Spanish for Americans? The Politics of Bilingualism in the United States

by

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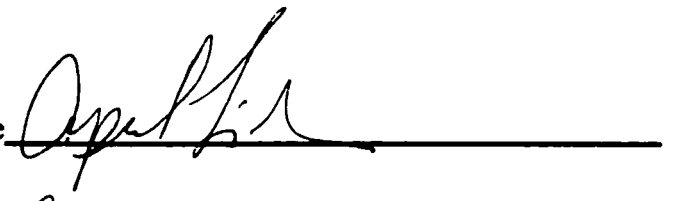
Signature 

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Abstract

Spanish for Americans? The Politics of Bilingualism in the United States

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This dissertation addresses the tension between multiculturalism and national unity within the context of Spanish and English language usage in the United States. Will moves to promote bilingualism and dual-language school programs lead to a fragmented society? Under what circumstances might bilingualism be compatible with American identity? Where bilinguals have high status and Hispanics have political power, I find that English-speaking Hispanics are much more likely to maintain Spanish. The project first documents the role that language has played in national identity formation and, in turn, how beliefs about what it means to be American have shaped school policies relative to second language learning and the education of immigrant children. Then – using the Census, NCES, and other data sources – I develop and quantitatively test models of the macro- and micro-level contexts that influence (1) the level of bilingualism among Hispanic adults, and (2) the adoption of Spanish-English dual-language programs in public schools. The latter is one of several indicators of a more generalized valuation of bilingualism that extends beyond Hispanics and Hispanic communities. Qualitative case studies augment my findings by elucidating the motives and process behind decisions to institute dual-language school programs. The U.S. is not moving toward a bilingual norm, but my findings provide evidence that, under certain circumstances, Spanish-English bilingualism has become a compatible and stable part of what it means to be an American.

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A mi mejor amigo, que todas las semanas me preguntaba sobre mi disertación.

Chapter 1

Introduction: Language and American Identity

Has a nation anything more precious than the language of its fathers?

Johann Herder, 1772[1]

Absolutely nothing is so important for a nation's culture as its language.

Wilhelm von Humboldt, 1797[2]

In constructing an image of a nation, a large set of variables comes into play: religion, language, law, geographical isolation, economic considerations, bureaucratic decisions, colonial policies, and more. Yet perceptions of nationhood developed under extremely different circumstances all result in a national consciousness that fosters feelings of belonging and national fraternity. Since nationality only exists to the extent that people believe it to be so, it is inherently a subjective notion. Nations are groups of individuals who recognize the things they have in common and downplay or forget the things that might threaten their solidarity (Anderson 1991).

Most social scientists trace the emergence of concepts of nationality and nationalism to the end of the eighteenth century, when several discrete historical forces

[1] cited by Berlin (1976) and Edwards (1994:129)
[2] cited by Grafton (1981) and Edwards (1994:129)

converged.[3] Perceived common needs form the image of a nation; these in turn create a national reality. For the first time, bodies of people that considered themselves a nation claimed the right to self-determination and territory (Anderson 1991). Hobsbawm (1990) suggests that this linkage was an industrial age substitute for older forms of community. People choose this particular type of replacement because state and national movements could mobilize feelings of collective belonging, which already existed and could potentially operate on a macro-political scale (p. 46). Such "proto-national bonds" developed on a supra-local level – defined according to religion, ethnicity, or language – as well as in the form of local political identities.[4] Language and ethnicity were central to the concept of a nation, and thus became potentially divisive elements. Yet a perfect correspondence between nations and states has never been achieved. Anderson also notes that the national ideas formulated by official champions do not necessarily coincide with the actual self-identification of the people concerned.

Gellner (1983) thus interprets nationalism as a myth based on social roots located in the organization of industrial society. Two people are of the same nation if they share the same culture – a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating, and if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. Since the industrial revolution, societies have "emerged based on a high-powered technology and the expectancy of sustained growth, which requires both a mobile division of labor, and sustained, frequent, and *precise communication between strangers involving a*

---

[3] Gorski (2000) counters this generalization, arguing that national identity was well-established in ancient Israel and in The Netherlands during the early modern period.

[4] This work pertains mostly to language and does not encompass religious nationalism at all. For a very interesting comparison of Spanish as a socio-political issue in the U.S., vs. Islam in Europe, see Zollberg and Long (1999).

sharing of explicit meaning, transmitted in a standard idiom and in writing when required" (p. 34, italics added). Because communication is crucial, sharing a common language is a significant aspect of how citizens of industrialized nations characterize their society. Perceived opportunity for social mobility is likewise an important component of nationalism based on the pursuit of economic goals – certainly part of U.S. national identity. A primary way of promoting this opportunity is via universal and somewhat standardized education, which not incidentally is also what prepares workers for a role – upwardly mobile or otherwise – in the economy. School is a strong arm of culture as well as a place to learn skills. In regard to language, an elemental part of education, schooling generally reflects dominant social norms (Edwards 1994).

