English bills, including the Senate’s national-language amendment, is Executive Order 13166, “Improving Access to Services for Persons with Limited English Proficiency.” The order, issued by President Clinton in 2000 and reaffirmed by President Bush in 2001, is grounded in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of national origin in federally supported activities. It requires federal agencies and, equally important, programs that receive federal funding to “provide meaningful access” for those whose English is limited. These long-overdue efforts have just barely begun. Yet Official-English legislation would halt them in their tracks by overriding EO 13166, prohibiting assistance for limited-English-proficient persons in numerous areas. The national-language amendment in particular would instruct federal courts to disregard language as a factor in national-origin discrimination.³

Federally funded programs include school districts, which currently have an obligation to communicate with parents, “to the extent practicable,” in a language they can understand. This right of access is mandated

by the No Child Left Behind Act and by Title VI regulations enforced by the U.S. Office for Civil Rights. Official-English legislation would eliminate the requirement, making it difficult for the parents of English-language learners to assist in these students’ education or to advocate for their children with school officials. This is just one of numerous ways in which English Only policies would be harmful not only to individuals but also to national priorities such as school reform.

Sponsors of official-English measures have typically responded to such criticisms by carving out exceptions. Some bills would allow government to use other languages for purposes of national security, trade and tourism promotion, public health and safety, census activities, and so forth. The proposed loopholes are narrow, however, and would no doubt keep government lawyers busy trying to interpret their meaning. Could the Department of Veterans Affairs continue to publish pamphlets in Spanish to explain disability benefits for U.S. soldiers wounded in Iraq? Probably not. Could the Department of Labor keep funding state efforts to inform workers about wage-and-hour regulations in Chinese? Doubtful. Would the White House have to shut down the Spanish-language section of its web site? *¿Quién sabe?*

The constitutionality of such restrictions is questionable at best. The most draconian official-English laws at the state level, in Alaska and Arizona, were struck down under the First and Fourteenth amendments. State and federal courts ruled that, while advancing no compelling public interest, these measures violated free-speech and equal-protection guarantees.⁴

Without exception, the bilingual assistance programs now provided by government are designed to safeguard the rights and serve the needs of limited-English speakers so as to help them *acculturate*. Those who are thereby brought into the mainstream are more able and more inclined to learn English than those remaining on the margins of society, unable to access government services. While English Only advocates seem intent on making a symbolic statement,

³ Senator Inhofe, chief sponsor of the amendment, inserted a “legislative history” into the *Congressional Record* (18 May 2006, pp. S4754-55) that explicitly addresses these points.

⁴ In 1997, federal district and appeals court decisions in *Yñiguez v. Arizonans for Official English* were vacated as moot by the U.S. Supreme Court on a technicality (the lead plaintiff, an Arizona state employee, had found another job). A year later the Arizona Supreme Court struck down the English Only law as unconstitutional. An Alaska district court reached the same result in 2002.

their proposals would have very practical consequences in areas such as education, social services, civil rights, and government efficiency. Among other things, their proposals are bad for English acquisition.

A Message of Intolerance

The symbolic statement itself has consequences that are as damaging as the direct legal effects. English Only bills say, in effect, that the principles of free speech and equal protection apply only to those who are fully proficient in English; that discrimination on the basis of language is legitimate, even laudatory in America; and ultimately, that those from non-English backgrounds are unwelcome here.

Whatever “message” the sponsors believe they are sending with this legislation, the message received is a message of intolerance. This phenomenon is evident in the *language vigilantism* that occurs every time the issue flares up, as local officials and individuals seek to impose their own English Only rules. Here are a few of the mean-spirited incidents that occurred after the House passed a “language of government bill” in 1996:

- Tavern owners in Yakima, Washington, refused to serve patrons who conversed in Spanish, posting signs such as: “In the U.S.A., It’s English or Adios Amigo.”
- A judge hearing a child-custody case in Amarillo, Texas, accused a mother of child abuse for speaking Spanish to her five-year-old daughter.
- Police in Yonkers, New York, ticketed a Cuban American truck driver for his inability to answer questions in English.
- In Huntsville, Alabama, the county assessor refused to approve routine tax exemptions for Korean property owners whose English was limited.
- Norcross, Georgia, authorities fined the pastor of a Spanish-speaking congregation for posting placards that allegedly violated an English Only sign ordinance.

These acts are deeply offensive, not only to recent immigrants, but also to a broader population: persons who are proud of their heritage both as Americans and as ethnic minorities. As Senator Mel Martínez, a Cuban immigrant and a Republican from Florida,

recently explained: “When they start saying that it’s un-American to have ballots printed in Spanish, it sends a message that we’re not wanted, not respected.”

No doubt this is the message that some extremists *intend* to send—or to exploit—in hopes of building support for a restrictive immigration policy. In doing so, they are dividing communities across the nation. Two weeks ago the city council of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, coupled an official-English ordinance with harsh penalties for businesses that hire or landlords who rent to undocumented immigrants. The result has been to exacerbate tensions between long-time residents and recently arrived Latinos who are clearly being targeted. Similar proposals are fueling race hatred in municipalities from Avon Park, Florida, to San Bernardino, California.

It’s ironic that official-English legislation, promoted as a way to “unite Americans,” is having precisely the opposite effect: igniting ethnic conflicts. Congress should refuse to fan these flames.

Instead of English Only . . . English Plus

The aftermath of September 11 highlighted a long-standing concern of national security officials: the United States remains an underdeveloped country where language skills are concerned. When our military invaded Afghanistan to hunt down al Qaeda, five of that country’s seven major languages—including Pashto, spoken by 8 million Afghans—were not even taught in U.S. colleges and universities.⁵ Meanwhile, the FBI was so desperate for translators of Arabic and the languages of South Asia that it was forced to place want-ads in newspapers, with problematic results.

Monolingualism, for which Americans are justifiably notorious, is also an economic handicap. While English is indisputably dominant in global commerce, it is spoken by only a small minority of the world’s population. As globalization increases, competitors who are proficient in other languages will have an increasing advantage.

The President’s National Security Language Initiative, designed to fund programs in critical languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Russian, and Farsi, is a positive step. His proposed investment,

⁵ According to the National Foreign Language Center at the University of Maryland, about 600 U.S. students were learning Farsi, the dominant language of Iran, which is a relative of Dari, spoken by about 5.6 million Afghans. There were just four U.S. students studying Uzbek, which has 1.4 million speakers in Afghanistan.

however – \$114 million in FY07, including just \$24 million at the K–12 level—is ludicrous. If approved, it would have a limited impact relative to the nation’s growing needs.

Yet this is not just a funding problem. More important, it is an *attitude problem*. While a language learned in the classroom is valued in this country, a language learned by growing up in a minority community is likely to be considered a liability, not an asset. “Ethnic bilingualism” has enormous potential to supply the multilingual skills that America needs. Rather than cultivating it, however, we rush language-minority children into all-English classrooms as soon as possible. Most never get the chance to develop advanced skills, including literacy, in their native tongue. Although *developmental bilingual education* does exist, it is getting much harder to find. High-stakes testing in English for these students and, in some states, English Only instruction laws have forced schools to dismantle many bilingual programs.

Instead of English Only, the United States needs a language policy that could be described as *English Plus*. This approach begins with the recognition that, of course, we should pursue the goal of English proficiency for all Americans. But while English is necessary, it is not sufficient in today’s world. To prosper economically and to provide security for our people, we need well-developed skills in English, plus other languages. Step one is to conserve and develop, not destroy, the language resources we already have. Rather than treating bilingualism as a nuisance or a threat, we should exploit our diversity to enrich the lives of individuals and foster the nation’s interests, while encouraging ethnic tolerance and safeguarding civil rights.

We believe that a policy of English Plus would advance these important goals. Official English would be a step backward for the nation.

Source: Copyright © 2006 by the Institute for Language and Education Policy. Reprinted with permission.

Appendix F

Title VII Funding for States and Territories From FY69 to FY95

TOTAL GRANT FUNDING (States & Territories)

From Fiscal Year 1969 to Fiscal Year 1995

	<i>Local Education Programs</i>	<i>State Programs</i>	<i>Training Programs</i>	<i>Total Funding</i>
1969	\$7,537,966	\$0	\$0	\$7,537,966
1970	\$21,111,444	\$0	\$0	\$21,111,444
1971	\$24,791,455	\$0	\$0	\$24,791,455
1972	\$32,712,258	\$0	\$0	\$32,712,258
1973	\$33,879,203	\$0	\$0	\$33,879,203
1974	\$64,696,304	\$0	\$2,061,564	\$66,757,868
1975	\$64,112,320	\$0	\$3,800,822	\$67,913,142
1976	\$71,104,421	\$0	\$12,831,689	\$83,936,110
1977	\$87,013,342	\$0	\$12,799,812	\$99,813,154
1978	\$95,780,997	\$0	\$15,509,331	\$111,290,328
1979	\$103,228,307	\$0	\$20,513,305	\$123,741,612
1980	\$115,124,767	\$5,093,223	\$23,966,864	\$144,184,854
1981	\$106,724,365	\$4,445,825	\$22,623,831	\$133,794,021
1982	\$86,743,473	\$4,630,942	\$20,150,325	\$111,524,740
1983	\$86,500,987	\$4,192,474	\$20,607,942	\$111,301,403
1984	\$87,650,061	\$4,112,743	\$22,830,445	\$114,593,249
1985	\$92,067,920	\$4,999,716	\$22,826,823	\$119,894,459
1986	\$89,622,450	\$4,725,932	\$23,620,088	\$117,968,470
1987	\$97,315,712	\$4,955,347	\$22,627,011	\$124,898,070
1988	\$101,309,287	\$5,046,188	\$26,442,575	\$132,798,050
1989	\$110,494,223	\$6,039,867	\$20,190,480	\$136,724,570
1990	\$115,361,130	\$5,975,000	\$21,416,272	\$142,752,402
1991	\$120,132,215	\$6,497,898	\$25,156,276	\$151,786,389
1992	\$146,805,573	\$6,822,740	\$24,831,504	\$178,459,817
1993	\$149,257,014	\$6,922,942	\$24,609,602	\$180,789,558
1994	\$151,679,321	\$6,938,000	\$24,732,786	\$183,350,107
1995	\$132,393,579	\$7,256,300	\$25,152,165	\$164,802,044
Total	\$2,395,150,094	\$88,655,137	\$439,301,512	\$2,923,106,743

Source: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (1996). *Title VII Funding for States and Territories from FY69 to FY95* [Online]. Retrieved from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/pairs/viifunding/stateterr.htm>

Index

- AACTE (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education), **2:810, 812**
- AATSP (American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese), **2:776**
- AAVE. *See* **Ebonics**
- Academic English, 1:1–4**
- all-English instruction and, **1:251**
 - bilingual education implications, **1:3–4, 251**
 - context affect on, **1:2**
 - teacher qualifications and, **2:820**
 - written, **1:2–3**
- See also* **BICS/CALP theory; Specially designed academic instruction in English**
- Academic Excellence Programs, **1:383**
- Academic language. *See* **BICS/CALP theory**
- Accents
- critical period hypothesis on, **1:303, 443, 521, 522, 2:714**
 - foreign-trained teachers and, **1:186**
 - speech production and, **1:172**
 - vs. dialect, **1:60**
- See also* **Accents and their meaning**
- Accents and their meaning, 1:4–6, 60**
- in education context, **1:5**
 - first-language accents, **1:4**
 - power relations and, **1:4–5**
 - regional differences, **1:46, 239**
 - second-language accents, **1:4**
- ACCESS for ELLs (Assessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-State), **1:290**
- Accommodations
- for assessments, **1:351, 2:605, 606, 608, 609, 847**
 - expediency-oriented, **1:465**
- Accommodation theory, second-language, 1:6–8**
- convergence/divergence strategies, **1:7–8**
- Acculturation, 1:8–9**
- Schumann’s model, **2:732–733**
- See also* **Assimilation; Boarding schools and native languages; Culture shock**
- Achebe, Chinua, **2:595**
- ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), **2:551**
- Acquisition-learning hypothesis, **1:3, 17–18, 413, 471, 527, 2:560, 596, 733**
- Acquisition planning, **1:52–53, 70, 453**
- Acquisition vs. learning, **1:17–18**
- Action Plan for Official Languages (Canada), **1:109–110, 111**
- ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act), **2:617, 618**
- Adams, David Wallace, **1:102**
- Adams, John, **1:458**
- Addams, Jane, **1:34**
- Additive and subtractive programs, 1:10–13, 361, 475, 509, 527, 2:877**
- additive bilingualism, **1:53, 121, 377, 388, 2:639, 731, 737**
 - background and history, **1:10–11**
 - core curriculum and, **2:894**
 - difference between, **2:805–806**
 - dual-language orientation of, **1:12–13, 2:830**
 - factors affecting choice of, **1:10**
 - limited bilinguals and, **2:830**
 - Mexican-Americans and, **1:509**
 - program quality, **2:682**
 - threshold hypothesis on, **2:831–832**
 - Title I and, **1:10–11**
 - Title VII and, **1:11–12**
- Adequate education, **1:181–182**
- Adequate yearly progress (AYP), **2:606, 608, 610–611, 613, 614, 615, 846**
- Adler, Peter, **1:207**
- Advanced Placement (AP) Chinese course and examination, **1:131**
- Aesthetic/enrichment/pragmatic approach, **2:888–889**
- Affective dimension of bilingualism, 1:13–17**
- cultural norms and, **1:15**
 - culture and, **1:14–15**
 - emotion as lost in translation, **1:15–16**
 - social capital and, **1:16**
- Affective filter, 1:17–19**
- classroom implications, **1:19**
 - influences on, **1:18–19**
 - monitor model and, **1:17–19, 472, 528, 2:561–562, 597, 734**

- Affirmative action, **1:20**, 128, 258, 278, 284, 296, 297, 337–338
- Affirmative ethnicity, **1:271**, 416, **2:682**, 837, 852
- Affirmative steps to English, 1:19–23**
- appeal of case, **1:21–22**
 - implementation of policy change, **1:22–23**
 - May 25th Memorandum, **1:21**, 22, 115–116, 519, **2:619**, 881, 929–930
 - parents suit against schools, **1:20–21**
- Africa
- multilingual approach in, **2:584–585**
 - variety of English in, **2:595**
- African Americans, and school wars, **1:40**
- African American students
- attitudes affecting academic performance, **2:634**
 - social class barriers and, **2:757**
 - social learning and, **2:760**
 - “standard” English and, **1:61**
- See also* **Ebonics**
- African American vernacular English. *See* **Ebonics**
- African slaves, in U.S., **1:483**
- Afrikaans, **1:452–453**, **2:553**
- Age Discrimination Act, **2:617**
- Agnihotri, Rama K., **2:585**
- Aguilar-San Juan, Karin, **1:31**
- Aha Pūnana Leo preschools, **1:389**, 398, 437, **2:591**, 592
- AIR (American Institutes for Research), **2:695**, 696, 697, 835–836
- AIRFA (American Indian Religious Freedom Act), **1:66**
- Akaka, Daniel, **2:593**
- Alaska
- Ayaprun Elitnaurviat Immersion School, **1:479**
 - Tlingit language, **2:590**
- See also* **Heritage language education; Indigenous languages, current status**
- Alaska Natives
- language socialization among, **1:496**
 - last Alaska Native language speaker, **2:541**
 - NCLB provision for, **2:591**
- See also* **Boarding schools and native languages**
- Alatis, James E. (1926–), 1:23–24, 2:826–827**
- Albuquerque Public Schools, Carbajal v., **2:568**
- Alexander, Neville, **1:175**, 176
- Alexander v. Sandoval*, **1:135**, 139, 272
- Alfaro, Christina, **2:818**
- All Children Can Learn Act, **1:378**
- Allen, Adela, **1:91**
- Allen, Paul, **1:332**
- Allen, Roach Van, **1:439**
- Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages, **1:121**, **2:776–777**
- Allport, Gordon, **1:29**
- Alonso, Carlos J., **2:781**
- Alvarado v. El Paso Interdependent School District*, **2:722**
- Alvarez v. Lemon Grove*, **1:507**
- Amanti, Cathy, **1:222**, 227
- Amendment 31 (Colorado), 1:24–28, 2:869**
- funding campaigns for, **1:26–27**
 - opponents’ responses to, **1:25–26**
 - proposal, **1:25**
 - unintended consequences of, **1:26**
 - vote and its impact, **1:27–28**
- Amerasian Homecoming Act, **2:885**
- American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), **2:810**, 812
- American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP), **2:776**
- American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), **2:551**
- American Community Survey, **2:611**
- American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), **1:499**, 500, **2:555**, 577, 674
- American GI Forum, **1:507**
- American Indian Language Development Institute, **1:390**
- American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), **1:66**
- American Indians. *See* Native Americans
- American Institutes for Research (AIR), **2:695**, 696, 697, 835–836
- Americanization. *See* **Americanization and its critics; Americanization by schooling; Assimilation; English-only organizations; Language restrictionism; Melting-pot theory**
- Americanization and its critics, 1:28–32**
- complexity of process, **1:31**
 - formal education and, **1:30–31**
 - resistance to, **1:28–29**
 - social acceptance and, **1:29**
 - tensions in process, **1:29–30**
- See also* **Americanization by schooling**
- Americanization by schooling, 1:32–38**
- Americanization movement: 1914–1925, **1:36–37**
- Americanizers and, **1:34–35**
- assimilation and, **1:33**
 - context of, **1:32**
 - cultural pluralism and, **1:35–36**
 - nativists and, **1:33–34**
 - resilience and, **1:37**
- American Protective Association (APA), **1:318**
- Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), **2:617**, 618
- Anderson, M. C., **1:534**
- Anderson, Richard, **1:204**, 534
- Andersson, Staffan, **2:714**, 715, 717, 718
- Andersson, Theodore (1903–1994), 1:38–39**
- Anglo-conformity, **2:547**
- Ann Arbor School District Board, Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v., **1:243**
- Annual measurable achievement objectives (AMAOs), **2:608**, 610, 613, 846, 847
- Antunez, Beth, **1:94**, **2:816**, 817, 818

- Anzaldúa, Gloria E., 2:768
- APA (American Protective Association), 1:318
- Aphasia, 1:104, 194
- Appalachia, 1:141, 218, 2:834
- Applied linguistics
 defining, 1:527
 precursor to, 1:178
 teacher qualifications and, 2:819
- Approaches vs. methods, 1:157
- Appropriate action, 1:272–273
- Aptitude vs. giftedness/intelligence, 1:323
- Arabic-Hebrew program, 2:873
- Arabic language
 as critical language, 2:594–595
 numbers of speakers, 2:658
 in U.S., 1:190, 2:556
- Aramaic language, 2:750
- Aranda, Elizabeth, 2:858, 859
- Aranda, Mario, 2:569
- Arbitrariness of language, 1:524, 525–526
- Arias, Beatrice, 1:275
- Arizona
 antibilingual education legislation in, 2:850
 English as official language in, 2:648
 English only initiative (*See* **Proposition 203 (Arizona)**)
 Fort Defiance Navajo Immersion program, 1:388, 479
 language revitalization in, 1:388
 missions in, 1:488
 Navajo schools in, 1:84, 233, 236–237, 2:590
 Spanish honors class in, 2:870
 undocumented students' rights in, 2:867
 See also **Indigenous languages, current status; National Education Association Tucson Symposium; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 203 (Arizona), impact of; Teacher certification by states**
- Arizona Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS), 2:686, 687
 See also *Flores v. State of Arizona*
- Arizona proposition 203. *See* **Proposition 203 (Arizona)**
- Army language school. *See* **Defense language institute**
- Arnberg, Lenore, 2:714, 717
- Arndt, Karl, 1:320–321
- Arnold, Bob, 2:592
- Arreaga-Mayer, Carmen, 1:91
- Arviso, Marie, 1:388
- Arvizu, Steven, 1:365, 2:566, 863
- Asato, Jolynn, 2:697
- Ashby, Erica, 2:776
- Ashton-Warner, Sylvia, 1:439–441
- Aspira consent decree, 1:39–42**, 124, 418, 432
 impact, 1:41–42
 limitations to, 1:40–41
 Puerto Rican view, 1:40
- Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education, City of New York.* *See* **Aspira consent decree**
- Assessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-State (ACCESS for ELLs), 1:290
- Assessment. *See* **Measuring language proficiency**
- Assimilation, 1:42–44**
 behavioral, 1:33
 ideology, 2:547
 structural, 1:33
 See also **Acculturation; Americanization; Americanization and its critics; Americanization by schooling; Boarding schools and native languages**
- Assumed identities, 1:422, 423–424
- Attinasi, John, 1:473
- Attitudes toward language diversity, 1:44–47**
 influences on, 1:45–46
 in U.S. history, 1:45
- Atzmon, Ezri, 1:460
- Au, Kathryn Hu-Pei, 1:205, 2:760
- Audio-lingual method, 1:47–49**, 312, 2:700
 backward buildup drill, 1:48
 chain drill, 1:48
 dialogues, 1:157
 minimum-pairs drill, 1:48
 multiple-shot substitution drill, 1:48
 repetition drill, 1:48
 single-shot substitution drill, 1:48
 transformation drill, 1:48
 vs. communicative approach, 1:157
- August, Diane, 1:94, 338, 529, 2:587, 657, 797, 816–817, 818
- Aural-oral method. *See* **Audio-lingual method**
- Austin, John L., 2:662
- Ayaprun Elitnaurviat Immersion School, 1:479
- Ayçiçeği, Ayşe, 1:15
- AYP (adequate yearly progress), 2:606, 608, 610–611, 613, 614, 615, 846
- Aztecs, 1:484–485
- Baby talk, 1:51**, 302
- Baca, Elena, 1:87–88, 91
- Baca, Leonard, 1:87–88, 90, 91
- Backlash, 1:450–451, 453
- Backward buildup drill, 1:48
- Bailey, Richard, 1:458
- Baird-Vogt, Lynn, 2:565–566
- Baker, Bruce, 1:182, 183
- Baker, Colin (1949–), 1:51–53**, 150, 176
 on advantages of bilingual education, 2:875
 on comparing bi-/monolingual persons, 2:718
 on language abilities, 1:312, 313
 on language attitudes, 1:501, 502
 on language competence, 1:151–152