This dissertation is about a potential (if not imminent) change in United States language norms, and about school programs that are on the leading edge of this change. Its main pieces concern (1) the maintenance of Spanish-English bilingualism in the United States, and (2) school policies on second language learning and the education of immigrant children – especially the emergence of and potential for dual-language programs, which promote bilingualism for native English-speakers as well as others. I focus on Spanish because, for many reasons, it has persisted to a much greater degree than other non-English languages. Most contemporary immigration to the U.S. is from Spanish-speaking countries. Spanish-speakers are, overwhelmingly, the largest non-English-language group in the country. They comprised over half of those who generally speak a language other than English at home. Spanish language institutions and media are well established in many parts of the country, and using Spanish alongside English has become key to Latino political identity and efficacy - both in symbolic and practical

terms. In Zollberg and Long's (1999) words, "Spanish is here to stay" (p. 31). But *where* within the United States will Spanish "stay," and *for whom*? This question drives the present work.

The rest of this chapter will discuss the link between English and American national identity, and how beliefs about the importance of this link have informed immigration policy, school policy, and even research about bilingualism. It will also introduce relatively recent political reactions and counter-reactions to the perceived threat that Spanish will assume a valued role in the economy and culture of the United States.[5]

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN IDENTITY

The United States has never had an official language policy. The Constitution does not enshrine English. Although an ideology that links English monolingualism with American identity has prevailed throughout most of U.S. history, bilingualism was relatively common in the nineteenth century, and bilingual education was not unknown.[6] Yet during this period, a belief that "American English both reflected and constituted the democratic and rational nature of the country" emerged (Portes and Schauffler 1996:10). For some influential thinkers, this meant far more than establishing a common language for practical reasons. Largely as defined by the 'founding settlers' of Massachusetts and Virginia, English came to be seen as a crucial unifying element – uniquely suited to define the nation and its citizens (Fishman 1966).

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[5] This, I will later argue, is an impending reality in some locales. A more reactionary view, with little or no empirical support, is that Spanish will overtake English as the country's dominant language.

[6] Documented concerns about linguistic unity date back to Benjamin Franklin's antagonism towards German, which at one time was the native language of about a third of the residents of Pennsylvania. In 1900, about 4 percent of American schoolchildren were taught in German at least some of the time (Stewart 1993:155-156).

As the quotes at the beginning of this chapter – from scholars who were influential in defining German national identity in the late eighteenth century – illustrate, it is not exceptionally American to regard language as a, or *the*, "pillar of groupness" (Edwards 1994:129). Anthony Smith (1971) traces the origins of linguistic nationalism to late eighteenth century German romanticism, particularly to the influence of Johann Herder. Though he was known to enjoy other languages and cultures, Herder's writings position non-Germans as out-groups. His follower Johann Fitch was more acerbic. Fitch's famous *Addresses to the German Nation* ([1807] 1968: 58-59) deprecated others' languages just as it emphasized the importance of his own. He claimed "the German speaks a language which has been alive ever since it first issued from the force of nature, whereas the other Teutonic races speak a language which has movement on the surface only but is dead at the root." [7] While ridiculous from a linguistic standpoint, this statement draws attention to the enormous power of language, to unite *and* to exclude. Though defenders and promoters of English in the U.S. did not go so far as to claim that other languages were "dead at the root," linguistic nationalism is perhaps most interesting when expressed within a nation of immigrants.

IMMIGRANTS AND ENGLISH IN THE UNITED STATES

> *"What do you call a person who speaks two languages?"*
>
> *"Bilingual."*
>
> *"And one who knows only one?"*

[7] cited by Edwards (1994:131).

"American."[8]

It is impossible for a state to be neutral towards language. Governments necessarily make choices about which language or languages they will communicate in. The state's choices influence the value of the linguistic capital of various groups in the population, including immigrants whose native language differs from that of the host country. The same is true in regard to the institutional spheres that pertain to making a living, and to education. In the U.S., the dominance of English in government, industry, education, and popular culture moved it steadily "to the fore as the single most important element in the construction of national identity, both positively as a communicative instrument shared by members of the nation and as a boundary marker affirming their distinction from others" (Zolberg and Long 1999:22).

Popular American ideals of immigrant assimilation have often placed almost as much importance on immigrants ceasing to use the language of their homeland as on their learning English. Legislation proposed and enacted around the turn of the twentieth century evidences a *negative* valuation of non-English-speakers' linguistic capital. Reflective of the notion that English defined Americans, and undoubtedly in reaction to an all-time high level of immigration, Congress enacted an English language requirement for citizenship in 1906. In 1907 it appointed a joint committee, The Dillingham Commission, to study immigration's impact on the country. Guided by the theories of influential nativist scholars, the Commission concluded in 1911 that new immigration consisted mostly of "inferior peoples" who were physically, mentally, and linguistically

[8] The original source of this joke is not documented. It is quoted by Portes and Rumbaut (1996:195) and Görlach (1986).

different and would thus not easily adopt "fundamental American ideals" (King 2000:64). The Commission urged Congress to impose many restrictions on new immigration, two of which eventually became law: required English literacy for all immigrants over age sixteen in 1917[9] and a fixed quota by race in 1921 (King 2000:295; Piatt 1990:16). It is also noteworthy that New Mexico's statehood was delayed until, in the words of one prominent politician, "the migration of English-speaking people who have been citizens of other States does its modifying work with the Mexican element" (Baron 1990:8).

World War I heightened anxieties about national loyalty and immigrant assimilation. During and following the war, several states prohibited the teaching of German. The governors of Iowa and South Dakota issued decrees prohibiting the use of any language other than English in public places or over the telephone (Piatt 1990). Schools in many states required children to take language loyalty oaths. A 1919 Nebraska statute banned teaching any language other than English before the ninth grade (Dillard 1985; Marckwardt 1980). In 1923, an Illinois law targeted speakers of British English, declaring "American" to be the state's official tongue (Tatalovich 1995:63-69). The Quota Law of 1921 brought more of the same; it set very strict limits on immigration, banned immigration from Japan altogether, and essentially blocked the entry of persons from other non-European countries by establishing national quotas based on the contribution of each nationality to the total U.S. population in 1910. The Immigration Act of 1924 set the annual quota at two percent of the number of foreign-

[9]Vetoes by presidents Taft (in 1912) and Wilson (in 1915) prevented literacy restrictions from becoming law until 1917, when Congress overrode Wilson's veto.

born persons of such nationality resident in the continental United States in 1920. This spurred a major research effort by historians to determine the national origins of the population, which relied on some dubious assumptions based on surnames of the population in 1890.[10] A total yearly immigration quota of 164,667 was established, the distribution of which – not surprisingly – favored persons from northern and western Europe.[11]

The absence of a continuous flow of new immigrants encouraged those who were already in the U.S. to assimilate by abandoning the languages and customs that separated them from the dominant culture. By and large, immigrants sought to do so, thus perpetuating a norm of full assimilation based on an Anglo-American model (c.f. Massey 1995). Citizens and newcomers alike came to view the English language as a very important part of this model – possibly the only common bond among Americans (MacKaye 1990). Prominent politicians reinforced this notion by denouncing foreign language use as unpatriotic. For example, Theodore Roosevelt believed that "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, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house" (quoted in Brumberg 1986:7). Some upper- and middle-class parents encouraged their children to study Latin, German, or French, but bilingualism among recent immigrants was categorically disfavored. There was substantial pressure on the children and grandchildren of immigrants to speak English only (Portes and Hao 1998).

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[10] I am grateful to Charlie Hirschman for this clarification.

[11] The Act stipulated that after July 1, 1927 (later postponed to July 1, 1929) the annual quota for any country or nationality had the same relation to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in the continental United States in 1920 having that national origin had to the total number of inhabitants in the continental United States in 1920. Non-quota status was given to wives and unmarried children under 18 of U.S. citizens, and natives of Western Hemisphere countries.

It is thus not surprising that the South, Central, and Eastern Europeans who immigrated in the late 1800s and early 1900s – and their children – generally bought into the idea that making it in America meant shedding one's ethnic language. Many did in fact achieve upward mobility and political inclusion. But their success relative to more recent immigrant groups, or to southern blacks that migrated to the north, had much more to do with timing than with their adoption of English monolingualism. Lieberson (1980) offers evidence that South, Central, and Eastern European immigrant groups – and especially their children – were advantaged because their numbers, times of arrival, and locations of arrival were more-or-less regulated by the demand for unskilled workers. Members of the second generation had access to education, and were often able to move into more skilled jobs than those their parents held.

Another reason that we now see very little intergenerational transmission of European languages among Americans is that immigration from Europe virtually stopped by the 1930s – due first to the new quotas, and then the Depression. The halt in new immigration further encouraged linguistic assimilation among those already here, leading to English-monolingualism by the third generation. The notion that this pattern is one that immigrants should follow is became powerfully entrenched, and is present even today. Some immigrant parents still encourage their children to speak only English, fearing that bilingualism will invite discrimination (Fishman 1996; Lippi-Green 1997).

Historically, the standing of Spanish and its speakers within the U.S. has been somewhat different from that of other languages and immigrant groups. During the period from 1925 to 1965, when there was little immigration from Europe or other places, there was growing immigration from Mexico. This development was mostly a by-

product of the ongoing recruitment of agricultural workers via government-organized guest worker programs as well as an informal cross-border labor market in the Southwest. There was considerable return migration, but substantial settlement occurred as well, mostly in border communities where Mexican immigrants lived and worked under segregated conditions. These newcomers were viewed as sojourners; their and their children's membership in American society was effectively discouraged. Under these circumstances, Spanish remained the dominant language of expanding Mexican-American communities (Zolberg and Long 1999).