- on language loss, **1:476–477**
- on language policy periods, **1:293–294**
- on language shift, **2:751**
- on language use in home, **2:714**
- on term *heritage*, **1:342**
- typology of bilingual education, **1:71–72**
- Baker, Gwendolyn, **2:563**
- Baker, Keith, **1:260, 2:676–677**
- Balanced bilinguals, **1:79, 123, 151, 152, 430–431, 528, 531, 2:830**
- Baldauf, Richard, **1:435**
- Balderrama, María, **2:848, 851**
- Bamgbose, Ayo, **2:584–585**
- Bandura, Albert, **2:759**
- Bangla language, **1:453**
- Banking approach to teaching, **1:186**
- Banks, James, **1:30, 2:546, 562, 563, 564, 565, 883**
- Bankston, Carl, **1:54, 2:885, 886**
- Banquedano-López, Patricia, **2:697**
- Barker, Marie E., **1:39**
- Barron, Pepe, **2:572**
- Barron-Hauwaert, Suzanne, **2:635**
- Bartels Law, **2:647**
- Bartles v. Iowa*, **1:319**
- Bartlett, Lesley, **1:176**
- Baruth, Leroy, **2:547**
- Basch, Linda, **2:858**
- Basic interpersonal communication skills.
See **BICS/CALP theory**
- Basque language, **1:339, 403, 437, 464**
- Basu, Viniti, **1:175**
- Baugh, John, **1:458**
- Bayley, Robert, **1:491–492**
- BCLAD. *See* **Bilingual teacher licensure**
- Bean, Frank D., **1:477, 2:771**
- Beard, Joe, **2:573**
- Beaulieu, David, **2:592**
- Beavers, W. Robert, **1:345**
- Beebe, Leslie M., **1:4**
- Behavioral assimilation, **1:33**
- Behaviorist theory, **1:47, 49, 179, 280, 2:542**
- BEI (Bilingual Education Initiative), **1:57, 2:843**
- Bekerman, Zvi, **2:873–874**
- Bell, Terrel, **1:511, 536, 2:572**
- Benavides, Alfredo, **1:357, 2:573**
- Benefits of bilingualism and heritage languages, 1:53–56**
 - family role in, **1:55**
 - promise of maintenance programs, **1:54–55**
 - societal needs and, **1:55–56***See also* **Cognitive benefits of bilingualism; Heritage language education**
- Benjamin, Rebecca, **1:496**
- Bennett, Christine, **2:546, 547–548**
- Bennett, Claudette, **2:886**
- Bennett, William J. (1943–), 1:57–58, 277–278, 2:833, 843**
- Bennett Law, **1:318, 460**
- Ben-Zeev, Sandra, **2:553**
- Bereiter, Carl, **1:219, 220**
- Berk, Laura, **2:899**
- Berkeley Unified School District, Teresa P. v., **1:115, 338**
- Berkovich, Marina, **1:345**
- Berman, Ruth, **1:16**
- Bernal, Ernesto, **1:324**
- Bernal, Joe J. (1927–), 1:58–59, 2:828**
- Bernstein, Basil, **1:219, 2:738**
- Berrol, Selma, **1:35**
- Best English to learn, 1:59–62**
 - dialects and, **1:60**
 - varieties in classroom, **1:60–62**
- “Better Chance to Learn.” *See* **U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report**
- BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs), **1:118, 2:727, 803**
- Bialystok, Ellen
 - on cognitive benefits of bilingualism, **1:150**
 - on critical period hypothesis, **1:196, 303, 443, 521–522**
 - on influences on L2 acquisition, **1:337**
 - on metalinguistic awareness, **2:552, 553, 554**
 - on testing, **2:718**
- BICS/CALP theory, 1:62–65, 2:683, 831, 865–866**
 - criticisms, **1:63–64**
 - L2 instructional competence and, **1:64–65**
- Biculturalism, 1:65–67**
 - dual frame of reference, **1:66–67**
 - individual, **1:66**
 - school culture and, **1:67**
 - societal, **1:65–66**
- Bidialectic students, **1:141–142**
- Bilingual charter schools, 1:67–70**
 - DC Bilingual, **1:69**
 - El Sol Santa Ana Science and Arts Academy Charter School, **1:69**
- Bilingual Education Act. *See* **Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, key historical marker; Appendix B**
- Bilingual education as language policy, 1:70–75**
 - beyond deficit-based policies, **1:74**
 - language and literacy aims, **1:74**
 - language planning, **1:70–71**
 - societal aims, **1:73–74**
 - types of policies, **1:71–73**
 - weak/strong forms of, **1:71–72**
- Bilingual Education Initiative (BEI), **1:57, 2:843**
- Bilingual education in the press, 1:75–78**
 - bias in headlines and text, **1:77**
 - editorial choice and, **1:77–78**

- media images, **1:76–77**
social norms affect on, **1:75–76**
- Bilingualism in holistic perspective, 1:78–81**
code switching, **1:80–81**
policy implications, **1:81**
research findings, **1:79–80**
social and cultural aspects, **1:80**
social context, **1:79**
- Bilingualism stages, 1:81–85**
Fishman's GIDS, **1:82–84**
individual vs. societal bilingualism, **1:81–82**
- Bilingual paraprofessionals, 1:85–87, 2:700, 705–706**
current research, **1:86**
historical background, **1:85–86**
paraeducator-to-teacher programs, **1:86–87**
- Bilingual Prochievement Test, **1:188**
- Bilingual Reform and Improvement Act, **1:126**
- Bilingual Research Journal*, **2:572, 573**
- Bilingual special education, 1:87–93**
assessment and identification, **1:89–90**
benefits of, **1:91**
curricular modifications, **1:90**
family and community participation, **1:91–92**
learning environments, **1:90**
legal background, **1:88–89**
multidisciplinary teams and, **1:89–90**
planning issues, **1:91**
validated instructional practices, **1:90–91**
- Bilingual Syntax Measure, **1:433**
- Bilingual teacher licensure, 1:93–100**
California model, **1:98–99, 2:817**
history of, **1:93–94**
knowledge base for teaching ELLs, **1:94**
three-tiered approach to, **1:94–98**
- Bilingual Vocational Education Program, **2:621**
- Binationalism, **1:341**
- Binet, Alfred, **1:350**
- Birman, Beatrice, **2:649**
- Bishaw, Alemayehu, **1:370**
- Black English. *See Ebonics*
- Blackledge, Adrian, **1:421–422, 2:716–717**
- Blake, Robert, **1:343**
- Blanc, Michael, **1:501–502**
- Blanco, George, **1:39**
- Blanton, Carlos K., **1:506**
- Bloch, Carole, **1:175**
- Bloomfield, Leonard, **2:738**
- Blueprint for the Second Generation, **2:798–799**
- Boarding schools and native languages, 1:100–103**
criticism and reform, **1:101–102**
current issues, **1:102–103**
foundation of, **1:100–101, 267–268, 2:631**
language policy, **1:101, 459**
recent studies, **1:102**
- Board of Education, *Brown v. See Brown v. Board of Education*
- Board of Education, City of New York, *Aspira of New York, Inc., v. See Aspira consent decree*
- Board of Education, Idaho Migrant Council v., **1:138, 273, 296–297, 2:722**
- Board of Regents, Leticia A. v., **2:569, 722, 868**
- Boas, Franz, **1:5, 526**
- Boat people, **2:763, 884**
- Bochner, Stephen, **1:207–208**
- Bohning v. Ohio*, **1:319**
- Bongaerts, Theo, **1:303, 521**
- Borderlands perspective, **1:80, 176**
- Borsato, Graciela, **1:54, 2:873**
- Bos, Candace, **1:90, 91**
- Boston School Committee, Latino Parents v., **2:568**
- Boswell, Helen V., **1:35**
- Bourdieu, Pierre, **1:60, 197–198, 199, 348**
- Bourne, Randolph S. (1886–1918), 1:103–104**
- Bowles, Samuel, **1:29, 348, 349**
- Bowman, Ted, **1:345**
- Boyer, Mildred, **1:39**
- Bradac, James, **1:473**
- Brain as computer, **1:173**
- Brain plasticity theory, **1:194, 303, 443**
- Brain research, 1:104–107**
aphasia, **1:104, 194**
Broca's area, **1:105**
computed tomography, **1:104**
event-related potentials, **1:105, 106–107**
left-anterior negativity, **1:106**
magnetic resonance imaging, **1:105**
Wernicke's area, **1:104, 105**
See also Cognitive benefits of bilingualism; Critical period hypothesis
- Branaman, Lucinda, **2:555, 776, 784–785**
- Brantley, Harold C., **2:828**
- Brecht, Richard, **1:53, 343, 344**
- Brentwood Union Free School District, *Cintrón v.*, **1:115, 296**
- Briggs v. Elliot*, **1:536**
- Brigham, Carl, **1:350**
- Brisk, María, **2:816–817**
- Brittain, Carmina, **2:858, 859**
- Broder, David, **2:896**
- Brooks, Nelson, **1:162**
- Brown, Penelope, **2:662**
- Brown, Roger, **1:165–166, 301**
- Brown v. Board of Education*, **1:327, 458, 507**
as basis for *Lau v. Nichols*, **1:278**
difference from *Lau*, **1:518**
Footnote 11, **1:348**
impact of, **1:11, 135, 467**

- predecessor to, **1:294, 536, 2:551**
 vs. *Lau v. Nichols*, **2:619**
- Bruer, John, **1:196**
- Brutt-Griffler, Janina, **2:877**
- Bueno, Irene, **2:573**
- Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), **1:118, 2:727, 803**
- Burke, Carolyn, **2:655**
- Burke, Mack, **1:90**
- Burma, John, **1:354**
- Burt, Marina K., **1:281, 282, 471**
- Bush, George H. W., **2:836**
- Bush, George W., **1:128, 190, 279, 297, 344, 478, 2:836**
- Busing, school, **1:272, 536**
- Bustillo, Camilo Pérez, **2:567**
- Butler, Yugo, **1:444**
- Byrnes, Deborah, **1:45–46**
- Byrnes, Francis C., **1:208**
- Byrnes, Heidi, **1:343**
- Cadiero-Kaplan, Karen, **2:818**
- Cahnmann, Melisa, **1:176**
- CAL. *See* **Center for Applied Linguistics, initial focus; Center for Applied Linguistics, recent focus**
- Caldas, Stephen, **2:713–714, 715, 717**
- Califano, Northwest Arctic v., **1:22**
- California
- antibilingual education legislation in, **2:850, 897**
 - bilingual teacher licensure in, **1:98–99**
 - desegregation cases in, **1:507**
 - missions in, **1:487–488**
 - parent training in, **2:569**
 - Proposition 187, **1:284, 375, 2:867**
 - Proposition 209, **1:284**
 - segregation based on national origin, **2:549–551**
 - teacher certification/credentialing in, **2:815**
 - undocumented students' rights in, **2:568–569, 722, 867–868**
 - Vietnamese in, **2:885**
 - voting rights in, **2:898**
- See also* **Indigenous languages, current status; Proposition 227 (California); Proposition 227 (California), impact of; Teacher certification by states; Teacher qualifications**
- California Basic Educational Skills Test (CBEST), **2:815**
- California Bilingual Cross-Cultural Language and Academic Development (BCLAD), **2:817**
- California Board of Education, Pazmiño v., **1:284–285**
- California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CCTC), **1:98–99, 2:815, 816, 817, 818–819**
- California English Language Development Test (CELDT), **1:289**
- California Proposition 227. *See* **Proposition 227 (California)**
- California Standardized Test (CST), **1:289, 2:697**
- California Standards for the Teaching Profession (CSTP), **2:815**
- California Teacher of English Learners (CTEL) test, **2:819**
- California Teachers Association v. Davis*, **2:693**
- CALL (computer-assisted language learning), **2:821, 822, 823**
- Cambodian refugees. *See* **Southeast Asian refugees**
- Campbell, Russell, **2:777, 805**
- Canada
- immersion programs in, **2:872, 874**
 - national language coexistence in, **2:782**
 - Québec separatist movement, **1:71**
 - See also* **Canadian and U.S. language policies; St. Lambert immersion study**
- Canadian and U.S. language policies, 1:109–112, 436**
- Action Plan for Official Languages, **1:109–110, 111**
 - language loyalty in Québec, **1:447**
 - Official Languages Act, **1:109**
- Canadian bilingual study. *See* **St. Lambert immersion study**
- Canagarajah, Suresh, **2:827**
- Canales, JoAnn, **2:849**
- Cantonese dialect, **1:129**
- Capps, Randy, **1:355, 356**
- Carbajal v. Albuquerque Public Schools*, **2:568**
- Cárdenas, José A. (1930–), 1:112–113, 180–181, 202, 2:828, 891**
- Caregiver speech, **1:166, 302**
- Carlisle Indian School, **1:100–101, 459**
- Carlson, Robert, **1:33, 34–35, 37**
- Carter, Jimmy, **1:536, 2:621, 663**
- Cary, Stephen, **1:168**
- Cashman, Holly, **2:716**
- Castañeda, Alfredo, **1:275, 2:564**
- Castañeda three-part test, 1:113–116, 272–273, 297, 307, 468–469**
- Castañeda v. Pickard*, **1:23, 112, 138, 266, 293, 296, 297, 2:619, 829**
- Lau v. Nichols* and *Lau Remedies*, **1:113, 513**
 - monitoring compliance, **1:115–116**
 - OCR's interpretation, **1:114–115**
- Castro Feinberg, Rosa (1939–), 1:116–117**
- Catalan language, **1:464**
- Catholicism
- German, **2:582**
 - Irish, **1:318, 2:582**
 - Spanish, **2:582**
 - use of Spanish language, **2:783**
 - See also* **Languages in Colonial schools, Western**
- Cazden, Courtney, **1:61, 39, 140, 141, 226, 227**
- CBEST (California Basic Educational Skills Test), **2:815**
- CBOs (community-based organizations), **1:364**
- CCSSO (Council of Chief State School Officers), **2:800**

- CCTC (California Commission on Teacher Credentialing), 1:98–99, 2:815, 816, 817, 818–819
- CDA (critical discourse analysis), 1:229
- CELDT (California English Language Development Test), 1:289
- Center for Applied Linguistics, initial focus, 1:117–120**
- bilingual education guidelines, 1:118–120, 515
 - early years, 1:117–118, 2:627, 860–861
 - strengthening bilingual programs, 1:120
 - teacher presentation programs, 1:94
- See also* **Center for Applied Linguistics, recent focus; Christian, Donna (1949–)**
- Center for Applied Linguistics, recent focus, 1:120–123, 500**
- modern language enrollment, 2:555
 - research, 1:121–122
 - resources and services, 1:122
 - two-way immersion education, 1:122–123
- Center for Language Education and Research (CLEAR), 1:121
- Certification. *See* **Teacher certification by states**
- Cervantes, Hermes, 1:88, 91
- Chacón Discretionary Bilingual Education Act, 1:124
- Chacón-Moscone legislation, 1:123–127**
- attack on, 1:125–127
 - bill of 1976, 1:124–125
 - pre-Chacón-Moscone, 1:124
- Chain drill, 1:48
- Chain migration, 2:858
- Chapman, Chris, 1:370
- Charter schools. *See* **Bilingual charter schools**
- Chávez, Linda (1947–), 1:127–128, 258, 267, 2:807**
- Chávez, Rebecca, 2:773, 777, 884
- Cherokee language, 1:400, 2:555
- Cherokee people, 1:459
- Cheung, Alan, 2:677
- Chicanismo, 1:509
- Chicano*, use of term, 1:509
- Childs, Tucker, 1:44
- China, 1:454
- immigration of elites to U.S., 2:859
 - multilingualism in, 2:585
- Chinen, Kiyomi, 1:478
- Chinese Exclusion Act, 1:129
- Chinese in the United States, 1:128–130**
- Cantonese dialect, 1:129
- community schools, 1:129–130, 479
 - Mandarin dialect, 1:129, 130
 - national language associations, 2:887
- Chinese K–16 Pipeline Project, 1:130–131
- Chinese language
- as critical languages, 1:190, 2:594–595
 - enrollments, 2:555, 556
- Chinese Language Association of Secondary Elementary Schools (CLASS), 1:131
- Chinese language study, prospects, 1:130–133**
- bilingual education, 1:132–133
 - educational system stakeholders, 1:131–132
 - extra-educational systemic stakeholders, 1:132
 - foreign governmental organizations, 1:132
- Chinese Language Teachers Association (CLTA), 1:131
- Chinese School Association in the United States, 2:887
- Chinese Schools Association in the United States (CSAUS), 1:131
- Chinese students. *See* **Chinese in the United State; Lau v. Nichols, the ruling**
- Chinglish, 1:81
- Chinook Jargon, 2:589
- Cho, Grace, 1:346
- Choi, Daniel, 1:260
- Chomsky, Noam
- generative theory of language, 1:166, 443, 470–471, 526–527
 - on language acquisition device, 1:17, 165–166, 302, 419, 470,
 - on language competence, 2:674, 752
 - on linguistic innovation/creativity, 1:49, 155
 - Universal Grammar theory, 1:302, 405, 419, 470, 471, 522, 526
- Christian, Donna (1949–), 1:133–134, 231–232, 2:587, 777**
- Chung, Chuong Hoang, 2:886
- Cintrón v. Brentwood Union Free School District*, 1:115, 296
- Citizen's Task Force, 1:515
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, 1:135–139**
- Castañeda* standard, 1:138
 - future issues, 1:139
 - historical background, 1:135
 - Lau v. Nichols* and the *Lau* Remedies, 1:136–138, 514
 - other cases, 1:138
 - Title VI, 1:20–21, 39–40, 112, 124, 135, 234, 293
 - Title VI, effects of, 1:135–136
 - Title VII, 1:136
- Civil rights orientation, to bilingual education, 2:889
- CLAD/BCLAD. *See* **Bilingual teacher licensure**
- Clark, Eve, 1:300, 302
- Clark, Kenneth, 1:348
- Clark, Mamie, 1:348
- CLASS (Chinese Language Association of Secondary Elementary Schools), 1:131
- Class experience charts, and reading, 1:441
- Classical method. *See* **Grammar-translation method**
- Classroom discourse, 1:139–142**
- default pattern, 1:140
 - dialogue, 1:142
 - importance of cultural factors, 1:141–142

- narrative discourse, **1:140–141**
 participant structures, **1:140**
 research findings, **1:140–141**
- Classroom language. *See* **BICS/CALP theory**
- CLD (culturally and linguistically diverse) students, **2:866**
- CLEAR (Center for Language Education and Research), **1:121**
- Clewell, Beatriz Chu, **1:87**
- Clifford, Mary, **2:823**
- CLIL/EMILE (Content and language integrated learning/Enseignement d'une matière intégrée à une langue étrangère), **1:437**
- Clinton, Bill, **1:279, 297, 2:591**
- CLL (cooperative language learning), **1:255–256**
- CLOIS. *See* Council for Languages and Other International Studies
- Cloud, Nancy, **1:91**
- CLTA (Chinese Language Teachers Association), **1:131**
- Clyne, Michael, **2:801–802**
- Coachella Valley Unified School District, **1:376**
- Coahuilteco language, **2:860**
- Coburn, Tom, **2:593**
- Cochiti-Keres language, **1:401**
- Code mixing, **1:143, 2:767**
See also **Spanglish**
- Codes of power, **1:61**
- Code switching, 1:142–147, 2:716**
 child bilingualism and, **1:146**
 cognitive flexibility and, **2:901**
 common misunderstandings, **1:80–81, 143, 205, 227–228, 239–240**
 discourse analysis and, **1:227–228**
 grammar of code switching, **1:144–145**
 intersentential, **1:143, 163**
 intrasentential, **1:143, 163**
 nature of, **1:143**
 psycholinguistics of, **1:145**
 reasons for, **1:143–144**
See also **Spanglish**
- Cognates, true and false, 1:147–149**
- Cognition. *See* **Metalinguistic awareness**
- Cognitive-academic language proficiency.
See **BICS/CALP theory**
- Cognitive benefits of bilingualism, 1:149–153**
 strategies to enhance, **1:150–152**
- Cognitive coaching, **1:151**
- Cognitive elite, **1:221**
- Cognitive flexibility, **2:901**
- Cole, Michael, **1:530**
- Coleman, James, **1:10, 201**
- Collective bilingualism, **2:749**
- College Board, **1:131**
- Collier, Virginia P. (1941–), 1:54, 153–154, 251, 252, 312, 371, 530, 2:793, 856, 872**
- Colombi, Cecilia, **2:777**
- Colorado
 English only initiative in, **2:897**
 parent training in, **2:569**
See also **Amendment 31 (Colorado)**
- Colorado Student Assessment Program (CSAP), **1:283**
- Combs, Mary Carol, **1:153, 312, 2:648, 691**
- Commissioner of Education, Lynn Hispanic PAC v., **2:568**
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL), **2:674**
- Common underlying proficiency (CUP), **1:148, 172–173, 2:855, 865**
- Common vs. separate underlying proficiency, **2:855**
- Communicative approach, 1:49, 155–158**
 balanced roles in, **1:156–157**
 beliefs and principles, **1:155–156, 253–254**
 contributions to bilingual education practice, **1:157**
 goals of, **1:156**
 materials for, **1:157**
 vs. audio-lingual method, **1:157**
 vs. natural approach, **2:596, 597, 598**
- Communicative competence, **1:302, 2:542**
- Communicative Language Teaching, **2:598**
- Communities of practice, 1:158–161**
 bilingual education as practice, **1:159–160**
 identity in, **1:160**
 language learning and, **1:158–159**
 legitimate peripheral participation in, **1:160**
 outside/inside classroom, **1:160–161**
- Community-Based English (CBET) Tutoring, **2:698–699**
- Community-based organizations (CBOs), **1:364, 366**
- Community of learners. *See* **Communities of practice**
- Competency, **2:674**
- Compound and coordinate bilingualism, 1:161–163**
 distinction persisting in new forms, **1:163**
 problems with compound-coordinate distinction, **1:162–163**
- Comprehensible input, 1:163–168, 420, 472, 2:561, 734**
 comprehended input, **1:167**
 comprehensible output, **1:167, 313**
 context of development of, **1:165–166**
 current developments, **1:167–168**
 defining, **2:597**
 extralinguistic support for, **1:165**
 focus on here-and-now, **1:165**
 incomprehensible input, **1:167**
 input hypothesis, **1:527–528, 2:561, 597**
 interactionally modified input, **1:165**
 modified input, **1:164–165**
 problems, **1:166–167**
 SIOP and, **2:741**
 sources for, **1:164–165**
See also **Krashen, Stephen D. (1941–)**

- Comprehensible output, **1:167, 313**
- Compulsory ignorance, **1:458**
- Compulsory illiteracy, **1:466**
- Computed tomography (CT), **1:104**
- Computer-assisted language learning (CALL), **2:821, 822, 823**
- Conceptual scaffolding, **1:150–151**
- Concurrent Translation Method, 1:168–171**
- Connor, Howard, **2:599**
- Connor-Linton, Jeff, **1:523**
- Constructivism, **2:565**
- Container theory of language, 1:171–173, 239**
 accents and communication, **1:172**
 brain as computer as alternative to, **1:173**
 learning theory on, **1:173**
 problems with, **1:172–173**
- Content and language integrated learning/Enseignement d'une matière intégrée à une langue étrangère (CLIL/EMILE), **1:437**
- Content-based approach, **1:254**
- Context-embedded communication, **1:63**
- Context-embedded language proficiency, **2:737**
- Context-reduced communication, **1:63**
- Context-reduced language proficiency, **2:737**
- Continua of biliteracy, 1:174–177**
 applications of, **1:175–176**
 future of, **1:176–177**
 origins and implications of, **1:174–175**
- Contrastive analysis, 1:48, 1:177–180, 280**
 continued use of, **1:179–180**
 problems, **1:179**
 theoretical development, **1:178–179**
- Contrastive rhetoric, **1:179**
- Convention on the Rights of the Child, **2:894**
- Convergence and divergence strategies, **1:7–8**
- Cook, Vivian, **1:300, 406**
- Cooper, Robert, **1:53**
- Cooperative language learning (CLL), **1:255–256**
- Cooperative principle, **2:662**
- Coral Way Elementary School, **1:233, 235, 437**
- Corder, S. Pit, **1:164, 280, 281, 406**
- Core vs. periphery language, **1:248**
- Corpus planning, **1:70, 435**
- Corrada, Baltasar, **1:537**
- Correlational sociolinguistics, **2:753**
- Cortés, Carl, **1:275, 2:563**
- Cortéz, Josie D., **1:94**
- Costs of bilingual education, 1:180–183**
 Arizona study, **1:182**
 cost function (value-added) studies, **1:182**
 early studies, **1:180–181**
 expert judgment studies, **1:182**
 later studies, **1:181–182**
 professional judgment studies, **1:182**
- RAND Corporation study, **1:181**
 successful school/school district studies, **1:182**
- Cota, Rosita, **1:332, 333, 2:637, 638, 780**
- Coulter, Cathy, **2:745–746**
- Council for Languages and Other International Studies (CLOIS), **1:24**
- Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), **2:800**
- Counseling-learning, **1:49, 157**
- Crawford, James (1949–), 1:122, 182–185, 468, 511**
 on appropriate action, **1:94**
 on English immersion, **1:263**
 on English only, **1:110, 277–278, 356, 459, 2:645**
 on language endangerment, **1:391, 476, 803**
 on language loyalty, **2:585**
 on language restrictionism, **1:458**
 at NABE, **2:573**
 on native languages as endangered, **1:391**
 on policy, **2:645, 876, 959–963**
 on teacher competency, **2:818**
- Credentialing foreign-trained teachers, 1:185–189**
 benefits of, **1:188–189**
 challenges, addressing the, **1:187–188**
 challenges in, **1:186–187**
 Project Alianza, **1:185–186**
- Cremin, Lawrence, **1:482**
- Crichlow, Warren, **1:205**
- Critical discourse analysis (CDA), **1:229**
- Critical languages for the United States, 1:190–191**
- Critical literacy, 1:191–194, 313**
 classroom practice, **1:192**
 classroom practice example, **1:193**
 historical background, **1:191–192**
 purposes of, **1:192**
- Critical period hypothesis, 1:194–197, 303–304, 443, 521–522**
 brain plasticity theory, **1:194, 303**
 future research, **1:196–197**
 imprinting theory, **1:194**
 lateralization theory, **1:194**
 research studies, **1:195–196, 520–522**
 second-language learning of, **1:194–195**
- Cromdal, Jakob, **2:553**
- Cross, Toni, **1:164, 165–166**
- Cross-cultural literacy, **2:566–567**
- Cross-linguistic transfer hypothesis, **2:747–748**
- Croteau, David, **1:75–76**
- Crystal, David, **1:60, 462, 2:594, 877**
- CSAP (Colorado Student Assessment Program), **1:283**
- CSAUS (Chinese Schools Association in the United States), **1:131**
- CSTP (California Standards for the Teaching Profession), **2:815**
- CT (computed tomography), **1:104**
- CTEL (California Teacher of English Learners) test, **2:819**