The Civil Rights Era: A New Appreciation for Language Diversity?

In the 1960s, immigration reform, the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act provided, collectively, a new basis for minority groups to politically and culturally articulate their ethnic identity. This was a potential window of opportunity for other languages to flourish, alongside English, as permanent, valuable parts of American culture. In particular, the position of Spanish in American life became part of the civil rights agenda because the obligation to exclusively use English in the public sphere disadvantaged American citizens who grew up in a Spanish-language environment. Puerto Ricans living in New York, for example, obtained the right to vote in Spanish, obligating the state to provide bilingual ballots.

The Bilingual Education Act (BEA), originally passed by Congress in 1968, may – in some cases – also have promoted a greater valuation of Spanish and Spanish-speakers in U.S. society. The BEA aimed to improve the poor school performance of immigrant children by providing funds for "transitional" programs to help children of

limited English-speaking ability learn English well before transitioning into regular classrooms.[12] These programs often involve instruction in a child's native tongue. Yet even as it signaled intent to help children succeed in school, the language of the original BEA and its limited focus on schools serving large concentrations of poor families served to further associate bilingualism with disadvantage, cultural deprivation, and alienation (Haugen 1972; Schmidt 2000). It also perpetuated the norm of *subtractive* bilingualism.

Revisions of the BEA have greatly extended its application. At different times it has emphasized different goals: ethnic awareness in the 1970s, English fluency and academic achievement in the 1980s, more freedom for local- and state-level decision-making in the 1990s. An alternative "sheltered English" approach has become popular in recent years: limited English-proficient students are placed in special English as a second language (ESL) classes for a period of time before they join mainstream classrooms. Regardless of strategy, however, most of the school programs developed to aid limited English-proficient (LEP) students address a population viewed as needing special attention in order to become like the majority. It is still quite common to gauge success at educating the children of immigrants by evaluating how quickly they give up their first language and shift to English (García 1995). This emphasis does not necessarily stem from prejudice or nativist sentiments on the part of educators. Based on the results of recent research about language skills and earnings among immigrants and the native-born, it may represent what appears to be the most pragmatic strategy for upward

[12] The BEA is discussed in more detail in chapter five.

mobility in the United States. Chiswick and Miller (1996:37), for example, find "few economic and decreasing cultural rewards for language maintenance."[13]

Beyond the Civil Rights Movement: Old and New Models of Assimilation

Decades after the Civil Rights movement, traditional assimilationist ideas are still alive and well. Reminiscent of what he calls "the magic of assimilation," Peter Salins (1997) recent work vitalizes and summarizes a still-dominant model:

> Assimilation American style set out a simple contract between the existing settlers and all newcomers. Immigrants would be welcome as full members of the American family if they agreed to abide by three simple precepts. First, they had to accept English as the national language. Second, they were expected to take pride in their American identity and believe in America's liberal democratic and egalitarian principles. Third, they were expected to ... be self-reliant, hardworking, and morally upright (p.6).

A consequence of "assimilation American style" is that the United States is still regarded as a graveyard for foreign languages (Rodriguez 2002). Because English is the most socially and economically valued tongue, many immigrants do not pass their native languages on to their children.

Yet today it is clearer than ever that immigrants' efforts at linguistic and cultural assimilation do not uniformly translate into structural incorporation (García 1995). Immigrants are thoroughly aware of this. Fernández Kelly and Schauffler (1996), for example, indicate that the assimilation experience and the outcomes of migration are strongly influenced by characteristics of immigrant groups and the conditions under

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[13]The gains Chiswick and Miller measure are strongly associated with English acquisition, and may overshadow less-prominent benefits of bilingualism. A Canadian study designed specifically to evaluate the relationship between bilingualism and earnings, however, shows similar results: bilingualism in English or French plus a non-official language is negatively associated with wages (Pendakur and Pendakur 2002).

which they came to the United States. They identify inter-group differentiation by class, the type of reception a group receives and the quality of resources available to it, the degree of spatial concentration among group members, and the length of time a group has been established in a destination area.

Fernández Kelly and Schauffler (1996) characterize Miami Cubans as "gainers." This group experienced a relatively hospitable reception and had access to resources such as good schools and adequate housing. Spatial concentration has been an advantage, allowing them to use social capital to facilitate upward mobility. For several reasons, Cuban Americans' prosperity is not linked to Spanish language loss as it is for other groups. First of all, Cuban Americans have allied themselves politically with the United States as enemies of Castro's regime. They have not had to demonstrate their commitment to America by giving up Spanish (Crawford 1992). Second, the influx of new, Spanish-speaking immigrants promotes Spanish maintenance. Spanish is a powerful language in the Miami business community. A 1995 survey of businesses in Miami and surrounding Dade County found that more than half did at least 25 percent of their work in Spanish. 95 percent of the businesses surveyed agreed that it is important to maintain a bilingual work force (Anderson 1998). These factors "have made it possible to abandon the majority description of Spanish as a *static characteristic* of a minority with a *problem*. Instead, the language minority has been able to engage the majority in viewing Spanish as a *negotiable* factor in a r*elationship* that could be a *resource* for all" (García 1995:154-155, italics in original).

In contrast with the Cubans they studied, Fernández Kelly and Schauffler (1996) find evidence of downward mobility among Nicaraguan "sliders." Many of them came to

the U.S. as political exiles, expecting to be treated as Cubans had been. Unable to legalize their status (and equally unable to go back to Nicaragua), educated professionals remain stuck in low-paying, dead-end jobs that severely limit their residential choices and access to quality schools for their children. Nicaraguan youths recognize a stigma attached to their national origin; their attempts to fit into the larger society are marked by efforts to disassociate themselves from their roots. One way to do so is to discard Spanish.

The respective meanings that Cubans, Nicaraguans, and other groups attach to living in the U.S. and becoming American are shaped by the opportunities and limitations they perceive. "The immigrant condition forces individuals to observe themselves even as they are being observed by others. As a consequence, immigrants repeatedly engage in purposeful acts to signify their intended character and the way that character differs from, or converges with, that of other groups" (Fernández Kelly and Schauffler (1996:31).

Likewise, Erikson (1968) defines "identity formation [as] a process... by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him" (pp. 19, 22-23 – quoted in Laitin 1998:20). At the same time, identity has an instrumental face. "[I]dentities are constructed and reconstructed as social opportunities change" (Laitin 1998: 20). People adopt or construct identities according to how well they serve individual purposes and reconstruct them to take advantage of new opportunities.

For Hispanic[14] Americans, identity construction clearly involves the choice of language used at home and elsewhere, i.e., the value (net of costs) assigned to intergenerational Spanish maintenance. The following chapter will discuss elements of the context that informs U.S. Hispanics' language choices today, and present evidence that this context is changing. Meanwhile, however, efforts to maintain "the magic of assimilation" continue.

REACTIONS TO REAL, PERCEIVED, OR ANTICIPATED LINGUISTIC CHANGE

Available evidence indicates that immigrants today learn English just as rapidly as their predecessors did (Jasso and Rosensweig 1990; Lieberson and Curry 1971; López 1999; Portes and Hao 1998; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Schauffler 1996). Yet incentives for retaining or learning Spanish are increasing. Assessing this change, Zolberg and Long (1999) conclude "there is reason to believe that the bilingualization of the United States is becoming an institutional reality, somewhat diffusely at the national level and more concretely in some regions" (page 28). This shift would increase the value of Spanish-speakers' linguistic capital, advantaging Spanish-English bilinguals over English monolinguals.

Fear of such a change in the status-quo has spurred efforts to maintain a melting-pot model of assimilation in which linguistic assimilation is a subtractive process.[15] This fear is implicit in efforts to establish English as the official language of the United States,

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[14] I use the designations "Hispanic" and "Latino" interchangeably throughout this work.

[15] Alternately, Valdés (1997) argues that language issues have become prominent in the U.S. not because bilingualism is a potential threat to national unity, but because "language presents those individuals who strongly oppose current immigration policies with an apparently neutral issue around which they can mobilize their forces" (page 28).

as well as in numerous campaigns to pass state-level Official English (sometimes referred to as "English-Only") laws [Tatalovich 1995]). Official English legislation is the primary goal of the organization U.S. English, founded in 1983 by Senator Samuel Hayakawa and John Tanton, a medical doctor. U.S. English now boasts 1.5 million members and has established two separate organizational arms: a foundation that sponsors research and English learning opportunities for immigrants, and a lobbying group (U.S. English 2002). Besides its primary mission of passing Official English legislation, the latter is an active opponent of bilingual education and Puerto Rican statehood. A U.S. English (2002) issue briefing about Puerto Rican status bills in Congress is titled "Avoiding an American Quebec." The group often refers to Canadian bilingualism as a source of national disunity.

Recent studies of the Official English movement show that its supporters range from liberals who see English as an important common bond to nativists who view non-English speakers as unwanted aliens (Citrin 1990; Citrin et al. 1990; Frendreis and Tatalovich 1997). It seems, however, that the movement's success[16] is largely due to its framing of Official English in terms of patriotism, rather than intolerance. As summarized by Frendreis and Tatalovich (1997:365), backing coalesces around "the attitude that speaking English is related to being a good American." Majority support for Official English laws "is connected to attitudes that are clearly related to this broader issue of national identity, which does not neatly coincide with existing dimensions of political conflict" (p. 366).

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[16] In 1980, only three states had passed Official English legislation. In 1990 the number was eighteen; to date it is twenty-seven, with twenty-five still in effect (U.S. English 2002).