- Cuban Americans
 biliteracy among, **1:532**
 dual-language education and, **2:873**
- Cuban Refugee Act, **1:374**
- Cuban refugee children, and Title VII, **2:679**
- Cuban Refugee Program, **1:508**
- Cuban revolution, **1:234, 235, 374, 448, 508**
- Cubans in U.S. *See* Spanish language
- Cubberley, Ellwood P., **1:28, 34, 2:547**
- Cueing systems, **1:534–535, 2:656**
- Cultural assertiveness orientation, **2:890**
- Cultural capital, 1:31, 197–199, 202**
 class/gender and, **1:199**
 habitus concept, **1:197–198**
 vs. linguistic capital, **1:198–199**
- Cultural deficit and cultural mismatch theories, 1:200–203**
 cultural deficit theory, **1:200–201**
 cultural mismatch theory, **1:201–203**
- Cultural disadvantage, **1:415**
- Cultural diversity, **2:581**
- Cultural inversion, **1:204**
- Cultural literacy, **2:566–567**
- Culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students, **2:866**
- Culturally appropriate instruction, **1:203**
- Culturally compatible education, **2:565–566**
- Culturally compatible instruction, **1:7**
- Culturally competent teaching, 1:203–206**
 constructivist approach, **1:204**
 insights from anthropological research, **1:205**
 transmission-based approach, **1:204–205**
- Culturally relevant pedagogy, **1:203, 221**
- Cultural mismatch theory, **1:201–203**
- Cultural norms, **1:15**
- Cultural particularism, **1:34**
- Cultural pluralism orientation, **2:890–891**
- Culture
 deep, **1:8**
 defining, **1:8, 48, 203, 245, 426**
 teacher cross-cultural knowledge, **2:820**
 vs. nature, **1:77**
 vs. social class, **2:758**
See also **Enculturation; Nationality–culture myth**
- Culture-based curriculum, **1:202**
- Culture of poverty, **1:200–202, 219**
- Culture of power, **1:204–205**
- Culture shock, 1:205–210**
 acculturation and, **1:209**
 disintegration stage, **1:207**
 factors leading to, **1:207–209**
 honeymoon stage, **1:207**
 interdependence stage, **1:207**
 personal shock and, **1:208–209**
 reintegration stage, **1:207**
 role shock and, **1:208**
 teaching practices to overcome culture shock, **1:209**
- Cummins, James (1949–), 1:210–211**
 on academic English, **1:1, 2:820**
 on basic cognitive academic language proficiency, **1:211**
 on basic interpersonal communicative skills, **1:211**
 on BICS/CALP theory, **1:62–65, 2:865–866**
 on common underlying proficiency, **1:148, 172–173, 2:865**
 on common vs. separate underlying proficiency, **2:855**
 on deficit-based hypothesis, **1:30**
 on developmental interdependence hypothesis, **2:832**
 on dual-language schools, **2:875**
 on English-French bilinguals, **2:553, 805**
 on heritage languages, **1:54**
 on language status, **1:423, 424**
 on native language literacy, **1:534**
 on proficiency, **1:251, 2:542, 793**
 on semilingualism, **2:737–738**
 on testing, **2:718**
 on threshold hypothesis, **1:151, 527, 2:830, 831, 832**
- Cunningham-Andersson, Una, **2:714–715, 717, 718**
- CUP (common underlying proficiency), **1:148, 172–173, 2:865**
- Curricular reform, multicultural, **2:564–565**
- Curry-Rodríguez, Julia, **2:697**
- Czech language, **1:449**
- DACs (dissemination and assessment centers), **2:842**
- Dakota Language Preschool initiative, **1:400–401**
- Danenberg, Anne, **2:859**
- Daniels, Roger, **1:369**
- Danish language, **1:403**
- Darder, Antonia, **1:28**
- Darling-Hammond, Linda, **1:95, 150–151, 2:671**
- Darwin, Charles, **1:525**
- Davis, Bette, **1:61**
- Davis, California Teachers Association v., **2:693**
- Dawes Act, **2:631**
- Dawson, Pedro A. v., **1:284**
- Day v. Sebelius*, **2:569**
- DC Bilingual, **1:69**
- Deaf bilingual education, 1:213–215**
 enrollments, **2:555, 556**
 immigrant students, **1:215**
 manual systems, **1:214**
 modality and, **1:213–214, 215**
 oralism, **1:214**
 writing systems for, **1:214**
- Deans' Grant Program, **2:836**
- De Avila, Edward (1937–), **1:216–217, 468**
- DeBell, Matthew, **1:370**
- December 3, 1985/April 6, 1990 Memorandum, U.S. Department of Education, **2:941–945**

- Decker, Bob, **1:27**
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities, **2:894**
- Decoding. *See* **Phonics in bilingual education**
- Deep culture, **1:8**
- Defense Language Institute, 1:217–218**
- Defense Language Institute English Language Center (DLIELC), **1:218**
- Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center (DLIFLC), **1:218**
- Deficit-based education theory, 1:30, 63, 73, 218–222**
- culture of poverty, **1:219–220**
- eugenics, **1:219**
- genetic factors, **1:220–221**
- linguistically deprived children, **1:220**
- racial segregation, **1:219–220**
- restricted discourse, **1:220**
- vs. cultural-relevant pedagogy, **1:221**
- vs. funds of knowledge, **1:222**
- De Houwer, Annick, **2:636**
- de Kanter, Adriana, **1:260, 2:676**
- Delaware, use of portfolio assessments, **2:606–607**
- Delay, Tom, **1:278**
- Delpit, Lisa, **1:61, 204**
- Demmert, William, **2:590, 592**
- Descriptive approach, **1:60, 2:754**
- Desegregation. *See* **Civil Rights Act of 1964**
- Designation and redesignation of English language learners, 1:223–226**
- eligibility for special services, **1:224**
- ensuring academic success, **1:225–226**
- redesignating, **1:225**
- de Valenzuela, Julia, **1:87–88, 90, 91**
- Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, **2:573**
- Developmental bilingualism, **2:715–716**
- Developmental interdependence, **2:830, 832**
- Dewaele, Jean-Marc, **1:14–15**
- Dewey, John, **1:35, 191, 192**
- DI. *See* **Dual-language programs**
- Diachrony, **1:525**
- Dialects. *See* **Best English to learn**
- Diaspora consciousness, **1:446**
- Díaz, Adam, **2:899**
- Díaz-Rico, Lynn, **2:848, 851**
- Dicker, Susan, **2:876**
- Difficult languages. *See* **Easy and difficult languages**
- Diglossia. *See* **Social bilingualism**
- Diller, Karl, **1:162–163, 522**
- Dillingham Commission, **1:374**
- Dillon, Sam, **1:355**
- Direct speech acts, **2:662**
- Direct vs. representative democracy, **2:895–896**
- Discourse analysis, 1:226–229**
- code switching, **1:227–228**
- critical discourse analysis, **1:229**
- home vs. school discourses, **1:227**
- of language status, **2:754**
- primary discourses, **1:227**
- school script strategy, **1:228**
- secondary discourses, **1:227**
- self-directed speech strategy, **1:228**
- Discreteness of language, **1:524**
- Disintegration stage, of culture shock, **1:207**
- Dismissive period, **1:375–376**
- Dissemination and assessment centers (DACs), **2:842**
- Distinctness of language, **1:526**
- District of Columbia Bilingual Public Charter School (DC Bilingual), **1:69**
- Dittmar, Norbert, **1:219**
- Divergence and convergence strategies, **1:7–8**
- DLI. *See* **Defense Language Institute**
- DLIELC (Defense Language Institute English Language Center), **1:218**
- DLIFLC (Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center), **1:218**
- Doe, Plyler v., **2:569, 722, 854, 867–868**
- Dolson, David, **1:54**
- Dominant bilinguals, **2:737, 830–831**
- Dominicans in U.S. *See* **Spanish language**
- Donato, Ruben, **1:506**
- Döpke, Susanne, **2:636–637**
- Double-majority concept, in voter initiatives, **2:896**
- Doublings, linguistic, **1:145**
- Douglas, William O., **1:468**
- Douglas Unified School District (DUSD). *See* **Flores v. State of Arizona**
- Downward convergence, **1:7**
- Draper, Jamie B., **2:556, 785, 786**
- DREAM, **2:573**
- Driscoll, Anne, **2:816**
- Drug czar, **1:57**
- Duality of language, **1:524–525**
- Dual-language immersion school. *See* **Oyster Bilingual School**
- Dual-language programs, 1:10, 25, 40, 69, 74, 203, 229–232**
- criticisms of, **1:474**
- exporting from U.S., **2:873–874**
- goals, **1:230**
- grade levels, **1:231**
- hidden curriculum, **1:232**
- key features, **1:230**
- languages in, **1:230**
- maintenance programs, **1:114–115, 436**
- at middle/secondary levels, **1:232**
- program types, **1:230–231**

- research findings, **1:231–232**
 states with majority of, **1:230**
 student representation in, **1:230**
 teachers/support staff for, **1:232**
- Duff, Patricia, **1:492**
- Dugan, Margaret García, **2:686–687**
- Dulay, Heidi C., **1:281, 282, 471**
- Duncan, Sharon, **1:216**
- Durán-Cerda, Martina García, **1:332, 333**
- Durazo-Arvisu, Ramon, **1:15**
- DUSD. *See Flores v. State of Arizona*
- Dutcher, Nadine, **2:875**
- Dutch language, **1:403**
- Dutch language, in New Amsterdam, **1:480**
- Earle, Dolores, **2:828**
- Early bilingual programs, 1960s, 1:233–237**
 background, **1:233–237**
 civil rights movement effect on, **1:234**
 at Coral Way Elementary School, **1:233, 235**
 Cuban revolution effect on, **1:234, 235**
 National Defense Education Act and, **1:233–234**
 at Nye Elementary School, **1:233, 235–236**
 at Rough Rock Demonstration School,
1:233, 236–237
 waning support for, **1:237**
 War on Poverty effect on, **1:234–235**
- Early immigrants and English language learning, 1:238–240**
 bilingual education as possible crutch, **1:239–240**
 past vs. present experiences, **1:238–239**
- Easy and difficult languages, 1:240–243**
 contrasting language features, **1:240–241**
 factors other than linguistic differences, **1:241–242**
 languages in environment, **1:242**
 linguistic distance, **1:242**
- Ebel, Carolyn, **2:572**
- Ebonics, 1:5, 70–71, 198, 243–245, 2:634**
 linguistics and, **1:243–244**
 politics and, **1:244, 473**
 restricted discourse and, **1:220, 458**
 status of, **2:754**
 syntax in, **1:60**
- Echevarria, Jana, **1:168, 2:562, 740**
- Ecolinguistics, **1:339**
- Ecological view of language, **1:478**
See also Continua of biliteracy
- Economic spheres of influence, **2:581**
- EDACs (evaluation, dissemination, and assessment centers), **2:842**
- Edelsky, Carol, **1:63, 2:737**
- Edgewood v. Kirby*, **2:568**
- Educational Testing Service, **1:24**
- Education for All, **1:121**
- Education Resource Information Center Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics (ERIC/CLL), **1:122**
- Edward Law, **1:318, 460**
- EEOA. *See Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974*
- EFL (English as a foreign language), **2:826, 908–909**
- EIEA (Emergency Immigrant Education Act), **2:800**
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., **2:576–577**
- Eisenlohr, Patrick, **2:584**
- Elaborated code, **2:738**
- El Comité de Padres v. Honig*, **1:138, 2:568**
- ELD. *See Specially designed academic instruction in English*
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, **2:571, 872**
 reauthorization of (*See No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title I*)
 Title VII (*See Title VII, all entries*)
- ELL identification processes. *See Designation and redesignation of English language learners*
- Elliot, Briggs v., **1:536**
- Ellis, Richard, **2:896**
- Ellis, Rod, **1:282**
- Ellis Torrance Test of Creative Thinking, **1:151**
- El Modena School District. *See Méndez v. Westminster*
- El Paso Interdependent School District, Alvarado v., **2:722**
- El Sol Santa Ana Science and Arts Academy Charter School, **1:69**
- Emergency Immigrant Education Act (EIEA), **2:800**
- Emotional transnationalism, **2:858**
- Emotion words, **1:15**
- Enculturation, 1:14, 245–247, 286, 287**
Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education (Baker & Jones), **1:52**
- Engelmann, Siegfried, **1:219, 220**
- English, first world language, 1:247–249**
 expanding circle of speakers, **1:247, 2:594–595**
 inner circle of speakers, **1:247, 248**
 linguistic imperialism and, **1:248**
 outer circle of speakers, **1:247**
- English, how long to learn, 1:249–253**
 academic second-language proficiency, **1:251**
 external variables, **1:251–252**
 L1 acquisition, **1:250**
 L2 acquisition, **1:250–251**
- English as a foreign language (EFL), **2:826, 908–909**
- English as a second language (ESL) approaches, 1:253–256**
 communicative language teaching, **1:253–254**
 content-based approach, **1:254, 269–270**
 cooperative language learning, **1:255–256**
 grammar-based approach, **1:253**
 natural approach, **1:255**
 sheltered English instruction, **1:254, 257**
 task-based language teaching, **1:256**

- whole-language approach, 1:254–255
See also **Dual-language programs; Monitor model**
- English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), 2:722–723, 826
- “English for the Children.” *See* **Proposition 203 (Arizona)**
- English for the children campaign, 1:256–259**, 267, 2:869, 897
- English immersion, 1:259–264**
- authentic program, 1:262–263
 - basic premise, 1:260–261
 - dual immersion, 1:263
 - in elementary schools, 2:555
 - foreign-language immersion, 1:261–262
 - learning foreign vs. second language, 1:261
 - programs for English-speaking children, 1:259–260
 - sheltered instruction, 1:25, 254, 257, 2:666–667, 676, 692, 696, 709–711, 793–794
 - “sink or swim” programs 1:260, 2:809, 814
 - special alternative instructional programs, 2:842, 843
 - status differences in, 1:261
 - structured, 2:688–689
 - structured, improving, 1:263
 - structured, 1:71–72, 73, 258, 269, 2:684–685, 692, 696, 850, 869
 - in United States, 1:260–261
- See also* **Dual-language programs; Transitional bilingual education programs**
- English in the world, 1:264–265**
- numbers of speakers, 2:594–595, 658
- English Language Acquisition Act, 2:844
- English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA), 2:576
- English Language Advocates, 1:267
- English Language Constitutional Amendment, 1:110
- English language development (ELD). *See* **Specially designed academic instruction in English**
- “English Language Education for Children in Public School”. *See* **Amendment 31 (Colorado)**
- English language learners (ELLs). *See* **Designation and redesignation of English language learners**
- English only
- opposition to official legislation, 2:959–963
 - “sink or swim” programs, 1:73, 260, 2:809, 814
- See also* **Amendment 31 (Colorado); Castañeda v. Pickard; English for the Children Campaign; English-only organizations; Lau v. Nichols; Proposition 203 (Arizona); Proposition 227 (California); Question 2 (Massachusetts)**
- English-only organizations, 1:265–269**
- contemporary activities, 1:266–267
 - future of, 1:268
 - historical background, 1:265–266
 - Native American boarding schools and, 1:267–268
 - opponents to, 1:265
 - politics and, 1:184
 - Unz initiative, 1:268, 2:898
- English or content instruction, 1:269–270**
- English Plus, 1:268, 2:962–963
- English Plus Information Clearinghouse (EPIC), 1:121
- English teachers, on official English legislation, 2:626–628
- EPIC (English Plus Information Clearinghouse), 1:121
- Episodic discourse, 1:140–141
- Epstein, Joyce, 1:364
- Epstein, Noel (1938–), 1:126, 271–272, 2:563**, 682, 835, 836, 880
- Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, 1:22**, 39, 113, 135, 137, 138, 272–274, 520
- Equal Protection Clause, 1:21, 124, 514, 517, 520, 2:549, 867
- Equity struggles and educational reform, 1:274–280**
- congressional opponents, 1:278–279
 - executive opponents, 1:278
 - obstacles to bilingual education, 1:277–279
 - in recent decades, 1:274–276
 - through bilingual education, 1:276–277
- Equivalence constraint, 1:144
- ERIC/CLL (Education Resource Information Center Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics), 1:122, 2:727
- Erickson, Frederick, 1:205, 229, 2:587
- Erikson, Erik, 1:14, 286–287
- ERP (event-related potentials), 1:105, 106–107
- Error analysis, 1:280–283**
- error vs. mistake, 1:281
 - historical overview, 1:280
 - intra-/interlingual errors, 1:281–282
 - limitations, 1:282
 - plausible reconstruction and, 1:281
 - research on, 1:281–282
 - transitional competence and, 1:281
 - types of errors, 1:281–282
 - vs. contrastive analysis, 1:280, 281
- Errors of competence, 1:281
- Errors of performance, 1:281
- Ervin, Susan, 1:161, 1:162, 163
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan, 1:432–444
- Escala-Rabadán, Luis, 2:859
- Escamilla, Kathy (1949–), 1:283–284, 2:573**
- Escobedo, Deborah (1954–), 1:284–285**
- ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages), 2:722–723, 826
- Espinosa-Herold, Marietta, 1:357
- Essentialism, 1:205
- Esther Martínez Native Languages Preservation Act, 1:103, 387, 396, 2:592–593
- Estonian language, 1:148, 453

- Ethclass, **2:758**
- Ethnicity
 affirmative, **1:271, 416, 2:682, 837, 852**
 situational, **1:9**
- Ethnic stew paradigm, **2:548**
- Ethnocentrism, 1:285–288**
 institutional, **1:287–288**
 vs. racism, **1:287**
- Ethnography of communication, **1:226, 2:754**
- Ethnologue, **1:461**
- Eugenics, **1:219**
- Euskara (Basque) language, **1:339, 403, 437, 464**
- Evaluation, dissemination, and assessment
 centers (EDACs), **2:842**
- “Evaluation of the DeWitt Wallace–Reader’s Digest
 Fund’s Pathways to Teaching Careers Program,” **1:87**
- Evans, Carol, **2:691**
- Event-related potentials (ERP), **1:105, 106–107**
- Exceptional students. *See* **Gifted and talented bilinguals**
- Exit criteria for English language learner programs, 1:288–291, 351, 352, 2:907**
- Expediency-oriented accommodations, **1:465**
- Extralinguistic information, **1:165**
- Falicov, Celia J., **1:207, 209**
- Falkner, Roland, **2:702**
- False cognates, **1:16**. *See also* **Cognates, true and false**
- Faltis, Christian, **2:745–746**
- Family Educational Rights and Privacy
 Act (FERPA), **2:867–868**
- Family tree model, of language study, **1:402**
- Fan, David, **1:75**
- Fannin, Paul J., **2:838–839**
- Farrington v. Tokushige*, **1:460, 467, 469, 2:894**
- Fasold, Ralph, **1:523**
- Fathman, Anna K., **1:521**
- Fears, Darryl, **1:355**
- Fecho, Bob, **1:61**
- Federal court decisions and legislation, 1:293–298**
 Bilingual Education Act, **1:295**
 cases affecting bilingual education, **1:294–297**
Castañeda v. Pickard (*See* **Castañeda v. Pickard**)
 challenges, **1:297–298**
Cintrón v. Brentwood Union Free School District,
1:115, 296
 Civil Rights Act of 1964, **1:295**
 during dismissive period, **1:294**
 Fourteenth Amendment, **1:113, 124, 293, 294, 467, 468, 507, 514, 520**
Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education,
1:138, 273, 296–297, 2:722
Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, **1:112, 124, 273, 277, 297, 2:568, 722**
 language policy and rights, **1:293–294**
Lau v. Nichols (*See* **Lau v. Nichols**)
Méndez v. Westminster, **1:135, 294, 507, 2:549–550, 551**
Meyer v. Nebraska, **1:266, 293, 294, 319, 370, 460, 467, 2:647–648, 894**
 during opportunistic period, **1:294**
 during permissive period, **1:293–294**
Plessy v. Ferguson, **1:293, 294, 458, 506**
 during restrictive period, **1:294**
Ríos v. Read, **1:115, 296**
Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools, **1:115, 124, 266, 295–296, 468**
United States v. State of Texas, **1:296**
- FEP (fluent English proficient), **1:289**
- Ferguson, Charles, **1:117–118, 164, 2:749, 2907**
- Ferguson, Plessy v., **1:293, 294, 458, 467, 506, 2:551**
- Fernández, Ricardo (1940–), 1:298–299, 2:569**
- Feuerverger, Grace, **2:873**
- Fideler, Elizabeth, **1:86–87**
- Fiering, Norman, **1:482**
- Figuroa, Neysa Luz, **1:46**
- Figuroa, Richard, **1:89**
- Fillmore, Charles, **1:443**
- First-language accents, **1:4**
- First-language acquisition, 1:299–304**
 biology of, **1:300, 1:302–304**
 Chomsky and universal grammar, **1:302**
 context of, **1:301–302**
 critical period of, **1:303**
 open class words, **1:301**
 pivot class words, **1:301**
 stages of, **1:300–301**
- Fischer, Lynn, **2:777**
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1926–), 1:304–306**
 on diglossia, **2:749, 750–751**
 on English as multinational tool, **2:910**
 on heritage language preservation,
1:53, 346, 886, 2:777
 on language as dialect, **1:44**
 on language competition, **2:636–637**
 on language loyalty, **1:445–446, 447, 448**
 on language shift, **1:81, 82–84, 163, 386, 463, 2:773**
 on melting-pot theory, **2:548**
 on minority language resources, **2:884**
 on multilingualism, **1:528**
 on policy, **2:649**
 on remedial approach, **1:11–12**
- FL. *See* Foreign-language (FL) immersion
- Flege, James, **1:303**
- FLES (foreign language in the elementary school),
1:38, 234, 2:555
- Fletcher, Todd, **2:691**
- FLEX (foreign-language experience/exploration), **2:555**
- Flores, Miriam. *See* **Flores v. State of Arizona**

- Flores v. State of Arizona*, **1:273–274**, 306–311
 case overview, **1:306–310**
 Consent Order, **1:308**
 enforcement proceedings, **1:308**
 implications, **1:311**
 judgment ruling on EEOA claim, **1:307–308**
 judgment ruling on the Title VI claim, **1:308**
 plaintiffs motions for injunctive relief, **1:309–310**
 subsequent motions, **1:310–311**
See also Hogan, Timothy M. (1951–)
- Florida
 Miami program, **2:679–680**
 missions in, **1:486**
 native-language instruction for refugee students, **1:508**
 Vietnamese bilingual education in, **1:272**
 Vietnamese in, **2:885**
See also Indigenous languages, current status
- Florida Board of Education, LULAC v., **1:138**, **2:568**
- Fluency. *See Proficiency, fluency, and mastery*
- Fluent English proficient (FEP), **1:289**
- Foraker Act, **2:702**
- Forbes, Jack D., **2:563**
- Ford, Gerald, **2:620**
- Ford, Henry, **2:547**
- Fordam, Signithia, **2:634**
- Foreign-language experience/exploration (FLEX), **2:555**
- Foreign-language (FL) immersion, **1:261–262**, 436
 program duration, **1:261–262**
 program goals, **1:262**
 teacher qualifications, **1:262**
See also English immersion
- Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools (FLES), **1:38**, 234, **2:555**
- Foreign teachers, importing. *See Credentialing foreign-trained teachers*
- Formal language, **2:738**
- Formal language planning, **1:70**
- Formal theory, on child/adult language learning, **1:443**
- Fort Defiance Navajo Immersion program, **1:388**, 479
- Fossilization, and interlanguage, **1:406**
- Foucault, Michel, **1:348**, 421, 473
- Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism (Baker), **1:51–52**
- Four-skills language learning theory, 1:312–313**
 audio-lingual method, **1:312**
 critical literacy approach, **1:313**
 sequential vs. integrated approach, **1:312–313**
- Fourteenth Amendment, **1:113**, 124, 293, 294, 467, 468, 507, 514, 520
- Fractional view, on bilingualism, 79
- France, monolingualism in, **2:585**
- Français, **1:142**
- Frankel, Irving, **1:40**
- Franklin, Benjamin, **1:458**, **2:630**
- Franquiz, Maria, **2:573**
- Freebody, Penelope, **1:192**
- Freeman, D., **2:657**
- Freeman, Rebecca, **1:176**
- Freeman, Y., **2:657**
- Free variation, **2:752**
- Freire, Paulo, **1:191**, 192, 348, 529, **2:863**
- French-English bilinguals, **1:71**, 229, **2:553**
- French Kreyol, **2:750**
- French language. *See Language study today; Modern languages in schools and colleges*
- French language immersion, **1:261**
- Friedlander, Monica, **2:601**
- Fries, Charles, **1:47**, 178, **2:542**
- Fry, Richard, **1:355**
- Functionalism, **1:302**, 527
- Functional nativeness, **2:595**
- Functional theory, on language learning in child/adult, **1:443**
- Funds of knowledge, **1:198**, 202, 222, 227, 424, **2:754**
- Furman, Nelly, **2:556**
- Furnham, Adrian, **1:207–208**
- Gaarder, Bruce, **1:11**, **2:838**
- Gaelic language, **1:210**, **2:872**
- Galambos, Sylvia, **2:553**, 900
- Gallegly, Elton, **2:867**
- Gallegly Amendment, **2:867**
- Gándara, Patricia, **1:95**, **2:697**, 698, 816, 818
- Gante, Pedro de (Brother Peter Van der Moere), **1:484–485**
- Garan, Elaine, **2:657**
- García, Eugene E. (1946–)**, **1:315–316**, **2:657**, 697
- García, Gilbert, **1:251–252**
- García, Homer, **1:54**
- García, Ofelia, **1:52**, 342, 531–532
- Garden Grove School District. *See Méndez v. Westminster*
- Gardner, Howard, **1:322**
- Gardner, Robert, **1:18**, 444
- Garger, Stephen, **1:152**
- Garrett, Henry, **1:221**
- Gary, Juneau M., **1:207**
- Gass, Susan, **1:167**
- Gatekeeping, **1:453–454**
- Gatto, John T., **1:348–349**
- Gay, Geneva, **2:563**
- Gee, James, **1:61**, 227, 422
- Geertz, Clifford, **2:566**
- Generative linguistics, **1:470**, 526–527
- Generative theory of language, **1:166**
- Genesee, Fred, **1:150**, 152, 231, 250
- Genetic law of development, **2:759**

- Genocide
 cultural, **2:803**
 linguistic, **1:387**
 physical, **1:387, 2:762**
- Georgia
 Apalachees in, **1:489**
 immigrants in, **1:375**
 missions in, **1:486**
- Germanic languages, **1:403**
- German language, code switching in, **1:144**
- German language education, 1:316–320**
 Bennett Law, **1:318**
 Colonial–Early Republic, **1:316–317, 458, 481**
 Edwards Law, **1:318**
 in Midwest, **2:646–648**
 nineteenth century–Civil War, **1:317–318**
 post–civil war–mid-20th century, **1:110, 318–319**
 since 1950, **1:319–320**
See also **Kloss, Heinz (1904–1987);**
Language study today; Modern languages in schools and colleges
- German language in U.S. history, 1:320–322**
 anti-German sentiment, **1:37, 71, 110, 266, 319, 370, 459, 460**
 language loyalty, **1:46, 446, 447**
- Gershberg, Alec, **2:859**
- G.I. Forum, **1:507, 2:829**
- Gibbons, Pauline, **1:3, 2:745**
- Gibson, Margaret, **1:365**
- GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages), **1:81, 82–84, 463**
- Gifted and talented bilinguals, 1:322–324**
 characteristics of gifted child, **1:322–323**
 giftedness/intelligence vs. aptitude, **1:323**
 identification and testing, **1:323**
 lack of research, **1:323**
 language brokers as, **1:324, 428**
 language minority children, **1:323–324**
 linguistic intelligence, **1:322–323**
- Giles, Howard, **1:4, 6, 7, 8**
- Gingràs, Rosario, **1:144**
- Ginsburg, Alan, **2:649**
- Gintis, Herbert, **1:29, 348, 349**
- Giuliani, Rudolph, **1:42**
- Glass, Gene V., **2:677–678**
- Glick Schiller, Nina, **2:858–859**
- Glietman, Henry, **1:165–166**
- Glietman, Lila, **1:165–166**
- Global citizenship, **1:69**
- Global Englishes, **2:595**
See also **World Englishes**
- Globalization. *See* **English, first world language; English in the world; Language education policy in global perspective**
- Glossogenetics, **1:430**
- Goals 2000: Educate America Act, **1:381, 382, 2:798, 800, 843**
- Goddard, Henry H., **1:350**
- Goddard, Terry, **2:687**
- Goldberg, David, **2:556, 776**
- Gómez, Joel (1945–), **1:119, 325–326, 2:576**
- Gómez, Severo (1924–2006), **1:326–327**
Gómez v. Illinois State Board of Education, **1:138, 273, 297**
- González, Henry B. (1916–2000), 1:327–328**
- González, Josué M. (1941–), 1:328–330**
 on bilingual teacher competencies, **1:95, 2:671**
 on cognitive skills enhancement, **1:150–151**
 as director of OBEMLA, **2:621–622, 666**
 as editor of Bilingual Research Journal, **2:572, 573**
 on educational reform, **1:275**
 as Lanier project designer, **2:828**
 on Spanish speakers in U.S., **1:342**
- González, Manny J., **1:207–208, 209**
- González, Norma, **1:222, 1:227, 2:558**
- González-Ramos, Gladys, **1:207–208, 209**
- Goodman, Kenneth, **1:534, 535, 2:656, 905–906**
- Goodman, Yetta, **1:535, 2:655**
- Gordon, Milton, **2:758**
- Gordon, Raymond, **1:391**
- Gorena, Minerva, **2:576**
- Goss v. Lopez*, **2:722**
- Gothic language, **1:403**
- Graddol, David, **2:594, 595, 877**
- Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages (GIDS), **1:81, 82–84, 463**
- Graduate Equivalency Diploma (GED), **1:351, 366**
- Grammar
 grammar-based approach, **1:253, 400, 2:674, 776**
 transformational-generative, **1:526**
 universal, **1:166, 302, 405, 419–420, 470, 471, 522**
See also **Contrastive analysis; Grammar-translation method**
- Grammar-translation method,**
1:47, 157, 253, 330–332
 classroom use, **1:332**
 natural method and, **1:331–332**
 origin and development, **1:331**
- Grammatical metaphor, **1:2**
- Grammatical person, **1:1**
- Grammont, Maurice, **2:635**
- Grant, Carl, **2:563**
- Graphophonics, **1:534, 2:655, 905, 906**
- Graves, Anne, **1:168**
- Graves, Michael, **1:147**
- Gray, Edward, **1:482**
- Gray, Susan, **2:907**
- Gray, Tracy, **1:119**

- Great Britain
 communicative approach in, **1:155**, 157
 non-standard English speakers in, **2:595**
- Great Society, **1:11**, 234, 509, **2:638**, 681, 828, 913
- Greek language, classical, **1:330–331**, 403, 429, 430, **2:555**, 872
- Green, Gene, **1:278**
- Greenberg, James, **2:558**
- Greene, Jay, **2:677**
- Greenwood, Charles, **1:91**
- Gregg, Kevin, **1:167**
- Grice, H. Paul, **2:662**
- Grosjean, Françoise, **1:79**, **2:718**
- Gross, Calvin, **1:508**
- Grossen, Bonnie, **1:90**
- Guadalupe Organization, Inc. v. Tempe Elementary School District*, **1:114–115**, 296, **2:893**
- Guaraní language, **2:585**, 750
- Guarnizo, Luis, **2:859**
- Guerrero, Adalberto (1929–)**, **1:332–335**, **2:637**, 638, 870
- Guerrero, Michael, **2:818**, 819
- Guest worker program, **1:478**
- Guided participation, **2:759**
- Guided practice, **1:495**, **2:742**
- Guild, Pat, **1:152**
- Gumperz, John, **1:155**, 226, 490, **2:584**
- Guss-Zamora, Michelle, **1:181**
- Gutiérrez, José Angel, **1:329**
- Gutiérrez, Kris, **2:697**
- Guzmán, William, **2:549**
- Habitus, **1:197–198**
- Hagan, Shanna, **1:90**
- Haitian Kreyol (Creole), **1:227**, **2:804–805**
- Hajnal, Zoltan, **2:898**
- Hakuta, Kenji (1952–)**, **1:337–338**
 on bilingualism research, **1:152**
 on bilingual teacher competence, **1:94**, **2:816–817**
 on case-study tradition, **2:716**
 chairs Stanford Working Group, **1:134**
 on child vs. adult acquisition, **1:443–444**, 521–522
 on critical period hypothesis, **1:196**
 on heritage languages, **1:54**, **2:592**
 on influences on L2 acquisition, **1:337**
 on metalinguistic awareness, **1:428**
 on right to bilingual education, **1:515**
 on transitional bilingualism, **1:511**
- Hale, Kenneth, **1:398**
- Hall, Edward, **1:14**, 365, 426, **2:566**, 567
- Halliday, Michael, **1:1**, 2, 455, 527
- Hamers, Josiane, **1:501–502**
- “Handicap”, language as, **1:174**, 339, 360, 415, **2:552**, 577, 900
- Hansegård, Nils Erik, **2:737**
- Hanson, Gordon, **1:355**
- Hanson, Victor Davis, **2:771**
- Hanson, William E., **1:427**
- Hao, Lingxin, **1:54**, 55, 346
- Harada, Koichi, **1:408**
- Harding-Esch, Edith, **2:714–715**, 716, 718
- Hardman, Joel, **1:175**, 176
- Harris, Catherine, **1:15**
- Harrison, Lawrence, **2:582**
- Haselkorn, David, **1:86–87**
- Haugen, Einar (1906–1994)**, **1:338–340**
- Hawai‘i
 language socialization in, **1:495**
 literacy rate of natives, **2:590**
 NCLB provision for natives, **2:591**
 numbers of native speakers, **2:803**
See also Hawaiian-medium education;
Japanese language in Hawai‘i
- Hawaiian Creole, **1:70–71**
- Hawaiian-medium education
 ‘Aha Pūnana Leo preschools, **1:389**, 398, 437, **2:591**, 592
 enrollments, **2:555**
 Kamehameha Early Education Program, **1:227**, **2:565–566**
 Standard English tests and, **1:466**
- Hawai‘i Japanese Education Society, **1:409**
- Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Act, **2:842–843**
- Hayakawa, S. I. (1906–1992)**, **1:110**, 128, 266, **340–341**, **2:585**, 632, 807
- Head Start, **1:10**, 85, 124, 146, 201, 220, 234, 415, 416, 417, 478, 678
- Heath, Shirley B.
 on academic language, **1:1**
 on classroom behaviors, **2:663**
 on Kloss, **1:411**
 on language socialization, **1:141**, 142, 198, 227, 302, 490, 530, **2:754**, 760
 on policy, **2:647**
- Hebrew-English bilinguals, **1:454**, **2:553**
- Hebrew language
 Arabic-Hebrew program, **2:873**
 classical, **1:429**
 in elementary school, **2:555**
 family language strategies, **2:715**
 in history, **2:750**, 872
 revival of, **1:453**, 464
- Heller, Monica, **1:229**, **2:716**
- Hélot, Christine, **1:176**
- Heritage language education**, **1:341–344**
 developed functional proficiencies in, **2:775**
 scope of field, **1:343–344**

- teaching, **2:774–775**
 teaching Spanish as heritage language, **2:775–777**
 terminology issues, **1:342–343**
See also **Benefits of bilingual and heritage languages; Heritage languages in families; Home language and self-esteem**
- Heritage languages in families, 1:344–347**
 Herrnstein, Richard J., **1:219, 221**
 Herzfeld, Michael, **1:75**
 Hicks, June, **2:556, 785, 786**
Hidden curriculum, 1:29, 198–199, 232, 347–349
 anthropology and critical theory on, **1:348**
 equity and, **1:347–348**
 populist view on, **1:348–349**
 role and status of English and, **1:349**
 Hierarchy of human needs, **2:582**
 “Highly qualified” teachers, **1:93, 2:669, 811, 813, 814–815, 850**
 High school exit exams, **1:351, 352, 2:907**
High-stakes testing, 1:350–353, 2:815
 current context, **1:350–351**
 effects on ELLs, **1:20, 283, 351–352**
 effects on instruction and policy, **1:352**
 historical perspective, **1:350**
- Hill, Merton, **1:33**
 Hindi language
 code switching and, **1:144**
 as critical language, **1:190, 2:594, 595**
 numbers of speakers, **2:658**
 as official language, **1:66, 264, 531, 2:585**
- Hinton, Leanne, **1:389, 463–464, 494**
 Hirsch, E. D., **2:566**
 Hirsch, Joy, **1:105**
 Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU), **1:299**
- Hispanic population growth, 1:353–358**
 effects of English only on students, **1:356**
 historical background, **1:354–355**
 student population growth, **1:355–356**
 terminology issues, **1:355**
 voting power and, **1:357**
- Hispanics, biliteracy among, **1:532**
 Hispanoparlante students, **2:775**
 Hmong. *See* **Southeast Asian refugees**
- Hobbs, Frank, **1:370**
 Hoffman, Eva, **1:15**
 Hoffman, Glen, **2:907**
- Hogan, Timothy M. (1951–), 1:358–359**
 Holistic view. *See* **Bilingualism in holistic perspective**
 Home background speaker, **2:775**
- Home language and self-esteem, 1:359–362**
 cultural affects on sense of self, **1:359–360**
 education policy and, **1:360–362**
See also **Heritage language education; Home/school relations**
- Home Language Survey, 1:224, 362–363**
Home/school relations, 1:363–367, 490
 community resources, **1:366**
 incorporating home culture, **1:365**
 parental involvement, **1:366–367**
 parental support of language development, **1:364–365**
- Hometown Associations (HTAs), **2:859**
 Honeymoon stage, of culture shock, **1:207**
 Honig, El Comité de Padres v., **1:138, 2:568**
 Hopstock, Paul, **1:356**
- Hornberger, Nancy (1951–), 1:174–175, 176, 367–368**
 Horne, Tom, **2:686–687**
 Household funds of knowledge, **2:754**
 Hovland, Carl, **1:14**
 Howard, Elizabeth, **1:230, 231–232**
 Howatt, Anthony, **1:331, 523, 525, 526**
 Howie, Pauline, **1:345**
 Hoynes, William, **1:75–76, 77**
 Huang, David, **1:345–346**
 Hufstедler, Shirley, **1:21, 22, 511, 2:836**
 Human development, stages of, **1:286–287**
 Hungarian language, **1:148, 178–179, 430, 450**
 Hunter, Alapa, **1:495**
 Hunter, Madeline, **2:742**
 Huntington, Samuel, **2:582, 771**
 Hu-Pei Au, Kathryn, **1:205**
 Hutchins, Edwin, **2:744**
 Hutton, Christopher, **1:411–412**
 Hybrid language, **1:80–81**
See also **Ebonics**
- Hymes, Dell, **1:155, 226, 302, 490, 494**
- Ianco-Worrall, Anita, **2:553**
 IASA. *See* **Improving America’s Schools Act of 1994**
Idaho Migrant Council v. Board of Education,
1:138, 273, 296–297, 2:722
- IDEA (Individuals with Disabilities Education Act),
1:88–89
- Ideational functions of language, **1:527**
- Identity
 academic interaction affect on, **2:745–746**
 bilingual identity formation, **2:716–717**
 in community of practice, **1:160**
 role of language in, **1:4–5**
See also **Enculturation; Home language and self-esteem; Language and identity**
- Identity confusion, **1:14**
- Ideology. *See* **Melting-pot theory; Views of bilingual education; Views of language difference**
- Idiolect, **1:456**
- IDRA (Intercultural Development Research Association),
1:112, 113, 181, 182–183, 186, 2:568
- IL2. *See* **Indigenous languages as second languages**
- Illegal alien legislation, **2:629**
 Illinois, undocumented students’ rights in, **2:722**

- Illinois State Board of Education, Gómez v.,
1:138, 273, 297
- Illocution, 2:662
- IMF (International Monetary Fund), 1:248
- Immediate Investment Languages, 1:190
- Immersion. *See* **English immersion**
- Immigrant ELL education, 1:369–372**
advantages of bilingual programs, 1:371–372
poverty among minority groups, 1:370
recent demographic changes in U.S., 1:370
socioeconomic historical changes, 1:379–370
- Immigrants
deaf bilingual education, 1:215
language maintenance, 2:541
language restrictionism, 1:459–460
language shift process, 2:772
transitional bilingual education and, 2:853–854
See also **Early immigrants and English language learning; Immigrant ELL education; Newcomer programs; Proposition 187 (California)**
- Immigration and language policy, 1:372–377**
dismissive period, 1:375–376
opportunist period, 1:374–375
restrictive period, 1:372–373
- Immigration and Nationality Act, 1:294–295
- Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA),
1:175, 355, 2:638
- Imperialism, linguistic, 1:248, 2:877, 910
- Imposed identities, 1:422, 423
- Imprinting theory, 1:194
- Improving America's Schools Act of 1994, 1:377–386,**
2:576, 799, 843
demographic/budgetary realities, 1:382
historical essay on, 1:377–379
key differences in reauthorizations, 1:383–385
knowledge base need, 1:380–381
new policy need, 1:380–382
specific changes to Title VII, 1:382–383
- Incomprehensible input, 1:167
- Independent School District v. Salvatierra*, 1:507
- Indiana, ELL population growth in, 2:811
- Indian Education Act of 1972, 1:387, 2:590–591
- Indian Nations at Risk Task Force, 2:592
- Indian Removal Act, 1:458–459
- Indian Reorganization Act, 1:102
- Indian Self-Discrimination and Educational Assistance Act, 1:387
- Indigenous Language Institute, 1:390
- Indigenous language revitalization, 1:386–390**
challenges to, 1:389–390
immersion programs, 1:387–389
reasons for endangerment, 1:387
tribal sovereignty and linguistic rights, 1:387
See also **Indigenous languages, current status; Language revival and renewal**
- Indigenous languages, current status,**
1:386–387, 391–397
English dialect variations, 1:396
numbers of speakers, 1:392–395
- Indigenous languages as second languages, 1:397–402**
conditions for IL2 learning, 1:399–401
declining numbers of indigenous speakers, 1:398
immersion programs, 1:398
maintenance and reclamation, 1:398
Master-Apprentice Approach, 1:398–399
role of L1 and L2 theories, 1:399
- Indirect speech acts, 2:662
- Individual biculturalism, 1:66
- Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), 1:88–89
- Individual vs. societal bilingualism, 1:81–82
- Indo-European languages, 1:402–404**
classical Latin, 1:402–403
Germanic language family, 1:402–403
reconstructing, 1:403
subfamilies, 1:403
- Indo-Iranian languages, 1:403
- Informed consent, 1:88
- Ingold, Catherine, 2:776
- Initiation-response-evaluation (IRE), 1:140
- Initiation-response-feedback (IRF), 1:140
- Inner speech, 2:899
- Inouye, Daniel, 2:591
- Input hypothesis, 1:18
See also **Comprehensible input**
- Institutional ethnocentrism, 1:287–288
- Instrumental motivation, 1:18
- Intake. *See* **Comprehensible input**
- Integrated vs. sequential approach, 1:312–313
- Integrative motivation, 1:18
- Intelligence quotient (IQ), 1:151, 220–221,
350, 2:717–718
- Intensive FLES, 2:555
- Interactive positioning, 1:422
- Interactive talking, 2:899–900, 901
- Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA),
1:112, 113, 181, 182–183, 186, 2:568
- Intercultural pragmatics, 2:662–663
- Interdependence hypothesis, 2:747
- Interdependence stage, of culture shock, 1:207
- Interlanguage, 1:404–406, 2:731**
basic processes, 1:405–406
fossilization and, 1:406
interlanguage continuum and, 1:406
L2 acquisition and, 1:405
language transfer and, 1:405
L2 communication strategies, 1:405–406
L2 learning strategies and, 1:405
overgeneralization of target-language rules and, 1:406
technological analyzation of, 1:822
transfer of training and, 1:405

- Intermarriage, **2:637**, 803
 Internal diversity, **2:581**
 International Communication Agency, **2:665**
 International High School, **2:601–602**
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), **1:248**
 Interpersonal functions of language, **1:527**
 Intersentential code switching, **1:143**, 163
 Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC), **2:730**
 Intrasentential code switching, **1:143**, 163
 Involuntary minority, **2:633–634**
 Iowa, Bartles v., **1:319**
 Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS), **1:290**
 IQ (intelligence quotient), **1:151**, 220–221, 350, **2:717–718**
 IRCA (Immigration Reform and Control Act), **1:175**, 355, **2:638**
 IRE (initiation-response-evaluation), **1:140**
 IRF (initiation-response-feedback), **1:140**
 Irish language, **1:84**, 210, 464, **2:872**
 ISLLC (Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium), **2:730**
 Israel, **1:453**, 454, **2:873–874**
See also Hebrew language
 Italian language in U.S., **1:449**
 enrollments, **2:555**, 556
See also **Language study today**
 ITBS (Iowa Test of Basic Skills), **1:290**
 Iu Mien people, **2:761**
- Jackson, Andrew, **1:458–459**
 Jackson, Jesse, Jr., **1:43**, 244
 Jackson, Philip, **1:347**
 Jackson, Sheldon, **2:590**
 Jackson, Shelia, **1:278**
 Jacobson, Rodolfo, **1:169–171**
 Japanese Americans, **1:217**, 454, 467, 473, 478
See also **Japanese language in Hawai'i**
Japanese language in Hawai'i, **1:407–410**
 current status, **1:409**
 declining language school enrollment, **1:409–410**
 history of language schools, **1:407–409**
 Japanese language in U.S., enrollments, **2:555**, 556
 Jay, John, **1:45**
 Jefferson, Thomas, **1:321**, **2:630**
 Jencks, Christopher, **1:10**, 201
 Jenkins, Jennifer, **2:910**
 Jenkins, Lynn, **1:531**
 Jensen, Arthur, **1:220–221**
 Jeon, Mihyon, **1:175**
 Jim Crow, **1:33**
 Jiménez, Alicia, **2:691**
 Jiménez, Martha, **1:468–469**
- JNCL (Joint National Committee for Languages), **1:24**, 121
 John, Vera, **1:226**
 Johnson, Jacqueline, **1:195**, 521
 Johnson, Lyndon B., **1:124**, 234, 509, **2:571**, 621, 720, 828, 834, 835
 Johnson, Mark, **2:566**
 Johnson, Tony, **1:32**
 Johnson-Reed Act, **1:33**
 John-Steiner, Vera, **1:425**
 Johnston, Bill, **1:400**
 Joint National Committee for Languages (JNCL), **1:24**, 121
 Jones, Margaret, **1:439**
 Jones, Mary Ann, **2:637**
 Jones, Sylvia Prys, **1:52**, 53, 342, 372, **2:875**
 Jones, W. R., **1:52**
 Jones, William, **1:403**
 Jordan, Cathie, **2:565–566**
 Jorden, Eleanor, **1:409–410**
 Jungeblut, Ann, **1:531**
- Kachru, Braj, **1:60**, 247, 248, 876, 908, 909, 910, 911
 Kamanā, Kauanoē, **1:389**, 398, **2:591**
 Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), **1:227**, **2:565–566**, 760
 Kansas, undocumented students' rights in, **2:722**
 Kaplan, Robert, **1:179**, 435
 Karuk language revitalization, **1:388–389**
 Kazakh language, **1:191**, 454
 Keefe, Joan, **2:646**
 Keegan, Lisa Graham, **2:685–686**
 KEEP (Kamehameha Early Education Program), **1:227**, **2:565–566**, 760
 Kellor, Frances, **1:36**
 Kennedy, Edward M., **2:572**
 Kennedy, John F., **2:563**
 Kennedy Act. *See* Indian Education Act of 1972
 Kentucky, ELL population growth in, **2:811**
 Keres language, **1:388–389**, 401, 495
Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, **1:112**, 124, 273, 277, 297, **2:568**, 722
 Key words, and reading, **1:439–440**
 Khmer. *See* **Southeast Asian refugees**
 Kibria, Nazli, **2:884**, 886
 Kieffer, Michael, **1:225–226**
 Kiger, Gary, **1:45–46**
 Kildee, Dale, **1:537**
 Kim, Karl, **1:105**, 196
 King, Charles, **1:25**
 Kino, Eusebio F., **1:488**
 Kiowa people, **1:495–496**
 Kirby, Edgewood v., **2:568**