Other groups have organized to promote a competing model of immigrant assimilation: one that includes elements of both the sending and receiving cultures, and involves learning by longtime residents of the receiving place as well as by newcomers (Logan et al. 2002; López 1996; Yinger 1994). The English Plus movement has responded to Official English supporters' efforts by uniting civil rights and educational organizations to promote "a strong belief that all U.S. residents should have the opportunity to become proficient in English plus one or more other languages" (English Plus 2000). For nonnative speakers, this means acquiring proficiency in English *and* maintaining proficiency in their native language(s). For native English speakers, it means a viable opportunity to become proficient in another language alongside English. Proponents of English Plus view linguistic diversity (and other aspects of cultural diversity) as a national strength that provides the United States with a "unique reservoir of understanding and talent" (EPIC 1992:152).

In regard to language choice, Official English laws and English Plus resolutions[17] illustrate two sharply contrasting ideals of the linguistic meaning of become or being American. Their promoters' arguments are both based on normative assumptions about the value of bilingualism. As the following section will show, these assumptions have sometimes informed the design and interpretation of research attempting to empirically establish bilingualism's worth to individuals and the societies in which they live.

RESEARCH ABOUT BILINGUALISM AND COGNITION

[17] Appendix 1 provides an example of each.

In the early 1900s, a number of 'scientific' studies reported findings that linked immigrants' non-English languages with lower intelligence. Intelligence tests of the time basically measured how well one spoke English and was acquainted with American/northern European Protestant culture. One prominent study even concluded that "the use of a foreign language in the home is one of the chief factors in producing mental retardation" (Goodenough 1926:393, quoted in Edwards 1994:68). In 1929, American linguist and anthropologist Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Whorf published what would later come to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Its thesis is that different languages represent reality in different ways. The language one speaks therefore determines, absolutely, the way one thinks.[18] This idea corresponded quite well with the Dillingham Commission's earlier 'finding' that linguistically different immigrants would not be able to grasp American ideals.

Other research that was not obviously motivated by social fears of immigrants still positioned bilingualism as neutral or problematic, not advantageous. For example, Smith's (1939) study of the speech patterns of preschool children in Hawaii led her to conclude that bilinguals suffered a "language handicap" that could retard their speech (page 253, quoted in Portes and Rumbaut 2001b:115). A study of Welsh/English bilingualism showed no IQ difference between bilingual and monolingual children living in urban environments, but a substantial disadvantage for rural bilinguals (Edwards 1994:68).

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[18] The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is not generally accepted today, largely because it does not account for inter-language translatability and word borrowing. Contemporary linguists do, however, acknowledge a weaker version of linguistic determinism: thought is influenced by the linguistic systems available to us.

More recent research challenges both the purported negative effects of bilingualism on national unity (in that bilinguals would not be able to grasp 'fundamental American ideals') and the claim that bilingualism is a cognitive handicap. Studies that linked bilingualism to intellectual inferiority were seriously flawed in that they did not control for social class. Poor immigrant children were compared with children from middle-class, English-speaking families. In the Welsh study noted above there was no control for social contact differences between city and country dwellers, or occupational and social class differences. An additional problem is that researchers did not distinguish between fluent bilinguals who spoke two languages well and limited bilinguals who spoke only one language fluently, with weak or diminishing command of the other (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b:116).

Later research that did account for age, sex, and class differences usually showed no relationship between bilingualism and intelligence. It was not until the early 1960s that findings of a positive relationship began to appear. The most well know study of this time is Peal and Lambert's ([1962] 1977) comparison of ten-year-old bilingual and monolingual children in Montreal. All of the subjects were from middle class backgrounds and all the bilingual children had equal proficiency in French and English. The bilinguals outperformed the monolinguals on both verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests, leading the authors to conclude that bilinguals had "mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities" (page 277). The authors noted, however, that their study design did not allow them to state whether more intelligent children became bilingual or bilingualism aided intellectual development.

Critics of the Montreal study rightly pointed out that selecting as cases only children from middle class families whose bilingual proficiency (when applicable) is equal is not the same as controlling for these factors. Further studies have improved on this point and still show results similar to Peal and Lambert's, but the causality issue is still open to debate. Hakuta and Díaz (1985) attempted to address it by following the school progress of Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican children in New Haven. Though the final sample was small, this study positively associates bilingualism with *subsequent* cognitive development and academic performance. The opposite causal pattern held as well, though to a lesser degree.

In his review of past and present research on this topic, Edwards (1994) identifies four yet to be answered questions that summarize the main difficulties in "attempting to show a relationship – positive or negative – between bilingualism and cognitive development, mental flexibility, [or] intelligence" (page 70):

- How do we adequately define bilingualism itself; do we require perfectly balanced bilinguals for the 'best' contrast with monolinguals, and how do we measure bilingualism, balanced or otherwise?
- How do we define intelligence; relatedly, how do we know that IQ tests adequately assess this quality?[19]
- How do we ensure comparability between groups of bilinguals and monolinguals?
- How do we interpret any relationship found between bilingualism and intelligence? Is it a causal one, and, if so, in which direction? Does bilingualism lead to increased IQ, or does a higher IQ increase the likelihood of functional bilingualism?