- Kirsch, Irwin, **1:531**
 Kivisto, Peter, **2:547**
 Klinger, Janette, **1:91**
Kloss, Heinz (1904–1987), **1:37, 45, 294, 411–413, 2:647**
 Know-Nothing movement, **1:318**
Kohanga Reo (Language Nest), **1:339, 398, 435, 437**
 Kolstad, Andrew, **1:531**
 Kondo, Kimi, **1:408, 409, 410**
 Konglish, **1:142**
 Korean language
 community schools, **1:479**
 as critical language, **1:190**
 enrollments, **2:555, 556**
 national language associations, **2:887**
 in Texas, **2:829**
 Koven, Michele, **1:14, 15**
 Kramsch, Claire, **1:180, 344**
Krashen, Stephen D. (1941–), **1:413–414**
 acquisition/learning hypothesis, **1:249, 343, 471**
 on bilingual education effectiveness, **1:278**
 on child/adult acquisition, **1:521**
 on Hawaiian speakers, **2:803**
 on language loss, **1:476**
 on language status, **1:423, 424**
 on learning, **1:470, 2:855**
 on monitor hypothesis (*See* **Monitor model**)
 on native language literacy, **1:534**
 on pair and group work, **2:598**
 on sheltered instruction, **2:793**
 on skill-based instruction, **1:313**
 on Vietnamese speakers, **2:886**
 See also **Comprehensible input**
 Krauss, Michael, **1:386, 387, 388, 391, 396, 476, 2:803**
- Labeling bilingual education clients: LESA, LEP, and ELL**, **1:415–417**
 English language learners (ELLs), **1:416–417**
 limited English proficiency (LEP), **1:416**
 limited-English-speaking ability (LESA), **1:415–417**
 Labov, William, **1:60–61, 198, 2:634, 753**
 LAD. *See* **Language acquisition device**
 Ladino language, **1:453**
 Lado, Robert, **1:178, 2:542**
 Ladson-Billings, Gloria, **1:204**
LaFontaine, Hernán (1934–), **1:417–418, 2:572, 699**
 Laird, Jennifer, **1:370, 2:695**
 Lakoff, George, **1:301, 2:566**
 Lakota language, **1:493, 494**
 Lambert, Richard, **1:409–410**
 Lambert, Wallace, **2:553, 900, 907**
 on additive/subtractive bilingualism, **1:10, 527**
 on affective factors in language learning, **1:444**
 on compound/coordinate bilinguals, **1:162–163**
 on French-English bilinguals, **1:229, 2:553**
 on French language immersion, **1:261, 436**
 on language maintenance, **1:54**
 See also **St. Lambert immersion study**
 Lamoreaux, Lillian, **1:439**
Language acquisition device, **1:17, 166, 302, 419–421**
 Chomsky and, **1:419, 470**
 criticisms, **1:420–421**
 first-language acquisition and, **1:419–420**
 Krashen's monitor model, **1:420**
 second-language acquisition and, **1:420**
 universal grammar and, **1:419–420**
 Language acquisition planning, **1:52–53, 70, 453**
Language and identity, **1:421–425, 429**
 assumed identities, **1:422, 423–424**
 imposed identities, **1:422, 423**
 interactive positioning, **1:422**
 negotiable identities, **1:422, 423**
 pedagogical implications, **1:424**
 reflective positioning, **1:422–423**
 temporal sense of identity, **1:421**
Language and thought, **1:425–427**
 Language-as-problem, **1:297, 2:725, 893**
 Language-as-resource, **1:297–298, 2:725, 894**
 Language-as-right, **1:297, 2:725, 893–894**
 Language Assessment Battery (LAB), **1:41, 42**
 Language Assessment Scales (LAS), **1:216**
 Language Background Questionnaire for the Bilingual Child, **1:432**
Language brokering, **1:324, 427–429**
 Language contact, **1:339**
 Language defined, **1:429–430**
Language dominance, **1:430–435**
 batteries of measures, **1:433**
 effect on programs and policy, **1:431–432**
 grammar measures, **1:433**
 implications, **1:434**
 lexical tests, **1:432–433**
 measuring, **1:432–433**
 questionnaires and surveys, **1:432**
 vs. language proficiency, **1:433–434**
Language education policy in global perspective, **1:435–438**
 developmental bilingual education, **1:436–437**
 immersion programs, **1:436, 437**
 maintenance bilingual education, **1:436**
 1970s, **1:436–437**
 plurilingualism, **1:437**
 post-cold war to present, **1:437–438**
 post-World War II, **1:436**
 transitional bilingual education, **1:436**

- Language experience approach to reading, 1:438–442**
 advantages of using, 1:440–441
 class experience charts, 1:441
 group charts, 1:439
 key words, 1:439–440
 personal charts, 1:440
- Language “handicap,” 1:174, 339, 360, 415, 2:552, 577, 900
- Language ideologies. *See* Views of bilingual education;
 Views of language difference
- Language Inspection Educational Programs
 (LIEPs), 1:383, 385
- Language-learning blocks, 1:47, 1194
See also Phonology, morphology, and syntax
- Language learning in children and adults, 1:442–445**
 cognitive processes and, 1:443–444
 critical period for learning, 1:443
 formal theory, 1:443
 functional theory, 1:443
 language components and, 1:442–444
- Language loyalty, 1:445–449**
 case of Spanish, 1:447–448
 examples in U.S. history, 1:446–447
 types in U.S. history, 1:445–446
- Language maintenance. *See* Dual-language programs;
 Maintenance policy denied; Spanish, proactive
 maintenance; Transitional bilingual education
 programs
- Language nest, 1:339, 398, 435, 437
- Language persistence, 1:449–452**
 historical influences, 1:449
 language use and, 1:451
 speakers, 1:450–451
 where language exists, 1:449–450
- Language policy and language planning (LPLP).
See Language education policy in global perspective
- Language policy and social control, 1:452–455**
 conquest and colonization, 1:452–453
 gatekeeping, 1:453–454
 nationalism, 1:452–453
- Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe, 1:437
- Language Proficiency Assessment Committee
 (LPAC), 1:290
- Language regeneration. *See* Indigenous language
 revitalization
- Language registers, 1:2, 54, 455–457**
 frozen/casual registers, 1:456
 horizontal shift, 1:455
 implications for ELLs, 1:457
 morphology shifts, 1:456
 phonology shifts, 1:456
 reasons for shifting, 1:455
 research need, 1:343
 semantic shifts, 1:456
 syntax shifts, 1:456
- theory on, 1:455–456
 usage variations, 1:456–457
 vertical shift, 1:455
- Language restrictionism, 1:457–461, 2:541**
 enslaved peoples, 1:458
 immigrants, 1:459–460
 indigenous peoples, 1:458–459
- Language restrictionism in education. *See* English
 for the children campaign
- Language revitalization. *See* Indigenous language
 revitalization; Language revival and renewal
- Language revival and renewal, 1:82, 386, 461–464**
 factors in, 1:462–463
 stage-based approaches, 1:463–464
- Language rights in education, 1:465–470**
 compulsory illiteracy policy, 1:466
 expediency-oriented accommodations, 1:465
Farrington v. Tokushige, 1:467
 historical context, 1:465–466
 key court decisions, 1:466–469
Lau v. Nichols and related cases, 1:467–469
Meyer v. Nebraska, 1:467
 policy orientations/implications, 1:465
 promotion-oriented accommodations, 1:465
 restrictive, 1:466
 societal context of, 1:466
 tolerance-oriented policy, 1:466
 undocumented students, 1:284, 297, 2:568–569,
 569, 573, 722, 854, 867–868
- Languages, learned or acquired, 1:470–472**
 affective filter hypothesis, 1:472
 first-language acquisition, 1:470–471
 input hypothesis, 1:472
 monitor hypothesis, 1:471–472
 natural order hypothesis, 1:471
 second and written languages, 1:471–472
See also Monitor model
- Languages and power, 1:472–476**
 bilingual education and, 1:474
 public policy and, 1:474–475
 status and, 1:473
- Language shift and language loss, 1:82, 476–479**
 consequences, 1:478–479
 language loss, 1:476, 2:541
 language maintenance, 1:476–477
 language shift in U.S., 1:477–478
- Language shift process, for Spanish-speaking
 immigrants, 2:772
- Languages in Colonial schools, Eastern, 1:479–483**
 New Amsterdam, 1:480
 New Sweden, 1:480–481
 Pennsylvania, 1:481
 predomination of English, 1:481–483
 Virginia and New England, 1:480

- Languages in Colonial schools, Western, 1:483–489**
 academic curriculum in missions, 1:485–486
 Arizona missions, 1:488
 background, 1:484
 breadth and scope of the missions, 1:485
 California missions, 1:487–488
 duplicating mission model in U.S., 1:486–488
 Florida, Georgia, and Carolina missions, 1:486
 genesis of mission model in Mexico, 1:484
 New Mexico/Texas/Louisiana territories
 missions, 1:487
 organization of mission life, 1:485
 Spanish–native culture fusion, 1:484–485
 treatment of indigenous languages, 1:485
- Language socialization, 1:489–493**
 beyond home, 1:491
 in bilingual/multilingual contexts, 1:491–492
 cultural change over time, 1:491
 failure of, 1:492
 social practice view, 1:491–492
 theoretical roots of, 1:490
 throughout lifespan, 1:491
See also **Language socialization of indigenous children**
- Language socialization of indigenous children, 1:493–497**
 beliefs about children, 1:494
 cultural plans for socializing children, 1:494–496
 in home and community, 1:494
 numbers of/diversity among indigenous peoples, 1:493
 research on, 1:493–494
- Language study today, 1:497–501**
 high school/university enrollment, 1:498–500, 2:647
 language enrollments in 20th century, 1:497–498
 language organizations, 1:500
- Language transfer, 1:405
 Language vs. speech, 1:196
Langue/parole, 1:525–527, 2:752
 Lanier High School, 2:828
 LAN (left-anterior negativity), 1:106
 Laotian refugees. *See* **Southeast Asian refugees**
 Laredo United Independent School District, 2:828
 Larson, Kathryn, 1:54
 Lateralization theory, 1:194
 Latin language, 1:330–331, 402–403, 429, 430, 497, 498, 499, 2:555, 556, 872
 Latino American Organization (LAO), 2:550
Latino attitudes toward English, 1:501–505
 importance of language attitudes, 1:501–502
 matched guise research technique, 1:502
 research on, 1:502–504
 survey research on, 1:502–504
- Latino civil rights movement, 1:505–510**
 desegregation cases in Texas and California, 1:507
 early education struggles, 1:506–507
 historical antecedents, 1:506
 Movimiento leadership, 1:508–509
 views on native-language instruction, 1:507–508
Latino Parents v. Boston School Committee, 2:568
 Latino students. *See* **Equity struggles and educational reform**
Lau Consent Decree, 2:728
Lau Remedies, 1:112, 115, 125, 137, 295, 375, 432, 2:619, 935–940
 LAUSD, Rodríguez v., 2:568
Lau v. Nichols
 decision, U.S. Supreme Court, 2:931–934
 effect on teacher preparation, 2:813–814
 federal court decisions/legislation, 1:293, 294, 295
 influence on later cases, 1:39–40
 OCR and, 1:21, 112, 137, 510, 511, 512–513
 vs. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 2:619
***Lau v. Nichols*, enforcement documents, 1:510–514**
 alternative program effectiveness, 1:512–513
 alternative program need, 1:512
 Blackmun J., Concurring Opinion, 2:934
 Definition of Terms, 2:940
 Diagnostic/Prescriptive Approach, 2:936
 Douglas J., Opinion of the Court, 2:931–933
 Educational Program Selection, 2:936–938
 Evaluation, 2:939
 guidance and policy memo, 1985, 1:511–513
 Identification of Student’s Primary or Home Language, 2:935–936
 Instructional Personnel Requirements, 2:938–939
Lau Remedies, 1:112, 115, 125, 137, 295, 375, 432, 510–511, 2:619, 935–940
 Memorandum, 2:929–930
 Notice of Proposed *Lau* regulations, 1980, 1:511
 Notification to Parents of Students Whose Primary or Home Language is Other Than English, 2:939
 policy update, 1991, 1:513
 Racial/Ethnic Isolation and/or Identifiability of Schools and Classes, 2:939
 Required and Elective Courses, 2:938
 Stewart J., Concurring Opinion, 2:933–934
 Syllabus Supreme Court of the United States, 2:931–934
 Task Force Findings, 2:935–940
 USDE Memorandum, 2:946–953
 USDE Office of the Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights, 2:941
 USDE Office of the Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights, Title VI, Language Minority Compliance Procedures, 2:941–945
***Lau v. Nichols*, San Francisco United School District’s response, 1:514–516**
 case overview, 1:514–515
 master plan summary, 1:119, 515–516

- Lau v. Nichols, the ruling*, 1:93–94, 136–137, 180, **517–520**
 fundamental concepts/issues, 1:20–21, 234, 266, 293, 517–518
 language dominance and, 1:431
 recent developments, 1:520
 school busing and, 1:272
 significance, 1:269–270, 467–468, 518–520, 2:540
- Lau v. Nichols* documents. *See* **Appendix C**.
- Lave, Jean, 1:158, 495, 2:743
- LCTLs(Less Commonly Taught Languages), 1:190
- LEA. *See* **Language experience approach to reading**
- League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), 1:278, 507, 2:829
- Leaner-centered approach. *See* **Communicative approach; Error analysis**
- Leap, William, 1:396
- Learning/acquisition hypothesis, 1:3, 17–18, 413, 471, 527, 2:560, 596, 733
- Learning a language, best age, 1:520–523**
 Learning communities/networks.
See **Communities of practice**
- Learning theory, on container theory of language, 1:173
- LEAs (local education agencies), 1:136
- Lee, Doris, 1:439
- Left-anterior negativity (LAN), 1:106
- Legitimate peripheral participation, 2:743–744
- Leibowitz, Arnold, 1:412, 465, 466
- Lemer, Steven, 1:54
- Lemon Grove, Alvarez v., 1:507
- Lengyel, Zsolt, 1:195
- Lenneberg, Eric H., 1:194, 443, 520, 521, 522
- Leopold, Werner, 2:635–636, 715–716
- LEP (limited English proficient), use of term in policy, 1:224, 288–289, 2:680
- LESA (limited-English-speaking ability), 1:415–416, 2:913
- Lesaux, Nonie, 1:225–226
- Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs), 1:190
- Lessow-Hurley, Judith, 1:169–170
- Leticia A. v. Board of Regents*, 2:569, 722, 868
- Levin, Betsy, 2:893
- Levinson, Stephen, 2:662
- Levitt, Peggy, 2:858–859
- Lewis, E. Glyn, 2:872
- Lewis, Oscar, 1:200–201, 219–220
- Lexical gap, 1:144
- Liedtke, William W., 2:900
- Limited bilinguals, 2:830
- Limited English proficiency (LEP) label, 1:416
- Limited English proficient (LEP), use of term in policy, 1:224, 288–289, 680, 2:855
- Limited-English-speaking ability (LESA), 1:415–417, 2:680, 913
- Lindholm-Leary, Kathryn, 1:54, 231, 2:872, 873
- Linguicide, 1:387
- Linguistic borderlands, 1:80, 176
- Linguistic competence vs. performance, 1:526–527
- Linguistic democracy, 2:894
- Linguistic deterministic hypothesis, 1:425
- Linguistic distance, 1:242
- Linguistic imperialism, 1:248, 2:877, 910
- Linguistic intelligence, 1:322–323
- Linguistic interdependence hypothesis, 2:747
- Linguistic isolation, 2:883–884
- Linguistic maturity theory. *See* **Learning a language, best age**
- Linguistic relativity hypothesis, 1:425, 426
- Linguistics, an overview, 1:523–529**
 applied linguistics, 1:178, 527, 2:819
 arbitrariness of language, 1:524, 525–526
 competence vs. performance, 1:526–527
 connections to study of bilingualism, 1:527–528
 discreteness of language, 1:524
 distinctness of language, 1:526
 duality of language, 1:524–525
 functionalism, 1:527
 generativism, 1:526–527
langue notion, 1:525–527
 major themes, 1:528
 modularity of language, 1:523
 multilingualism, 1:528
 nature of language, 1:523–525
 organization of signs, 1:526
parole notion, 1:525, 526
 phoneme principle, 1:526
 productivity of language, 1:524
 psycholinguistics, 1:527
 recursion of language, 1:523–524
 Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, 1:526
 signified vs. signifier, 1:525–526
 sociolinguistics, 1:527
 structuralism, 1:525–526
 surface vs. deep structure, 1:526
 variability of language, 1:525
- Linguistic variable, 2:753
- Linguistic vs. cultural capital, 1:198–199
- Linnaeus, Carl, 1:525
- Linquanti, Robert, 2:696
- Lippi-Green, Rossina, 1:4, 5, 45, 46
- Literacy, 1:191
 critical, 1:191–194
 cross-cultural, 2:566–567
 vs. oracy, 1:312
See also **Critical literacy; Literacy and biliteracy; Literacy instruction, first and second language**

Literacy and biliteracy, 1:528–533

- assessments focusing only on English, 1:532
- basic literacy, 1:530
- beliefs about literacy, 1:529
- bilingualism vs. biliteracy, 1:531
- conventional literacy, 1:530
- defining literacy, 1:529–531
- elite literacy, 1:530
- estimating literacy, 1:531, 1:532
- functional literacy, 1:530
- minimal literacy, 1:530
- multiliteracies, 1:530–531
- restricted literacy, 1:530
- vernacular literacy, 1:530

Literacy instruction, first and second language, 1:533–536

- native-language literacy beyond classroom, 1:535
- native-language literacy in classroom, 1:535
- research on native-language literacy, 1:534–535

Literacy in Two Languages, 1:174

Literacy learning, 1:121–122

Loanshifts, 1:339

Loan words. *See* **Spanish loan words in U.S. English**

Local education agencies (LEAs), 1:136, 273, 2:846

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, 1:102, 387

Long, Michael, 1:164, 165, 167, 443, 522, 2:735

López, David, 1:346

López, Jane, 2:569

López-Reyna, Norma, 1:90

Lorenz, Konrad, 1:194

Lotherington, Heather, 2:873

Louisiana, missions in, 1:487

Lovas, John, 1:305–306

Low, Marilyn, 1:176

LPAC (Language Proficiency Assessment Committee), 1:290

LPLP (language policy and language planning). *See*

Language education policy in global perspective

Lucas, Tamara, 1:205–206

Luke, Allan, 1:192

LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), 1:278, 507, 2:829

LULAC v. Florida Board of Education, 1:138, 2:568

LULAC v. Wilson, 2:867

Luo, Shiow-Huey, 1:346

Lusin, Natalia, 2:556, 776

Lynn Hispanic PAC v. Commissioner of Education, 2:568

Lyons, James J. (1947–), 1:536–539, 2:541, 572, 573

Macedonia, dual-language schools in, 2:873

MacGregor-Mendoza, Patricia, 2:645

Macías, Reynaldo, 1:465, 532

MacLennan, Hugh, 2:804

MacSwan, Jeff, 1:63, 219, 527, 2:738

Madden, David, 1:371

Madden, Tanya, 1:346

Madison, James, 1:45

Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), 1:105

Mahoney, Kate, 2:677–678

Mainstream classroom, defining, 2:684

Maintenance model. *See* **Dual-language programs; Maintenance policy denied**

Maintenance policy denied, 2:539–542

immigrant languages, 2:541

Native American languages, 2:540–541

Majority vs. minority language, 1:82

Malakoff, Marguerite, 1:428

MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund), 1:59, 2:568

Mandabach, Frederick, 2:647

Mandarin Chinese, 1:129, 130, 2:585, 658

Manning, Lee, 1:45–46, 2:547

Manuel, Herschel T., 1:354

Māori people, 1:339, 398, 435, 437, 440, 2:591

Marinova-Todd, Stefka H., 1:521

Markham, Paul, 1:182, 183

Mar-Molinero, Claire, 2:585, 781

Marquez, Alfredo, 1:307

Marshall, D. Bradford, 1:521

Martin, James, 1:1, 2

Martínez Alemán, Ana M., 1:356

Martin-Jones, Marilyn, 1:63, 2:737

Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School

Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board, 1:243

Maslow, Abraham, 2:582

Mason, Jane, 2:760

Massachusetts

antibilingual education legislation in, 2:850, 897

Latino students in, 2:569

parent training in, 2:569

Vietnamese bilingual education in, 1:272

Vietnamese students in, 2:885

See also **Question 2 (Massachusetts); Teacher certification by states**

Massey, Douglas S., 1:477, 2:771

Master-Apprentice Language Program, 1:398–399, 462

Matched guise research technique, 1:502

Mathematics, academic language of, 1:3

Mathias, Jayne, 2:773

Matsuda, Mari J., 1:4

Matsuda, Paul Kei, 1:180

Matusaka, John, 2:897, 898

Maxwell-Jolly, Julie, 2:816

May, Stephen, 2:875

May 25 Memorandum, 2:929–930

See also **Affirmative steps to English; Appendix C**

McCarthy, Cameron, 1:199, 205

McCarty, Teresa, 1:387

- McClure, Erica, **1:145**
- McClymer, John, **1:33, 36**
- McCormick, Paul, **2:549–550**
- McDonough Bell, Geri, **1:15**
- McDougall, William, **1:219**
- McFadden, Bernard, **2:893**
- McGinnis, Scott, **1:343, 2:777**
- McGrath, Daniel, **1:371**
- McKay, Sandra, **2:645**
- McLaughlin, Barry, **1:303, 443, 2:562**
- McLaughlin, Milbury, **1:366**
- McLaughlin v. State Board of Education*, **2:693**
- McLellan, Hilary, **2:671**
- McQuillan, Jeff, **1:428, 534**
- McRobbie, Joan, **2:670**
- Mean length of utterance (MLU), **1:433**
- Measure of English language proficiency (MELP), **1:119**
- Measuring language proficiency, 2:542–545**
 defining the construct, **2:542–543**
 designing an assessment system, **2:545**
 documenting evidence, **2:543–544**
 pre- vs. post-NCLB, **1:544, 2:543**
- Mechelli, Andrea, **1:149–150**
- Media. *See* **Bilingual education in the press**
- Mediational tools, **2:760**
- Medicine, Beatrice, **1:494**
- Mehan, Hugh, **1:140, 1:227**
- Meidinger, Johann V., **1:331**
- MELP (measure of English language proficiency), **1:119**
- Melting-pot theory, 1:33, 40, 43, 44, 2:545–549, 631**
 critiques of, **1:103–104, 2:547–548**
 metaphor and ideology, **2:546–547**
 schools and assimilation, **2:547**
- Memorandum of May 25, **2:929–930**
See also **Affirmative steps to English; Appendix C**
- Méndez, Gonzalo, **2:549**
- Méndez v. Westminster, 1:135, 294, 507, 2:549–551**
- Menjívar, Cecilia, **2:859**
- Menken, Kate, **1:94, 1:99, 2:816, 817, 818**
- Mental flexibility. *See* **Cognitive benefits of bilingualism**
- Meriam Report, **1:101–102, 2:589, 593**
- Merickel, Amy, **2:695, 696**
- Meritocracy, **1:348**
- Mesa County Valley School District No. 51, Otero v., **1:296**
- Mestizos, **1:483–484**
- META. *See* **Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META)**
- Meta-analyses of program, **2:675, 677–678**
- Metafunctions of language, **1:527**
- Metalinguistic awareness, 2:551–554, 747–748**
 early research, **2:552–553**
 explanatory model, **2:554**
 metalinguistic development differences, **2:552**
 recent research, **2:553**
- META (Multicultural Education Training Associates), **1:117**
- Metcalf, Toni, **2:572**
- Methods vs. approaches, **1:157**
- Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), **1:59, 2:568**
- Mexican Americans
 drop-out rates, **2:828**
 funds of knowledge and, **2:760–761**
See also **Hispanic population growth; Latino civil rights movement**
- Mexican Revolution of 1910, **1:355, 506**
- Mexican students in U.S. *See* **Méndez v. Westminster; Spanish language**
- Mexican teachers, importing. *See* **Credentialing foreign-trained teachers**
- Meyer, David, **1:371**
- Meyer, Manu, **1:495**
- Meyer v. Nebraska*, **1:266, 293, 294, 319, 373, 460, 467, 2:647–648, 894**
- Micheau, Cheri, **1:175**
- Michigan Method. *See* **Audio-lingual method**
- Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency, **1:188**
- Midobuche, Eva, **1:357, 2:810, 816**
- Migrant Council v. Idaho*, **2:722**
- Mikulecky, Larry, **2:671**
- Military Intelligence Service Language School (MISLS), **1:217**
- Milk, Robert, **1:169–170**
- Millar, Robert McColl, **2:584, 585**
- Miller, Barbara, **1:479, 2:778**
- Miller, Brenda A., **1:521**
- Miller, Walter, **1:220**
- Mills, Jean, **1:346**
- Minami, Masahiko, **1:425–426**
- Minimum-pairs drill, **1:48**
- Minority vs. majority language, **1:82**
- MinSPED, **2:618**
- Miranda, Evangeline, **1:306**
- Miscues, **2:655**
- MISLS (Military Intelligence Service Language School), **1:217**
- Missions. *See* **Languages in Colonial schools, Western**
- Mistakes vs. innovations, **2:909**
- Mitchell, Faith, **2:773**
- Mix-mix, **1:142, 146**
- MLU (mean length of utterance), **1:433**
- Modality of language, **1:213–214, 215**
- Model minority, **2:885**
- Model Schools project, **2:638**
- Modern Language Association (MLA), **1:38, 117, 131, 498, 499, 500, 2:555, 556, 626, 776, 785–786**

- Modern languages in schools and colleges, 2:554–558**
 elementary education, 2:555
 higher education, 2:556–557
 secondary education, 2:555–556
- Modularity of language, 1:523
- Mohatt, Gerald, 1:205
- Molera, Jaime, 2:686
- Moll, Luis (1947–), 1:150, 198, 222, 227, 424, 2:558–559, 760**
- Molnar, Alexander, Jr., 2:599
- Mondak, Jeffrey, 1:75
- Monitor hypothesis, 1:18, 471–472, 527, 2:560, 596–597, 734
- Monitor model, 1:17–18, 2:559–562, 596–597**
 acquisition-learning hypothesis, 1:3, 17–18, 413, 471, 527, 2:560, 596, 733
 affective filter hypothesis, 1:17, 18–19, 472, 528, 2:561–562, 597, 734
 input hypothesis, 1:527–528, 2:561, 597, 734
 issues with, 2:562
 monitor hypothesis, 1:18, 471–472, 527, 2:560, 596–597, 734
 natural order hypothesis, 1:18, 413, 471, 472, 527, 2:559, 560–561, 597, 733–734, 793
 output theory, 2:735
- Montecel, María Robledo, 1:94
- Montero, Ignacio, 2:899
- Montero, Rita, 1:25, 27
- Montoya, Joseph M., 2:580, 955–958
- Moore, Renee, 1:61
- Mora, Jill Kerper, 2:819–820
- Morales, Alejandro, 1:427
- Morphology. *See Phonology, morphology, and syntax*
- Moscone, George R. *See Chacón-Moscone legislation*
- Moskovsky, Christo, 1:303
- Motherese, 1:302
- Mother tongue (MT) institutions, 1:477
- Moynihan, Daniel, 1:220
- MRI (magnetic resonance imaging), 1:105
- Müller, Kurt, 2:645
- Multi-competence, 1:406
- Multicultural education, 2:562–567**
 action approach to, 2:564
 bilingual education as part of, 2:563–564
 cross-cultural literacy, 2:566–567
 culturally compatible education, 2:565–566
 diversity and, 2:564
 history of, 2:563
 Joseph Montoya on, 2:955–958
 multicultural curricular reform, 2:564–565
 social organization of schooling and, 2:565
 transformation approach to, 2:565
- Multicultural Education Training Associates (META), 1:117
- Multicultural Education, Training, and Advocacy (META), 2:567–570**
- Multiculturalism, 2:581
- Multilingualism, 1:13–16, 528, 531
- Multiple container theory, 1:250
- Multiple-shot substitution drill, 1:48
- Murray, Charles, 1:219, 221
- Muskie, Edmund, 2:679–680
- Myrdal, Gunnar, 2:548
- Mythological bilinguals, 1:531
- NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), 1:507, 2:551
- NAATPS (National Association of Academic Teachers of Public Speaking), 2:626–627
- NABE. *See National Association for Bilingual Education*
- NACTEFL (National Advisory Council on Teaching English as a Foreign Language), 1:118
- NAFSA (National Association of Foreign Student Advisors), 2:626, 627, 826
- Nahuatl language, 1:484, 485, 2:92, 585, 789, 790, 860
- NAIBEC (Native American Bilingual Education Conference), 1:118
- NALA (Native American Languages Act), 1:387, 396, 2:591, 592, 593, 740
- NALI (Native American Language Issues Institute), 2:591
- NALS (National Adult Literacy Survey), 1:530–531, 532
- Narrative discourse, 1:140–141
- Narrative program reviews, 2:676–677
- National Access Network, 1:182
- National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS), 1:530–531, 532
- National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education, 1:154, 418, 2:736, 841, 843
- National Advisory Council on Teaching English as a Foreign Language (NACTEFL), 1:118
- National Association for Bilingual Education, 1:161, 2:568, 571–574, 799**
 1965–1975, 2:571–572, 652
 1976–1980, 2:572
 1981–1985, 2:572–573
 1986–1990, 1:536, 573
 1991–2007, 1:536–537, 2:573–574
 awards given by, 1:24, 113, 334, 358, 2:870
 founding of, 1:372, 417, 2:652, 736
 leaders, 1:59, 184, 283, 299, 330, 418, 536, 2:653, 916
 publications, 1:94
 teacher certification and, 2:812
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 1:507, 2:551
- National Association of Academic Teachers of Public Speaking (NAATPS), 2:626–627
- National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA), 2:627
- National Association of Korean Schools, 2:887

- National Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference, 2:571–572
- National Center for Education and the Economy, 2:642
- National Center for Education Statistics, 1: 69, 92, 119, 370
- National Center for Family Literacy, 1:134, 364
- National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education**, 1:119, 325, 383, 2:574–576, 614, 621, 810, 841
- National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition (NCELA), 2:574, 576, 808, 810, 841
- National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1:85–86, 275–276
- National Council for Languages and International Studies (NCLIS), 1:24
- National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS), 1:131, 2:887
- National Council of La Raza, 1:537, 2:568, 573–574
- National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), 2:574, 604, 626, 627, 826
- National Defense Education Act of 1958**, 1:24, 47, 49, 217, 233–234, 319, 333, 374, 497–498, 2:576–578, 774, 837
- National Education Association Tucson Symposium**, 1:334, 2:577, 578–581, 834
- follow-up, 2:579–580
- recommendations, 2:578–579
- symposium of 1966, 2:579
- National Education Goals, 2:843
- National Education Task Force De La Raza, 2:580
- National Foreign Language Center (NFLC), 1:121, 132, 2:776, 797
- National Indian Education Association, 1:389, 2:573, 591, 592
- National Indochinese Clearinghouse (NIC), 1:119–120
- National Institute of Education (NIE), 1:119, 120, 2:574, 575, 621
- Nationalism
- cultural, 1:509
- European, 1:104, 445–446
- Japanese, 1:409
- language and, 1:293
- majority language speakers and, 1:79
- multilingualism and, 1:448
- See also* **Nationalization of languages**
- Nationality–culture myth**, 2:581–583
- economic spheres of influence and, 2:581
- experiential issues and, 2:582
- internal diversity and, 2:581
- Nationalization of languages**, 2:583–586
- languages in human history, 2:583
- linguistic nationalism in U.S., 2:585–586
- nation-states and languages emerge in tandem, 1:452–453, 2:584
- nation-states and languages today, 2:584–585
- National language vs. official language, 1:280
- See also* **Spanish, the second national language**
- National Literacy Panel**, 1:122, 134, 2:586–589
- panel process, 2:587–588
- report, 2:588–589
- National Network of Partnership Schools (NNPS), 1:363–364
- National Origins Act, 1:460
- National Resource Center for Paraprofessionals (NRCPP), 1:85
- National Security Education Act, 1:344
- National Security Education Program (NSEP), 1:130–131, 2:615
- National Security Language Initiative (NSLI), 1:190, 343, 344, 2:595
- Nationwide Writing Contest for Bilingual Students, 2:572
- Native American Bilingual Education Conference (NAIBEC), 1:118
- Native American Language Issues Institute (NALI), 2:591
- Native American languages
- maintenance of, 2:540–541
- status in U.S., 2:802–803
- See also* **Modern languages in schools and colleges; Native American languages, legal support for; Primary-language support**
- Native American languages, legal support for**, 2:589–594
- Alaska, 2:590
- Bilingual Education Act of 1968, 2:591–592
- Esther Martínez Native Languages Preservation Act of 2006, 2:592–593
- Hawai'i, 2:590
- Indian Education Act of 1972, 2:590–591
- legislative initiative overview, 2:593
- lower forty-eight states, 2:590
- Native American Languages Act (NALA), 1:387, 396, 2:591, 592, 593, 740
- Native American Languages Preservation Act, 1:103, 387, 465
- Native American Religious Freedom Act, 2:591
- Native Americans
- discourse style, 1:141, 227
- See also* **Boarding schools and native languages**
- Native English speakers, redefined, 2:594–596
- Native-language literacy. *See* **Literacy instruction, first and second language**
- Native language support. *See* **Primary-language support**
- Native listener, 1:132
- Nativism, 2:909
- See also* **Ethnocentrism; Monitor model; Nationalism**
- Natural approach**, 2:596–599
- contributions to bilingual education, 2:598–599
- grammar-translation method and, 1:331–332
- instructional materials in, 2:598

- learner roles in, **2:597**
 monitor model and, **1:18**, 1471, 527, **2:559**,
 560–561, 597, 733–734, 793
 natural order hypothesis, **1:18**, 413, 471, 472,
 527, **2:560–561**, 597, 733–734
 teacher roles in, **2:597–598**
 theoretical framework, **2:596–597**
 vs. communicative approach, **2:596**, 597, 598
Naturalization
 Americanization and, **1:36**
 English requirement, **1:370**, 453, 460, **2:804**
Naturalization Act of 1790, **2:632**
Naturalization Act of 1906, **1:372–373**
Natural order hypothesis. *See* **Natural approach**
Nature vs. culture, **1:77**
Nava, Monica, **1:345–346**
Navajo code talkers, **2:592**, **599–600**
Navajo language
 assessing students, **1:363**
 child socialization and, **1:493**
 maintenance of, **2:727**
 revitalization of, **1:388**
 Rough Rock Demonstration School, **1:84**, 233,
 236–237, 590
NCACLS (National Council of Associations of Chinese
Language Schools), **1:131**, **2:887**
NCBE. *See* **National Clearinghouse for Bilingual**
Education
NCELA (National Clearinghouse for English Language
Acquisition), **2:574**, 576, 808, 810, 841
NCLB. *See* **No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (all**
entries)
NCLIS (National Council for Languages and International
Studies), **1:24**
NCTE (National Council of Teachers of English), **2:574**,
 604, 626, 627, 826
NDEA. *See* **National Defense Education Act of 1958**
Nebraska, Meyer v., **1:266**, 293, 294, 319, 370, 373,
 460, 467, **2:647–648**, 894
Negative revolution, **1:36**
Negotiable identities, **1:422**
Negotiation for learning, **1:165**
Nelson, L. Doyal, **2:900**
Nessel, Denise, **1:439**
Neurolinguistics, **1:194**, **2:732**
Nevada
 parent training in, **2:569**
 See also **Indigenous languages, current status**
New Amsterdam, language instruction in, **1:480**
Newcomer programs, **2:600–603**
 benefits/drawbacks of, **2:602**
 instructional design, **2:601–602**
 program types, **2:601**
 rationale for, **2:601**
 transitions to regular classrooms, **2:602–603**
 See also **Early immigrants and English language**
 learning; Immigrant ELL education
New England, education in Colonial, **1:480**
New Englishes, **2:595**
New Mexico
 bilingual education funding in, **1:182**
 early settlers in, **1:354**
 educational rights in, **1:115**, 295–296
 follow-up to Tucson conference in, **2:579–580**, 638
 language revitalization in, **1:388–389**
 maintenance of Spanish language in, **2:777**
 missions in, **1:486**, 487
 Pueblo people in, **1:494**
 speed of language shift in, **1:502**
 undocumented students' rights in, **2:722**, 868
 Zuni language in, **1:493**
 See also **Indigenous languages, current status;**
 Latino civil rights movement
New Mexico Multicultural Education Act, **2:568**
Newport, Elissa, **1:165–166**, 195, 521
New Spain. *See* **Languages in Colonial schools, Western**
New Sweden, language instruction in, **1:480–481**
New York
 immigration in, **1:32**
 language diversity in, **1:46**
 parent training in, **2:569**
 undocumented students' rights in, **2:722**
 See also **Indigenous languages, current status; New**
 York City
New York City
 Americanization in, **1:35**
 newcomer program in, **2:601–602**
 Puerto Rican/Latino students in, **1:39–42**, 115, 508
 See also **P.S. 25, New York City's first bilingual school**
New York State English as a Second Language
 Achievement Test (NYSESLAT), **1:290**
NFLC (National Foreign Language Center), **1:121**,
 132, **2:776**, 797
Nguyen, Anne, **2:886**
NIC (National Indochinese Clearinghouse), **1:119–120**
Nielsen, François, **1:54**
Nielson, Sarah, **1:166–167**
Nieto, Sonia (1943–), **1:8**, 357, **2:563**, 564, **603–604**
Nishimura, Miwa, **1:145**
Nixon, Richard M., **1:272**, **2:580**, 620, 836
NNPS (National Network of Partnership Schools),
1:363–364
No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, testing
requirements, **2:604–607**
 assessment mandates for ELLs, **1:350–351**, **2:605–606**
 challenges of mandates, **2:606–607**
 See also **Designation and redesignation of**
 English language learners

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title I, 2:605, 607–612

- AMAO requirement, 2:608, 610
- assessments in native-languages, 2:609
- AYP requirement, 2:608, 615
- DOE failure to provide adequate assistance, 2:611
- flaws in determining AYP for LEP subgroup, 2:610–611
- “highly qualified teachers” requirement, 1:93, 2:669, 811, 813, 814–815, 850
- negative aspects for ELL students, 2:609–611
- paraprofessionals and, 2:611
- problems with requirements/expectations for ELLs, 2:609–610
- Reading First and, 2:611
- valid and reliable assessment requirement, 2:606
- See also* **Exit criteria for English language learner programs**

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title III, 1:225, 375–376, 2:605, 612–616

- AMAO requirement, 2:613, 846, 847
- AYP requirement, 2:606, 614
- future of, 2:616
- inconsistency in state assessments, 2:615–616
- mandated testing requirement, 1:216, 389, 518, 2:543
- negative aspects for LEP students, 1:279, 2:614–615
- positive aspects for LEP students, 2:613–614
- See also* **Designation and redesignation of English language learners**

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title IV, 1:297

Nogales Unified School District (NUSD). *See Flores v. State of Arizona*

Nominalization, 1:2

Non-nons, 2:830, 831

Nonverbal intelligence, 2:805, 900

Normalistas. *See* **Credentialing foreign-trained teachers**

North Carolina

- ELL population growth in, 2:811
- immigrants in, 1:375
- parent training in, 2:569

North Central Regional Educational Laboratory (REL Midwest), 2:823

Northwest Arctic v. Califano, 1:22

Norton, Bonnie, 2:716–717

Norwegian language, 1:403

Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (NPRM), 1:536, 2:619, 622, 836, 842

See also **Lau Remedies**

NRCP (National Resource Center for Paraprofessionals), 1:85

NSEP (National Security Education Program), 1:130–131, 2:615

NSLI (National Security Language Initiative), 1:190, 343, 344, 2:595

Núñez, Alicia, 1:207

NUSD. *See Flores v. State of Arizona*

Nye Elementary School, 1:233, 235–236, 237

NYSESLAT (New York State English as a Second Language Achievement Test), 1:290

OAU (Organization of African Unity), 2:585

OBEMLA. *See* **Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs**

Oberg, Kalvero, 1:206, 207

Ochs, Elinor, 1:490, 493–494

OCR. *See* Office for Civil Rights

OCR Memorandum of May 25, 1970, 2:929–930

See also **Affirmative steps to English; Appendix C**

OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), 2:593

OELA (Office of English Language Acquisition), 1:315, 383, 2:614

Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, 2:617–620

language discrimination under Title VI, 1:138, 2:618–620

See also **Affirmative steps to English; Appendix C; Lau v. Nichols**

Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs, 1:329–330, 378, 383, 396, 2:575, 614, 621–623

Office of Chinese Language Council International, 1:132

Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA), 1:315, 383, 2:614

Official English legislation, favored, 2:623–626

- English as unofficial language, 2:625–626
- policies common worldwide, 2:624–625
- policy as beneficial message, 2:624
- policy support, 2:625, 782

See also **Official language designation**

Official English legislation, opposed. *See* **Appendix E**

Official English legislation, position of English teachers on, 2:626–628

- historical background, 2:626–627
- organizational policy and, 2:627–628

Official Language Act, 2:703

Official language designation, 2:628–633

- declaring language official, 2:632
- founding fathers and, 2:629–630
- meaning of “official language”, 2:629
- officialness of official language, 2:632
- official vs. national language, 2:780
- problems solved/issues created, 2:630–632

Official Languages Act (Canada), 1:109

Ogbu, John (1939–2003), 1:202, 204, 2:566, 633–635

Ohio, parent training in, 2:569

Ohio, Bohning v., 1:319

- Oklahoma
 Kiowa society in, **1:495**
 undocumented students' rights in, **2:722**
 voting rights in, **2:898**
See also **Indigenous languages, current status**
- One person-one language (OPOL), 1:146, 2:635–637, 715**
- Ong, Aihwa, **2:859**
 Ong, Anthony, **1:346**
 Open class words, **1:301**
 OPOL (one person-one language), **1:146, 2:635–637, 715**
 Opportunist period, **1:374–375**
 Oracy vs. literacy, **1:312**
 Oral communication. *See* **Classroom discourse**
- Oregon
 Vietnamese bilingual education in, **1:272**
 Warm Springs Indian Reservation, **1:205, 227, 494, 2:754**
See also **Indigenous languages, current status**
- Orellana, Marjorie, **2:858**
 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), **2:593**
 Organization of African Unity (OAU), **2:585**
 Ortega, Lourdes, **1:343**
 Ortiz, Alba, **1:88, 90**
 Orum, Lori, **1:537**
 Osborn, Jean, **1:220**
 Oseguera, Leticia, **1:219, 221**
 Osgood, Charles, **1:161, 162, 163**
Otero v. Mesa County Valley School District No. 51, **1:296**
 Output theory, **2:735**
 Ovando, Carlos J., **1:153, 312, 372**
 Overlappings, language, **1:145, 248, 437, 456, 2:801**
 Oxnard, Soria v., **2:722**
- Oyama, Henry (1926–), 1:332, 333, 2:637–638, 780**
- Oyster Bilingual School, 2:638–643**
 accolades/awards, **2:642–643**
 parental and community support, **2:640**
 program, **2:639–640**
 program improvement, **2:641–642**
 school building, **2:640–641**
- Pagán, Muriel, **2:699**
 Pajak, Edward, **1:151**
 Pak, Holly, **1:176**
 Pakistani. *See* Urdu language
 Paper and pencil intelligence, **1:151**
 Papua, New Guinea, **1:491**
 Parachute kids, **2:859**
 Paradigmatic organization of signs, **1:526**
- Paradox of bilingualism, 2:645–650**
 German language in Midwest, **2:646–648**
 paradox restated, **2:648–649**
 Spanish language in the southwest, **2:648**
- Paraeducators. *See* **Bilingual paraprofessionals**
 Parallel-channel processing, **1:145**
 Parallel monolingual identities, **2:717**
 Parameters, **1:302**
 Park, Eun Sun, **1:167**
 Parker, William, **2:647**
Parole, **1:525, 526, 2:752**
 Parra, Elena, **2:691**
 Parrish, Tom, **2:696**
 Parsons-Yazzie, Evangeline, **1:400**
 Particularism, cultural, **1:34**
 Patkowski, Mark, **1:521**
 Paulston, Christine, **2:738**
 Pavlenko, Aneta, **1:14, 421–422, 460, 2:716–717, 900**
 Paz, Octavio, **2:768**
Pazmiño v. California Board of Education, **1:284–285**
 PCFLIS. *See* Report of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies
- Peabody Picture Vocabulary test, **1:432**
 Peal, Elizabeth, **2:553, 900**
 Pearl, A., **1:220**
 Pecos, Regis, **1:496**
Pedro A. v. Dawson, **1:284**
- Peer pressure and language learning, 2:650–652**
- Peña, Albar Antonio (1931–1993), 2:572, 621, 652–653, 681**
- Penfield, Wilder, **1:194, 520, 2:804**
 Pennsylvania, Colonial language schools in, **1:481**
 Perceived social distance, **1:8**
 Pérez, Bertha, **1:175–176**
 Pérez, María, **2:696**
 Pérez, William, **2:773, 777, 884**
- Pérez-Hogan, Carmen (1939–), 2:653–654**
- Peripheral participatory learning, **2:743–744**
 Periphery countries, **2:910**
 Periphery vs. core language, **1:248**
 Perlocution, **2:662**
 Persian languages, as critical languages, **1:190**
 Personality principle, **2:751**
 Personal shock, **1:208–209**
 Pew Hispanic Center, **1:354, 356, 502, 503–504**
 Peyton, Joy K., **1:343, 2:777**
 Philips, Susan, **1:140, 141, 205, 227, 494, 2:754**
 Phillips, Deborah, **2:801**
 Phillipson, Robert, **1:248, 474, 2:877, 910**
 Philology, **1:525**
 Phinney, Jean, **1:345–346**
- PHLOTE. *See* **Home language survey**
- Phoneme principle, **1:526**
- Phonics in bilingual education, 2:654–658**
 cueing systems and, **2:656**
 meaning-based view, **2:656–657**
 miscues and, **2:655**