[19] This important matter has generated a large literature that is beyond the scope of Edwards' or my research agenda.

In light of the above, one thing is clear: strong conclusions about bilingualism and intelligence or achievement are not warranted. This is the position from which my research will proceed. I will maintain that bilingualism represents a dimension of an individual's capacities, but avoid normative claims about its benefits or drawbacks.

OVERVIEW

The overarching goal of this work is to contribute to a sociological understanding of the dynamics of language choice as they relate to Americans' definitions of their identity. I will argue that, while the United States is not headed toward a bilingual norm or a situation in which Spanish precludes the use of English, there are circumstances under which Spanish-English bilingualism has become a compatible and stable part of being an American. English-speaking Hispanics are much more likely to maintain Spanish in places where there is an influx of Hispanic immigrants, bilinguals have high status, and Hispanics have political power. Non-Hispanics' demand for their children to become fluent in Spanish does not appear to correspond to the incentive structure for Spanish maintenance among Hispanics. Rather, it reflects an understanding of extant economic and demographic changes. The international reach of English notwithstanding, more and more parents and educators are recognizing the benefits of bilingualism in a globalizing world.

Sassen (1984, 1991) has documented the rise of 'global cities' (such as New York) that are centers of command in the international economy, and the

growing demand for multilingual managers and professionals in them. Other cities perform more specialized functions in the world economy. Miami, for example, is often dubbed 'the financial capital of Latin America.' A 1995 survey of businesses in Miami and surrounding Dade County found that more than half did at least 25 percent of their work in Spanish. 95 percent of the business people surveyed agreed that it is important to maintain a bilingual workforce (Anderson 1998), yet industry leaders report a shortage of bilinguals who are fluent and literate enough in to transact business in Spanish (Fradd 1996, in Portes and Rumbaut 2001b). Policy makers in Miami thus see bilingualism as a business opportunity for students. Bilingual education programs are expanding under the justification that students will need to speak, read and write in English and Spanish when they enter the labor market.

In their discussion of language and the new second generation in the United States, Portes and Rumbaut (2001b) remark that "the evolution of a world economy and American's place in it suggest the convenience of combining fluency in English with preserving or acquiring other languages" (page 118). But they also point out that "the subtractive vision [of immigrants' linguistic assimilation] promoted by U.S. English and other nativist organizations continues to correspond to the reality on the ground" (page 146). This tension drives and informs my work. It is ever-present, both in the analysis and discussion of Spanish retention among Hispanic Americans and that of school programs that promote bilingualism for all students.

Chapter two discusses the demographic, political, and legal contexts within which Hispanic Americans make decisions about maintaining Spanish, or seeing that their children learn it. It presents evidence that the overall context is changing. Chapter three links this evidence to other research as well as theories of national identity formation and immigrant assimilation, setting up a framework for exploring relationships between macro- and micro-level circumstances and linguistic behavior. Chapter four models the configuration of area-specific circumstances that influence the degree to which Spanish-English bilingualism (as opposed to English monolingualism) is viable or desirable in a particular place. These contexts, and a "critical mass" factor, contribute to a model of individual language choice.

Chapter five shifts the focus to school language policy. The account begins in the 1960s, when federal and state laws to guide the education of limited English-proficient (LEP) children first appeared. It leads to a relatively new phenomenon: dual-language programs that group native Spanish-speakers in the same classroom with native English-speakers, with the goals of bilingual proficiency, high academic achievement, and cross-cultural awareness. Under what demographic, socioeconomic, and political circumstances will community members and school administrators value bilingualism to the extent that they will ask for and/or initiate such programs?

Chapter six presents an empirical analysis of factors that influence the probability of a school district instituting and maintaining one or more Spanish-English dual-language programs. The findings show that school district and parent demographics play the most important role, and that dual-language programs reflect a general valuation of linguistic and cultural diversity. Chapters seven and eight augment these quantitative

findings with interview-based data from case studies in Chicago and the Los Angeles area. Chapter nine is a summary and conclusion.

Chapter 2

U.S. Spanish in Current Demographic, Political, and Legal Context

Bush Hopes Spanish Ads Will Garner Votes
By Dana Calvo
Los Angeles Times, February 7, 2000

Over a fast-moving shot of a city skyline and an American flag rippling in front of the Texas state banner, a deep-voiced man reassures: "En nuestro pais ha llegado un nuevo dia." (In our country, a new day has arrived).