- National Reading Panel report/criticism of, **2:657**
 predicting/creating point of view, **2:655**
 research findings, **2:655–657**
 scientifically based reading instruction and, **2:657**
 symbol-sound view, **2:654–655**
 writing and, **2:656–657**
- Phonology, morphology, and syntax, 2:658–660**
 building blocks of language, **2:658**
 language as system, **2:658–659**
 language system components, **2:659–660**
 morphology, **2:660**
 phonology, **2:659**
 pragmatics, **2:660**
 principles of languages, **2:658**
 semantics, **2:660**
 syntax, **2:660**
See also **Language registers**
- Piaget, Jean, **1:287**
 Piatt, Bill, **1:465, 467**
 Pickard, Castañeda v. *See* *Castañeda v. Pickard*
 Pidgins, **1:482–483**
 Pilipino/Filipino language, **2:750**
 Pinker, Stephen, **1:194, 195, 300, 301, 443**
 Pita, Marianne, **1:176**
 Pitner, Rudolph, **2:552**
 Pivot class words, **1:301**
 Planken, Brigitte, **1:521**
 Plausible reconstruction, in error analysis, **1:281**
 Playground Language. *See* **BICS/CALP theory**
Plessy v. Ferguson, **1:293, 294, 458, 467, 506, 2:551**
 PLS. *See* **Primary-language support**
 Pluralism, **1:450, 2:548**
 Pluralization of English, **2:910–911**
Plyler v. Doe, **2:569, 722, 854, 867–868**
 Pocho, **1:142**
 Policy. *See* **Bilingual education as language policy; Canadian and U.S. language policies**
Policy landmarks, in U.S. bilingual education (Appendix A) 2:919–921
See also *individual policy*
- Pompa, Delia, **2:573**
 Poplack, Shana, **1:60, 144, 2:768**
 Portales Municipal Schools, Serna v., **1:115, 124, 266, 295–296, 468**
- Porter, Rosalie Pedalino (1931–), 1:268, 2:660–661**
 Portes, Alejandro, **1:54, 55, 346, 2:773, 859**
 Portfolio assessments, **2:606–607**
 Portuñol, **1:81**
 Positive transfer, **1:179, 227, 405**
 Pottinger, J. Stanley, **1:519**
 Pountain, Christopher, **2:802**
 Poverty of stimulus, **1:302**
 PPC, **1:26, 259**
- Pragmatics, 2:660, 662–663, 674**
 development, **2:662**
 intercultural pragmatics, **2:662–663**
 Pragmatic/utilitarian/work-related orientation, **2:891**
 Pratt, Richard Henry, **1:100–101**
 Precup, Lois, **1:521**
 Prescriptivism, **1:60, 64, 2:738, 753–754**
 Preservation, language
 using technology for, **2:822**
 vs. revitalization, **1:397**
- President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, 2:663–666**
 Preview–review method, **1:170, 171, 2:667–668**
 Preview–view–review strategy, **2:795–796**
 Primary discourses, **1:227**
Primary-language support, 2:666–668
 effective ways of providing PLS, **2:667–668**
 ineffective ways of providing PLS, **2:667**
 ways of providing PLS, **2:667–668**
 Primary or home language other than English survey (PHLOTE). *See* **Home language survey**
- Printing press, **1:482**
 Prism model, **1:153**
 Private speech, **2:899, 900**
 Private vs. public language, **2:721**
 Pro-drop parameter, **1:302**
 Productivity of language, **1:524**
 ProEnglish, **1:265, 267, 268, 2:808**
- Professional development, 2:669–673**
 accountability and, **2:672**
 adapting and practicing skills, **2:671**
 financial support and school governance, **2:672**
 lifelong process of, **2:670**
 links to strong curriculum, **2:672**
 not just for teachers, **2:670**
 parent/family/community partnerships, **2:670**
 role in program design and operation, **2:671**
 teacher language proficiency, **2:669–670**
 technology and, **2:671–672**
- Proficiency
 common underlying, **1:148, 172–173, 2:855, 865**
 relative, **1:431**
 separate underlying, **2:855, 865**
See also **Proficiency, fluency, and mastery**
- Proficiency, fluency, and mastery, 2:673–675**
 fluency, **2:673**
 proficiency, **1:249, 430**
 proficiency, and mastery, **1:250–251, 2:673–675**
 proficiency, context embedded/reduced, **2:737**
 proficiency, defining levels of, **2:674**
 proficiency, measuring, **2:542–545**
 proficiency, relative, **1:431**
 proficiency, situational factors
 influencing, **2:674–675**

Program effectiveness research, 2:675–678

- Baker and de Kanter, 1981, 2:676
- Greene, 1998, 2:677
- meta-analyses, 2:677–678
- narrative reviews, 2:676–677
- Rolstad, Mahoney, and Glass, 2005, 2:677–678
- Rossell and Baker, 1996, 2:676–677
- Slavin and Cheung, 2002, 2:677
- Willig, 1985, 2:677

Program goals, purpose of, 2:678–682

- critical voices, 2:681–682
- historical background, 2:679–682
- Miami experience/legacy, 2:679–680
- Title VII goals and objectives, 2:680–681

Program quality indicators, 2:682–684

- additive model of bilingual education, 2:682–683
- caring teachers, 2:683
- culturally competent teaching, 2:683
- high expectations, 2:682
- parent engagement, 2:683–684
- professional development, 2:684
- supportive school leaders, 2:683

Project Adelante, 2:638

Project Alianza, 1:185–189

Promotion-oriented accommodations, 1:465

Proposition 106 (Arizona), 2:648

Proposition 187 (California), 1:284, 297, 372, 2:867

Proposition 203 (Arizona), 1:68, 127, 258, 278, 2:684–688, 844, 869, 897

- backlash against violators, 2:628
- effectiveness of ELL education, 2:687
- enforcement, 2:685
- impact of, 2:687
- implementation of, 2:685
- media coverage of campaign, 1:77, 78
- paradox of, 2:648
- parental waiver provisions, 2:685
- post–proposition bilingual programs, 1:268, 2:687–688
- under Superintendent Horne, 2:686–687
- under Superintendent Keegan, 2:685–686
- under Superintendent Molera, 2:686
- waiver provisions, 2:614

Proposition 203 (Arizona), impact of, 2:688–691

- background/underlying assumptions, 1:323, 2:690
- changes in assessment procedures, 2:689
- changes to programs, 2:688
- language policy frameworks, 2:690–691
- structured English immersion, 2:688–689
- waiver hoax, 2:689–690

Proposition 209 (California), 1:284

Proposition 227 (California), 1:68, 257–258, 375, 2:691–696, 869

- class action suit in response to, 1:284–285
- community-based tutoring, 2:692

- initial effects of, 1:297, 2:694–695, 876
- instructional program prescribed by, 2:692
- legal standing and parental involvement, 2:692–693
- midterm impact of, 2:695
- operative date and legal sequel, 2:693–694
- parental exceptions, 2:692

Proposition 227 (California), impact of, 2:696–699

- Community-Based English Tutoring, 2:698–699
- further steps needed, 2:699
- implementation and impact, 2:697–698
- promising practices for ELLs, 2:698
- redesignation of ELLs to RFEP status, 2:698

Prussian method. *See* Grammar-translation method

P.S. 25, New York City's first bilingual school, 2:699–701

- extended school services, 2:700–701
- school organization, 2:700

Psycholinguistics, 1:527

Psycholinguistic theory. *See* Monitor model

Psychological distance, 2:733

Psychological/human development orientation, 2:889–890

Public language, 2:738

- vs. private language, 2:721

Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), 2:879

Pucci, Sandra, 2:667

Pueblo people, 1:494, 495

Puerto Rican Americans, 1:454, 530
bilingualism among, 1:532

Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF), 1:40, 2:568

Puerto Ricans in U.S.

- life compared with life in homeland, 2:859
- native-language instruction, 1:508, 2:699–701
- See also* **Aspira consent decree**; Puerto Rican Americans; Spanish language

Puerto Rico, school language policies, 2:701–704

- historical background, 2:702–703
- recent developments, 2:703–704

Pull-out ESL instruction, 2:704–707

- as better than nothing, 2:706
- effectiveness/criticism of, 2:706

Québec and language conflict. *See* **Canadian and U.S. language policies; St. Lambert immersion study**

Québec separatist movement, 1:71

Quechua language, 1:214, 464, 2:585, 727

Queen's English, 1:52

Question 2 (Massachusetts), 1:478, 2:709–711, 869

- impact on mainstream classroom, 2:711
- impact on two-way bilingual education, 2:711
- implementation in SEI classrooms, 2:710–711

Quirk, Randolph, 2:910

Quirk, Rodney, 1:455–456

- Racism vs. ethnocentrism, **1:287**
- Raising bilingual children, 2:713–719**
 bilingual identity formation, **2:716–717**
 cognitive development, **2:717–718**
 developmental bilingualism, **2:715–716**
 hegemony of English, **2:713–714**
 language strategies, **2:714–715**
- Ramírez, David, **1:244, 2:856, 873**
- Ramírez, Lorenzo, **2:549**
- Ramírez, Manuel, **2:564**
- Ramírez, Robert, **1:355**
- Ranard, Donald, **1:343, 2:777**
- RAND Corporation cost study, **1:181**
- Range-of-use technology chart, **2:823, 824**
- Rasmussen, Mari B., **1:363**
- Raspail, Jean, **2:808**
- Raza unity conferences, **1:509**
- Read, Ríos v., **1:115, 296, 468**
- Reading First, **1:285, 2:568, 609, 611, 2657**
- Reading Instruction Competency Assessment (RICA), **2:815**
- Reading Recovery, **1:283**
- READ (Research for English Acquisition and Development Institute), **1:267, 268, 2:661**
- Reagan, Ronald, **1:256, 511, 536, 537, 2:836, 842**
- Realia, **1:157, 2:561, 598**
- Reclassification, **1:113**
See also **Exit criteria for English language learner programs**
- Recursion of language, **1:523–524**
- Red English, **1:396**
- Red Scare, **1:36**
- Reeves, Terrence, **2:886**
- Registers. *See* **Language registers**
- Reid, Thomas B., **1:455**
- Reidford, Philip, **1:220**
- Reintegration stage, of culture shock, **1:207**
- Relative proficiency, **1:431**
- Relativism, linguistic, **1:180**
- REL Midwest, **2:823**
- Remedial-compensatory education.
See **Deficit-based education theory**
- Repetition drill, **1:48**
- Report of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies (PCFLIS), **1:24**
- Representative democracy, **2:563**
 vs. direct democracy, **2:895–896**
- Research for English Acquisition and Development Institute (READ), **1:267, 268, 2:661**
- Resegregation, **1:31**
- Response to intervention (RTI), **1:88**
- Restricted discourse, **1:220**
- Restricted literacy, **1:530**
- Restricted-oriented policy, **2:690, 691**
See also **Language restrictionism**
- Restrictive period, **1:372–373**
- Reversing Language Shift (RLS), **1:386, 463**
- Revitalization of language
 vs. preservation, **1:397**
See also **Language revival and renewal**
- Reyes, Elba, **1:90**
- Reyes, Iliana, **2:716**
- Reza-Hernández, Laura, **2:823**
- Rhodes, Nancy, **2:555, 776, 784–785**
- RICA (Reading Instruction Competency Assessment), **2:815**
- Rice, Roger, **2:567, 568, 569**
- Ricento, Thomas, **1:37, 435, 2:716–717**
- Richards, Jack C., **1:281, 332**
- Richman, Julia, **1:35**
- Rigg, Pat, **1:443**
- Rights
 individual and group, in U.S., **1:82**
 of undocumented students, **2:568–569, 722, 867–868**
See also **Language rights in education**
- Riley, Philip, **2:714–715, 716, 718**
- Ringbom, Håkan, **2:737**
- Ríos v. Read, **1:115, 296, 468**
- Rivera, Charlene, **2:609**
- Rivers, William, **1:53, 343, 344, 2:773**
- Roberts, Lamar, **1:194, 520**
- Robledo, María del Refugio, **1:181**
- Roca, Ana, **2:777**
- Rodgers, Theodore, **1:253, 332**
- Rodríguez, Ana María, **2:816–817**
- Rodríguez, Armando (1921–), 2:719–720**
- Rodríguez, Richard (1944–), 2:720–721**
- Rodríguez, Timothy, **1:149**
- Rodríguez v. LAUSD*, **2:568**
- Rogoff, Barbara, **2:759**
- Role shock, **1:208**
- Rolstad, Kellie, **1:63, 219, 527, 2:677–678**
- Romaine, Suzanne, **1:63, 2:737**
- Romero, Irma, **1:345–346**
- Romero-Little, Mary E., **1:388, 494, 495, 496**
- Ronjat, Jules, **2:635**
- Roos, Peter D. (1941–), 1:276, 2:567–568, 569, 721–723**
- Roosevelt, Theodore, **1:36, 111, 460**
- Rosenberg, Milton, **1:14**
- Rossell, Christine H., **2:676–677**
- Rothstein, Richard, **2:757–758**
- Rough Rock Demonstration School, **1:84, 233, 236–237, 2:590**
- Rousseau, Marilyn, **1:90**
- Roybal, Edward R. (1916–2005), 2:723–724**
- Ruiz, Richard (1948–), 1:297–298, 474, 519, 2:724–726, 892–894**

- Ruiz-Escalante, José, **2:849**
- Rumbaut, Rubén, **1:346, 477, 2:717, 771, 772, 773**
- Rumberger, Russell, **1:54, 95, 2:816**
- Russian language
 as critical language, **1:190, 2:594–595**
 See also Modern languages in schools and colleges
- Ryan, William, **1:219, 220**
- Saer, D. J., **2:552**
- Safty, Adel, **1:111**
- SAISD (San Antonio Independent School District), **2:828**
- Salad bowl paradigm, **2:548**
- Salvatierra, Independent School District v., **1:507**
- Sami language, **1:464**
- San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD), **2:828**
- Sánchez, George I., **1:235**
- Sánchez, Patricia, **2:859**
- Sánchez, Rosaura, **2:768**
- Sandoval, Alexander v., **1:135, 139, 272**
- San Francisco Unified School District.
 See Lau v. Nichols, the ruling
- San Miguel, Guadalupe, Jr., **1:275, 277, 278, 475**
- Sanskrit, **1:403, 429, 525**
- Santa Ana School District. *See Méndez v. Westminster*
- Santa Ana Science and Arts School, **1:69**
- Sapir, Edward, **1:425, 526**
- Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, **1:179, 180, 425, 526, 528**
- Saravia-Shore, Marietta, **1:365, 2:566**
- Saunders, Lyle, **1:200–201**
- Saussure, Ferdinand de, **1:525–526, 2:752**
- Savignon, Sandra, **2:542**
- Saville-Troike, Muriel (1936–), 2:727–728**
- Sayers, Dennis, **1:211**
- Scaffolding, **1:140, 220, 2:741, 899**
 conceptual, **1:150–151**
- Scanlon, David, **1:91**
- Schachter, Jacquelyn, **1:282**
- Schaefer, Richard, **1:355**
- Schauffler, Richard, **1:346**
- Schechter, Sandra, **1:491–492**
- Schell, Marc, **1:45**
- Schemas, **1:150, 177, 286, 534–535, 2:666**
- Schieffelin, Bambi, **1:490, 493–494**
- Schills, Erik, **1:521**
- Schmid, Carol, **1:45, 502–503**
- Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT), **1:350**
- School District No. 1, Denver, Keyes v., **1:112, 124, 273, 277, 297, 2:568, 722**
- School leader's role, 2:728–731**
 key themes, **2:729–730**
- School scripts, **1:228**
- School-to-Work, **2:568**
- Schumann, John, **2:732–733**
- Schwinge, Diana, **1:175**
- Science, academic language of, **1:3**
- Scientifically based reading instruction, **2:657**
- Scollon, Ron, **1:141, 150**
- Scollon, Suzanne, **1:141, 150**
- Scribner, Sylvia, **1:529, 530**
- SDAIE. *See Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English*
- Searle, John, **2:662**
- SEAs (state education agencies), **1:136, 273**
- Sebelius, Day v., **2:569**
- Secondary discourses, **1:227**
- Secondary School Chinese Language Center (SSCLC),
 1:131–132
- Second-language acquisition, 1:405, 2:731–735**
 Krashen's monitor model, **1:420, 2:733–735**
 neurolinguistics, **2:732**
 psycholinguistics, **2:731–732**
 Schumann's acculturation model, **2:732–733**
 sociolinguistics, **2:732**
- Second-language instructional competence (SLIC), **1:64–65**
- Section 504 of Rehabilitation Act of 1973, **2:617**
- Segalowitz, Sydney, **2:900**
- Seidner, María M. (1938–), 2:572, 735–737**
- Seildhofer, Barbara, **2:910**
- Self-directed speech, **1:228**
- Self-esteem. *See Home language and self-esteem*
- Seliger, Herbert, **1:522, 2:731–732**
- Selinker, Larry, **1:405–406**
- Semantic cues, **1:534**
- Semantics, **2:660, 905**
- Semilingualism, 2:737–739, 831, 832**
- Separate but equal, **1:293, 294, 458, 467, 506, 2:551**
- Separate underlying proficiency (SUP), **2:855, 865**
- Separate vs. common underlying proficiency, **2:855**
- September 27, 1991 Memorandum, U.S. Department of Education, **2:946–953**
- Sequential bilinguals, **1:79, 405**
- Sequential vs. integrated approach, **1:312–313**
- Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools*, **1:115, 124, 266, 295–296, 468**
- Settlement houses, **1:34**
- SFUSD LAU plan. *See Lau v. Nichols, San Francisco United School District's response*
- Shanahan, Timothy, **1:529, 2:587, 657, 818**
- Shaumyan, Sebastian, **1:426**
- Sheltered English immersion. *See English immersion*
- Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol. *See SIOP*
- Shhadi, Nader, **2:873–874**
- Shin, Fay, **2:886**
- Shoho, Alan, **1:408–409**
- Short, Deborah, **1:168, 2:562, 601**
- Shultz, Jeffrey, **1:229**
- Signified, **1:161**
 vs. signifier, **1:525–526**

- Sign language. *See* **Deaf bilingual education**
- Signs, **1**:161, **1**:526
- Silent way, **1**:49, 157
- Siman Law, **2**:647
- Simon, Paul M. (1928-2003)**, **1**:73, **2**:739–740
- Sims, Christine, **1**:368–369, 388
- Simultaneous bilinguals, **1**:79, 405
- Sing, David, **1**:495
- Single-shot substitution drill, **1**:48
- Singleton, David, **1**:195, 522
- “Sink or swim” programs, **1**:73, 260, **2**:809, 814
- SIOP**, **1**:121, **2**:562, 666, **740–742**
- assessment, **2**:742
 - comprehensible input, **2**:741
 - critiques of, **2**:742
 - development of, **2**:793–794
 - interaction, **2**:741–742
 - lesson preparation, **2**:740–741
 - physical building for, **2**:741
 - practice/application, **2**:742
- Situated learning**, **2**:743–746
- implications for bilingual instruction, **2**:744–746
 - peripheral participatory learning, **2**:743–744
- Situational ethnicity, **1**:9
- Situational Language Teaching, **2**:598
- Skill-building hypothesis. *See* **Four-skills language learning theory; Skills transfer theory**
- Skills transfer theory**, **2**:746–749
- cross-linguistic transfer hypothesis, **2**:747–748
 - linguistic interdependence hypothesis, **2**:747
 - learning theories and, **2**:747
 - native language literacy and, **2**:748–749
- See also see* **Four-skills language learning theory**
- Skilton-Sylvester, Ellen, **1**:368
- Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove, **1**:387, 465, 467, 474, **2**:830
- SLA. *See* **Second-language acquisition**
- Slavin, Robert E., **2**:677
- SLIC (second-language instructional competence), **1**:64–65
- Slobin, Dan, **1**:16
- Slovenia, **1**:450
- Smith, Daniel, **2**:898
- Smith, Larry, **2**:909
- Smith, Madorah, **2**:718
- Smitherman, Geneva, **1**:46
- Snow, Catherine, **1**:164, 225–226, 521
- Snyder, Benson, **1**:347–348
- Social bilingualism**, **1**:65–66, 163, **2**:749–752
- bilingualism/diglossia relationship, **2**:750–751
 - diglossia, defining, **2**:749–750
 - implications for bilingual education, **2**:752
 - language rights, **2**:751–752
 - personality principle, **2**:751
 - societal vs. individual bilingualism, **1**:81–82
 - territorial principle, **2**:751
 - vs. individual bilingualism, **1**:81–82
- Social capital, **1**:16, **2**:898
- Social class and language status**, **2**:752–755
- class differences challenge educators, **2**:754
 - language standards and, **2**:753–754
 - patterned variation of language use and, **2**:752–753
- See also* **Status differences among languages**
- Social class and school success**, **2**:755–758
- class defined, **2**:755–756
 - class vs. culture, **2**:758
 - current research, **2**:757–758
 - school context example, **2**:756–757
- Social control. *See* **Language policy and social control**
- Social Darwinism, **1**:19–20
- Social distance, **1**:8, **2**:732–733
- Socialization. *See* **Enculturation**
- Social learning**, **2**:759–761
- language role in, **2**:760
 - mediational tools role in, **2**:760
 - social context of human development, **2**:759–760
 - sociocultural theory, **2**:760–761
- Socially diagnostic, language as, **1**:6
- Social speech, **2**:899, 900
- Societal bilingualism. *See* **Social bilingualism**
- Sociocultural theory, **2**:760–761
- Sociolinguistics, **1**:527, **2**:732
- correlational, **2**:753
 - Kachru’s sociolinguistic profile, **2**:909, 910, 911
 - Schumann’s acculturation model, **2**:732–733
- Solís, Juan de Dios, **2**:572
- Solórzano, Daniel G., **1**:219, 221
- Soria v. Oxnard*, **2**:722
- Souberman, Ellen, **1**:425
- South Africa, **1**:452–453
- South Asian English, **2**:595
- South Carolina
- ELL population growth in, **2**:811
 - parent training in, **2**:569
- Southeast Asian refugees**, **2**:761–767
- bilingual education programs for, **2**:766–767
 - Cambodians, **2**:762
 - historical background, **2**:762–763
 - Hmong, **2**:763
 - Laotians, **2**:762–763
 - recent demographics, **2**:763–766
 - Vietnamese, **2**:763, 884–887
- Southwest Conference on Language Teaching, **2**:577
- Southwest Council of Foreign Language Teachers, **2**:577
- Spain. *See* **Languages in Colonial schools, Western**
- Spanglish**, **1**:42, 60, 81, **2**:767–770, **2**:804
- in classroom, **2**:769
 - teacher attitudes toward, **2**:770

- Spanish, decline in use, 2:751, 770–772**
 immigrant study, 2:771
 language shift process, 2:772
- Spanish, proactive maintenance, 2:772–779**
 case of Spanish, 2:773
 educational institutions role in, 2:773–774
 maintenance bilingual education, 2:774
 remaining challenges, 2:777–778
 teaching heritage languages, 2:774–775
 teaching Spanish as heritage language, 2:775–777
 traditional foreign-language students, 2:774
- Spanish, the second national language, 2:779–784**
 current status of Spanish, 1:531–532, 2:780
 factors favoring, 2:782–784
 lack of advocacy for national policy, 2:782
 linguistic diversity climate and, 2:782
 power of English and, 2:780–781
 problems facing Spanish language, 2:780
 relative status of languages and, 2:781
 transitional bilingual education effects, 2:781–782
- Spanish language**
 as critical language, 2:594–595
 language-as-problem orientation and, 2:893
 numbers of speakers, 2:658, 780, 804
 skills transfer research, 2:748–749
See also **Spanish, decline in use; Spanish, proactive maintenance; Spanish, the second national language; Spanish-language enrollments; Spanish loan words in U.S. English**
- Spanish-language enrollments, 2:555, 556, 784–787**
 enrollment numbers, 2:785–786
 language programs, 2:784–786
See also **Language study today**
- Spanish loan words in U.S. English, 2:787–792**
 changes in word meanings, 2:788, 792
 foods and food preparation words, 2:788
- Special alternative instructional programs. *See* English immersion**
- Special education. *See* Bilingual special education**
- Special education limited-English-proficient (SPEDLEP), 2:617**
- Specially designed academic instruction in English, 2:792–796**
 academic content and, 2:820
 comprehensible content strategies, 2:794–796
 development of SDAIE, 2:562, 793
 development of sheltered instruction, 2:793–794
 ELD/SDAIE approach, 2:794, 795
 preview–view–review strategy, 2:795–796
- SPEDLEP (special education limited-English-proficient), 2:617**
- Speech acts, 2:662–663**
- Speech community, 1:302, 339, 400, 2:584, 636, 750, 751, 753**
See also **Language revival and renewal**
- Speech vs. language, 1:196**
- Spellings, Margaret, 1:344**
- Spilimbergo, Antonio, 1:355**
- Spindler, George, 2:863**
- Spindler, Louise, 2:863**
- Spiro, Tand, 1:534**
- Spolsky, Bernard, 1:435, 460, 2:796–797**
- Spring, Joel, 1:467, 483, 2:563**
- SSCLC (Secondary School Chinese Language Center), 1:131–132**
- Stage theory of development, 1:286–287**
- “Standard” English. *See* Best English to learn; Status differences among languages**
- Standards-based tests, 2:543, 815–816**
- Stanford Working Group, 1:382, 2:797–801, 835**
 Blueprint for the Second Generation, 2:798–799
 civil rights advocates and, 2:801
 education establishment and, 2:800
 membership, 2:797–798
 political discourse and, 2:799–800
 researchers and, 2:801
 standards and assessment and, 2:800
 state/local educators of LEP students and, 2:800–801
- Stanton-Salazar, Ricardo D., 1:346**
- State Board of Education, McLaughlin v., 2:693**
- State education agencies (SEAs), 1:136, 273, 2:612, 799, 846**
- State of Arizona, Flores v., 1:273–274, 306–311**
- State of Texas, United States v., 1:296**
- Status differences among languages, 1:74, 248, 297, 423–424, 2:749–750, 801–803**
 English, 1:2, 5, 474, 2:780–781, 803
 factors causing change in, 2:801–802
 hidden curriculum and, 1:349
 in Israel, 1:454
 Native American languages, 2:802–803
 in Pakistan, 1:454
 social class and, 1:7, 2:752–755
 Spanish, 2:803
 worldwide, 2:877
See also **Best English to learn**
- Status planning, 1:70, 435**
- Stavans, Ilan, 2:768**
- Stephenson, Todd, 1:356**
- Stereotypes**
 model minority, 2:885
 of native speakers, 1:6
- Stern, Hans, 1:443**
- Sterns, John, 2:647**
- Still, Bayrd, 2:647**

- St. Lambert immersion study**, 2:718, 803–806, 872
 effects of bilingual instruction, 2:805
 framework for assessing student progress, 2:804
 immersion programs today, 2:806
 program design, 2:804
 school study group, 2:804
 spread of immersion across Canada, 2:805
 spread of immersion to U.S., 2:805–80
- Stokoe, William, 1:214
- Stolz, Walter, 1:119
- Stoops, Nicole, 1:370
- Strategic Language List, 1:190
- Street, Brian, 1:530
- Streif, Paul, 1:332, 333
- Stronghold Languages, 1:190
- Structural assimilation, 1:33
- Structuralism, 1:525–526
- Structural linguistics, 1:49
- Structured English immersion. *See* **English immersion**
- Structure dependence principle, 1:302
- Stryer, Pat, 1:27, 259
- Student-centered learning, 1:35
- Suárez-Orozco, Carola, 1:423
- Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo, 1:423
- Submersion, 1:261, 2:676
- Subtractive programs. *See* **Additive and subtractive programs**
- Sue, Donald W., 2:563
- Sugarman, Julie, 1:230, 231–232
- Suggestopedia, 1:157
- SUP (separate underlying proficiency), 2:865
- Surface vs. deep structure, 1:526
- Svedkauskaite, Asta, 2:823
- Swain, Merrill, 1:167, 2:805
- Swedish language, 1:38–39, 145, 403, 480–481, 2:555
- Sweetland, Monroe, 1:333, 334
- SWG. *See* **Stanford Working Group**
- Switzerland, initiative process in, 2:896
- Symbol-sound view, 2:654–655
- Synchrony, 1:525
- Syntactic cues, 1:534
- Syntagmatic organization of signs, 1:526
- Syntax, 1:433, 456, 2:905
See also **Phonology, morphology, and syntax**
- Szanton Blanc, Christina, 2:858
- Tabors, Patton, 1:250
- Taeschner, Traute, 2:636
- Tagalog language, 1:126, 452, 2:750
- Takaki, Ronald, 2:630, 885
- TAKS (Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills), 1:290
- Tam, Brian, 1:90
- Tamura, Eileen, 1:407–408, 409
- Tancredo, Tom, 1:25
- Tankersley, Dawn, 2:873
- Tannenbaum, Michal, 1:55, 345
- Tanton, John H. (1934–)**, 1:128, 2:807–808
- Task-based language teaching (TBLT), 1:256
- TBE. *See* Transitional bilingual education programs
- TBLT (task-based language teaching), 1:256
- Teacher-centric approach, 1:48
- Teacher certification by states, 2:808–813**
 alternative bilingual certification, 2:812
 antibilingual state legislation effects on, 2:811–812
 bilingual program goals, 2:809
 bilingual teacher education, 2:810
 emergency/provisional licenses, 2:810–811
 “highly qualified” teacher status, 2:811
 historical background, 2:809
 increase in demand for programs, 2:809–810
 increase of ELLs and, 2:811
See also **Teacher preparation, then and now; Teacher qualifications**
- Teacher Performance Assessments (TPA), 2:815
- Teacher preparation, then and now, 2:813–816**
 current models, 2:815–816
 decentralized licensing/emergency credential, 2:814–815
Lau v. Nichols and, 2:813–814
See also **Transformative teaching model**
- Teacher qualifications, 2:816–821**
 academic English, 2:820
 academic Spanish, 2:818
 bilingual education program design, 2:819–820
 bilingualism/l2 acquisition and l2 language pedagogy, 2:819–820
 bilingual teacher language proficiency, 2:818–819
 biliteracy/L2 literacy pedagogy, 2:820
 domains of bilingual teacher competencies, 2:816–818
 L1 and English linguistics, 2:819
 L1 culture and cross-cultural knowledge, 2:820
 L1/L2 academic content pedagogy, 2:820
- Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). *See* **TESOL, Inc.**
- Teaching-to-the-test, 2:609
- TEA (Texas Education Agency), 1:59, 236, 296–297, 326, 356
- Technology in language teaching and learning, 2:821–825**
 bilingual education practice, 2:822–824
 computer-assisted language learning, 2:821, 822, 823
 e-mail, 2:822–823
 future directions, 2:824
 L2 acquisition research, 2:822
- Te Kohanga Reo* (Language Nest), 1:339, 398, 437
- Tempe Elementary School District, Guadalupe Organization, Inc. v., 1:114–115, 296, 2:893

- Tennessee, ELL population growth in, **2:811**
Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District, **1:115**, 338
 Terrell, Tracy, **1:17**, 19, 164, 165, 413, **2:559**, 596–597, 598, 793
 Territorial principle, **2:751**
 Teschner, Richard, **2:776**
TESOL, Inc., **1:94**, **2:825–827**
 certification, **2:812** and
 globalization challenges, **2:827**
 historical background, **2:826–827**
 international role of, **2:826–827**
 licensure and, **1:94**
 on official English, **2:627**
 publications, **1:24**, **2:727**, 827
 special interest groups, **2:827**
 various meanings of, **2:825**
 See also Alatis, James
 Tesser, Carmen, **2:776**
 Testing washback, **1:352**
 Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), **1:24**
 Texas
 bilingual education funding in, **1:182**
 desegregation cases in, **1:507**
 English only in, **1:506**
 Koreans in, **2:829**
 missions in, **1:487**
 Pakistanis in, **2:829**
 speed of language shift in, **1:502**
 undocumented students' rights in, **2:868**
 Vietnamese bilingual education in, **1:272**
 Vietnamese in, **2:829**, 885
 See also Texas legislation (HB 103 and SB 121)
 Texas, United States v., **1:112**, 468, **2:568**, 722, 829
 Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS), **1:290**
 Texas Bilingual Education Act, **1:112**, **2:861**, 862
 Texas Education Agency (TEA), **1:59**, 236, 296–297, 326, 356
Texas legislation (HB 103 and SB 121), **2:828–829**, 861, 862
 Bilingual Education and Training Act, **2:828–829**
 Thaidam people, **2:761**
 Tharp, Roland, **1:365**, **2:565–566**
 Third Annual International Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference, **2:572**
 Thomas, Peter, **2:773**
 Thomas, Wayne, **1:54**, 153, 154, 251, 252, 371, 530, **2:856**, 2872
 Thompson, Frank, **1:35–36**
Threshold hypothesis, **1:151**, **2:830–833**
 balanced bilinguals, **2:830**
 cognitive effects of bilingualism, **2:831–832**
 criticisms of, **2:832–833**
 degrees of bilingualism, **2:830–831**
 developmental interdependence hypothesis, **2:832**
 dominant bilinguals, **2:830–831**
 hypothesis, **2:831**
 limited bilinguals, **2:830**
 semibilinguals, **2:830**
 Tiedt, Iris, **2:547**
 Tiedt, Pamela, **2:547**
 Tienda, Marta, **2:773**
 Ting, Su-Hie, **1:16**
 Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, **1:10–11**, 216, **2:834**, 835, 847
 See also No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title I
 Title III, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, **2:844**, 845, 846–847
 Title VI. *See Civil Rights Act of 1964*
 Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, funding history. *See Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs; Appendix F*
Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, key historical marker, **1:11–12**, 57, 180, **2:833–837**
 background, **2:834**
 capacity-building efforts, **2:834**
 criticisms of, **2:580**, 835, 836
 demonstration programs, **2:834**
 difference from Title III, **2:845**, 846
 early years, **2:652**, 835–836
 full-service/entitlement programs, **2:834**
 funding, **2:622**, 623, 833
 funding, FY 1969–FY 1995, **2:965**
 goals and objectives of, **2:680–681**
 impact and legacy, **2:540**, 836–837
 national politics and, **2:836**
 policy confusion, **1:71**, 73
 provisions, **2:834–835**
 TBE vs. language preservation, **2:835**
 See also Improving America's Schools Act of 1994
Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967 Senate hearings, **2:837–840**
Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, subsequent amendments, **1:276–277**, **2:840–845**
 appropriations by year, **2:844**
 1974 reauthorization, **2:835**, 840–841
 1978 reauthorization, **2:841–842**
 1984 reauthorization, **2:842**
 1988 reauthorization, **2:842–843**
 1994 reauthorization, **2:843–844**
 Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, text. *See Appendix B*
Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act becomes Title III, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, **2:845–848**
 goals and purposes of Title III, **2:846–847**
 NCLB implementation challenges, **2:847–848**

- paraprofessionals and, 1:86
See also **Bilingual teacher licensure; No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Title I**
- Title VI of Civil Rights Act, 1:138, 2:618–620
- Tlingit language, 2:590
- Todorov, Tzvetan, 1:14
- TOEFL. *See* Test of English as a Foreign Language
- Tokuhama-Espinosa, Tracey, 2:716
- Tokushige, Farrington v., 1:460, 467, 469, 2:894
- Tolbert, Caroline, 2:898
- Tomasello, Michael, 1:302, 303
- Tonkawa language, 2:860
- Toohy, Kelleen, 2:745
- Topic-centered narrative discourse, 1:140–141
- Torrance, Ellis, 1:151
- Total Physical Response (TPR), 1:49, 157, 400, 2:598
- Toth, Carolyn, 1:411
- Toukoma, Pertti, 2:830
- TPA (Teacher Performance Assessments), 2:815
- TPR (Total Physical Response), 1:49, 157, 400, 2:598
- Tran, My Luong, 1:477, 2:886
- Transculturation, 1:371
- Transformational-generative grammar, 1:526
- Transformation drill, 1:48
- Transformative teaching model, 2:848–851**
 bilingual teacher preparation, 2:849–850
 challenge of, 2:848
 pedagogy, 2:820, 850–851
 teacher dissatisfaction and, 2:848–849
- Transitional Bilingual Education Act, 1:124, 2:709
- Transitional bilingual education model questioned, 2:852–854**
 loss of support, 2:853–854
 Mexican immigration, 2:853–854
 program effectiveness, 2:853
 resistance against bilingual education, 2:852–853
 sociopolitical reactions, 2:852
- Transitional bilingual education programs, 2:854–857**
 court cases, 1:468
 criticisms of, 1:11–12, 73–74, 203, 204–205, 262–263, 436, 2:873
 goal of, 2:678, 782
 home language instruction in, 1:361
 limitations of, 1:40–41, 42
 participation in, 1:42
 program effectiveness, 2:856
 purpose and theory, 2:540, 676, 855–856
 student classroom population, 2:857
 TBE classroom, 2:856
 teacher preparation, 2:856–857
 vs. maintenance bilingual programs, 2:774
See also **Transitional bilingual education model questioned**
- Transitional competence, 1:281, 406
- Transnational students, 2:857–860**
 growth of transnationalism, 2:858–859
 need for research, 2:859
- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1:378, 447, 483, 489, 506, 507
- Trechsel, Alexander, 2:896
- Tribally Controlled Colleges Act, 1:387
- Troike, Rudolph C., Jr. (1933–), 1:118, 2:860–861**
- Truán, Carlos (1935–), 1:39, 2:828, 829, 861–863**
- Trueba, Enrique (Henry) (1931–2004), 1:30, 2:863–864**
- Truly Less Commonly Taught Languages, 1:342
- Truman, Manuel A., 2:703
- Trust responsibility, 1:387
- Tse, Lucy, 1:427, 428, 2:875
- Tuchman, Gloria Matta, 1:257–258
- Tucker, Richard, 1:229, 261, 478, 2:804, 805
- Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking, 2:578–579
- Tucson Symposium. *See* **National Education Association Tucson Symposium**
- Turkish languages, as critical languages, 1:190
- 21st Century National Defense Education Act, 1:344
- 21st Century School Fund, 2:641
- Two-way immersion program (TWI), 1:10, 40, 74, 122–123
- Type A bilingual, 1:161
- Type B bilingual, 1:161
- Type C bilingual, 1:161–162
- Typology, of bilingual education, 1:71–72, 305–306
- UG (Universal Grammar) theory, 1:166, 302, 405, 419–420, 470, 471, 522
- Ulanoff, Sharon, 2:667
- Underlying linguistic proficiencies, 2:863–867**
 basic personal communication skills, 2:865, 866
 cognitive academic language proficiency, 2:865–866
 common, 1:148, 172–173, 2:865
 common vs. separate, 2:855
 separate, 2:865
See also **Proficiency, fluency, and mastery**
- Undocumented students' rights, 1:297, 284, 2:568–569, 569, 573, 722, 854, 867–868**
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization), 1:121, 436, 462, 2:593
- Uniformitarianism, 1:403
- United States v. Texas*, 1:112, 296, 468, 2:568, 722, 829
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 2:894
- Universal Grammar (UG) theory, 1:166, 302, 405, 419–420, 470, 471, 522
- Unz, Ron (1961–), 1:27, 257, 258, 259, 267, 268, 2:684, 686, 691, 694, 868–869, 897**

- Upward convergence, **1:7**
- Urdu language, **1:264, 2:829**
 as critical language, **1:190, 2:594, 595**
 as national language, **1:453**
 numbers of speakers, **2:658**
- Urquides, María (1908–1994), 1:332, 333, 2:637, 638, 869–871**
- U.S. bilingual education viewed from abroad, 2:871–878**
 bilingual education models, **2:872–873**
 English use in U.S./worldwide, **2:876–877**
 exporting dual-language schools, **2:873–874**
 history of bilingual education, **2:871–872**
 politics affect on bilingual education, **2:875–876**
 role of research in bilingual education, **2:874**
 support for bilingual education, **2:874–875**
- U.S. Census Language data, 2:878–880**
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, 2:880–882**
 U.S. English organization, **2:807–808**
 U.S. Office of Education (USOE), **2:621**
 USCCR. *See* **U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report**
- Use-based theory, **1:302**
- Ushijima, Hidehiko, **1:408**
- Utah, undocumented students' rights in, **2:722**
- Utakis, Sharon, **1:176**
- Uto-Aztecan language, **2:860**
- Vai people, **1:530**
- Valdés, Guadalupe (1944–), 2:883–884**
 on English-only policies, **1:228**
 on heritage languages, **2:777**
 on heritage language speakers, **1:342, 343**
 on language brokers, **1:324, 428**
 on language shift, **2:773**
 on mythological bilinguals, **1:531**
 on standard English, **1:59–60**
- Valdés-Fallis, Guadalupe, **2:776**
- Valencia, Richard, **1:30, 218, 219**
- Valeria G. v. Wilson*, **1:284, 2:694**
- Van Dijk, Teun, **1:76**
- Van Valin, Robert, **1:443**
- Variability of language, **1:525**
- Variationist sociolinguistics, **2:753**
- Vaughn, Sharon, **1:91**
- Vélez-Ibañez, Carlos, **1:198, 2:558**
- Veltman, Calvin, **1:477, 502, 504, 505, 2:771–772, 886**
- Venable, James, **2:657**
- Verbal aptitude, **1:322, 323, 324**
- Verbal giftedness, **1:322, 323**
- Verbal intelligence, **1:322, 323, 2:553, 900**
- Vietnamese immigration, 2:884–887**
 community language schools, **2:886–887**
 heritage language maintenance, **2:886**
 language shift and, **1:477**
 mode of incorporation, **2:885–886**
 resettlement, **2:885**
See also **Southeast Asian refugees**
- Views of bilingual education, 2:887–892**
 aesthetic/enrichment/pragmatic approach, **2:888–889**
 civil rights orientation, **2:889**
 cultural assertiveness orientation, **2:890**
 cultural pluralism orientation, **2:890–891**
 pragmatic/utilitarian/work-related orientation, **2:891**
 psychological/human development orientation, **2:889–890**
- Views of language difference, 2:892–895**
 language as problem, **1:297, 2:725, 893**
 language as resource, **1:297–298, 2:725, 894**
 language as right, **1:297, 2:725, 893–894**
- Villa, Daniel, **2:822**
- Villalpando, Octavio, **1:219, 221**
- Villanueva, Victor, **1:46**
- Villarreal, Abelardo, **2:828**
- Villegas, Ana María, **1:87, 205–206**
- Virginia, education in Colonial, **1:480**
- Vogel, Clayton P., **2:599**
- Vogt, Mary Ellen, **1:168, 2:562, 740**
- Voice, **1:191**
- Voluntary minority, **2:633, 634**
- Voter initiatives in education, 2:895–899**
 curricular decisions, **2:897–898**
 in history, **2:895–896**
 initiative vs. noninitiative states, **2:895–896**
 super majority requirement, **2:896**
 in U.S., **2:896–897**
- Voting Rights Act of 1965, **1:453, 2:878, 894**
- Voting Rights Act of 1975, **1:724**
- Vygotsky and language learning, 2:899–901**
 on bilingualism, **2:902–903**
 on inner speech, **2:899**
 on internalization process, **1:493**
 on linguistic awareness, **2:552**
 on private speech, **2:899, 900**
 on social learning, **2:759**
 on social speech, **2:899, 900**
 on thinking and talking, **1:425, 2:901–902**
 on zone of proximal development, **1:192, 2:745, 760, 899–900**
- Waltrous, Jerome, **2:647**
- Wang, Li-Chang, **1:467–468**
- Wang, S. C., **1:176**
- Ward, Colleen, **1:207**
- Warm Springs Indian Reservation, **1:205, 227, 494, 2:754**
- War on Poverty, **1:124, 136, 234–235, 2:617**
- Washback, testing, **1:352**
- Washington. *See* **Indigenous languages, current status**
- Washington, D.C. *See* **Oyster Bilingual School**

- Washington, Vietnamese in, **2:885**
 Washington State, parent training in, **2:569**
 Watahomagie, Lucille, **2:591**
 Watson, Dorothy, **2:655**
 Watson-Gegeo, Karen, **1:166–167**
 Ways with words, **1:141, 490**
Ways With Words study, **1:227, 490, 2:755**
 Weaver, Constance, **2:654, 656**
 Webb, John, **1:479, 2:778**
 Webb, Vic, **1:14**
 Weber, Max, **1:197, 472–473**
 Weber, Nina, **2:667**
 Webster, Bruce, **1:370**
 Webster, Noah, **1:70, 459, 2:585, 630**
 Weinberg, Meyer, **1:407, 408, 465–466, 467**
 Weinreich, Max, **1:44**
 Weinreich, Uriel, **1:161–162, 338–339**
 Weiss, Bernard, **1:32, 33, 37**
 Welles, Elizabeth, **2:776, 785**
 Welsh language, **1:52–53, 150, 176, 436–437, 481, 2:872**
 Welsh Language Board, **1:52–53, 176**
 Wenger, Étienne, **1:158–159, 495, 2:743**
 Wernicke's area, **1:104**
 Wertsch, James, **2:759, 760, 899**
 Wesley, Clarence, **1:391**
 WestEd, **2:695, 696, 697**
 Westminster, Méndez v., **1:135, 294, 507, 2:549–550, 551**
 White, Lydia, **1:167**
Whole language, 1:254–255, 413, 2:903–906
 bilingual education and, **2:904–905**
 myths surrounding, **2:905–906**
 Whorf, Benjamin L., **1:425**
 WIDA (World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment), **1:290**
 Wiley, Edward, **1:196**
 Wiley, Terrence
 on Americanization, **1:33**
 on BICS/CALP theory, **1:63**
 on definitions of literacy, **1:530–531**
 on Germans in American, **1:32, 33, 35, 37, 460**
 on heritage languages, **1:342, 343, 2:777**
 on language restrictionism, **1:458**
 on threshold theory, **1:527**
 Williams, Robert, **1:243**
 Willig, Ann, **1:278, 2:677**
 Willinsky, John, **1:893**
 Willis, Paul, **1:199**
 Wilson, LULAC v., **2:867**
 Wilson, Pila, **2:592**
 Wilson, Ryan, **2:592**
 Wilson, Valeria G. v., **1:284, 2:694**
 Wilson, Waziyatawin A., **1:400**
 Wilson, William, **1:389, 398, 2:591**
 Wilson, Woodrow, **1:36**
 Wink, Dawn, **2:819**
 Wink, Joan, **2:819**
 Winkelman, Michael, **1:207–208**
 Winsler, Adam, **2:899, 900**
 Wintu Indians, **1:494**
 Wiseman, Richard, **1:346**
 WITAN, **2:807**
 Wolf, Diane, **2:858**
 Wolfram, Walt, **1:244, 396**
 Wong, Sau-Ling, **2:645**
Wong Fillmore, Lily (1934–), 1:53, 238, 345, 399, 478, 2:713–714, 906–908
 Wood, David, **2:899**
 Woods, Robert, **1:34**
 Word borrowing. *See* **Spanish loan words in U.S. English**
 World Bank, **1:248**
 World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA), **1:290**
World Englishes, 2:595, 2:908–911
 issues and implications, **2:909–911**
 pluralization of English, **2:908–909**
 Wright, Sue, **1:435**
 Wright, Wayne, **1:260**
 Xenophobia. *See* **Immigration and language policy**
 Ximenez, Vicente, **1:509**
 Yaqui language, **1:488, 2:555, 870, 893**
Yarborough, Ralph (1903–1996), 1:39, 112, 2:571, 591, 638, 679, 680–681, 837–838, 839, 849, 913–914
 Yiddish language, **1:35, 304, 453, 2:750**
 Young, Russell, **2:886**
 Yugoslavia, **1:148, 450**
 Yup'ik language, **2:590**
Zamora, Gloria L. (1935–2001), 2:572, 828, 915–916
 Zangwill, Israel, **1:33, 2:545–546**
 Zárate, Roberto, **1:181**
 Zehr, Mary Ann, **1:363**
Zelasko, Nancy (1951–), 1:537, 2:557, 572, 576, 916–917
 Zentella, Ana Celia, **1:228, 2:768**
 Zhou, Min, **1:54, 2:859, 885, 886**
 Zone of proximal development (ZPD), **1:192, 2:745, 760, 899–900**
 Zuni language, **1:493**