The narrator continues in Spanish about Gov. George W. Bush's family values in a 30-second TV commercial that features good-looking students, scientists and cheerleaders who could presumably benefit from his presidency. The spot concludes with the Republican candidate, wearing a cotton work shirt and jeans, saying four words: "Es un nuevo dia."

Not only is it a new day, as Bush says, that day has arrived unusually early. The Bush ad is set to begin running today in advance of Arizona's Republican primary Feb. 22. It's the first time, industry experts say, that a Spanish-language ad has been used in a presidential primary. It's also a sign that spending on political advertising in Spanish will reach unprecedented levels this presidential year.

More immediately, the ad will reach out to Latinos who have been steady supporters of the man who trounced Bush in the New Hampshire primary, Sen. John McCain of Arizona.

Usually, White House hopefuls turn to Latino voters only in the final stretch before the

general election, often dropping in Spanish narration over English-language ads.

But the Bush commercial appeals to the basic demographics of the Latino population: at 27 it is, on average, eight years younger than the general population. The commercial also adheres to a common rule in Spanish-language advertising, which is to produce images of groups of Latinos, rather than lone characters.

The ad also emphasizes Bush's role as community patriarch, often surrounded by schoolchildren. "We relate to family and society differently," said Hector Orci, who handles the Spanish-language ad accounts for corporations like Honda and Allstate Insurance. "The center of the universe in Latino culture is the family. The center of the universe in non-Latino family is the individual."

The Bush campaign plans to use the commercial in other states with significant Latino populations, including California, that have become more important to Bush since his loss to McCain. Bush, the most well funded candidate, knows the benefits of spending campaign resources to court Latino voters. In 1998, he used Spanish-language TV commercials to win a second term as governor, winning 49% of the Latino vote.

McCain has learned the same lessons. He advertised in Spanish - dubbing English-language ads - when he ran for reelection in 1998 and won 55% of the Latino vote. So far, he isn't planning to advertise in Arizona.

The new Bush commercial in Arizona represents one more indication that Spanish language voters are increasingly viewed as critical to political success, and that Spanish-language television may well be the best way to reach them.

Census figures show that Latinos are the country's fastest-growing ethnic group, with

voter registration now at just over 7 million, making it the only ethnic group in this country whose participation in the electoral process is picking up speed. Marketing research also suggests that Spanish is the way to reach them. "Advertising effectiveness in the mother tongue is more motivational, even among bilinguals," said Daisy Exposito-Ulla, president of the New York-based Bravo Group, a leading Latino ad agency.

That does not mean, however, that it is enough to simply hear Vice President Al Gore or Bush unfurl their Spanish skills. Capturing the cultural and language nuances is critical. (Take a look at the highly effective commercial campaign for milk. It had to be rethought for Latinos, since a direct translation of "Got Milk?" would mean "Are You Lactating?") So, Bush's Spanish slogan, "It's a new day," is a take-off of his stock English campaign phrase, "A fresh start," because "fresh" sounds a bit racy in Spanish.

Univision, the largest U.S. Spanish-language television network, will likely benefit the most from the increased interest in Latino voters. It is the fastest-growing broadcaster in the country, reaching 83% of U.S. Latino households. Before 1998, Univision averaged between $500,000 and $1 million in political advertising revenue during a presidential election. "1998 was a breakthrough year for us in that there was about $8 million [in ad revenue]," said Henry G. Cisneros, Univision CEO and a former Clinton administration official. This year, he predicted during a teleconference with financial analysts, the figure should double.

Stephen J. Levin, executive vice president of sales for Telemundo, the nation's second-largest Spanish-language television network, said requests for airtime already show a new kind of election already underway. Compared to 1996, Levin said, "I expect candidates to increase their expenditures on Spanish-language television ads three to four hundred percent."

> Democrats, accustomed to attracting a majority of Latino voters, can no longer take that vote for granted, said Lionel Sosa, Bush's media consultant. According to a national poll of Latinos by the Republican National Committee released last month, 25% of Latinos "consider themselves independent and open to persuasion," said Mark Pfeifle, RNC spokesman. "It's that 25% that we're going to reach out to."
>
> Gore's campaign was not willing to discuss his plans for Spanish-language ads, but his press secretary in California, David Chai, said Bush's early start on the Spanish-language airwaves is a blatant attempt at recovering some Latino voters lost in the last few elections. "The Republicans are truly playing catch-up, and particularly in California, where Republicans have put forth policies that are detrimental to the Latino community," Chai said, referring to Proposition 187, which sought to end government benefits for illegal immigrants, and other anti-immigration policies of former Republican Gov. Pete Wilson.

The U.S. Hispanic population is growing, both in numbers and as a percent of the total population. The Census Bureau predicts that native and foreign-born Latinos will account for more than 40 percent of U.S. population growth in the next decade, and will comprise 25 percent of the total population by 2050 (LaFranchi 1999; Suro 1999).[1] Figure 2.1 illustrates the population trend; the newspaper article above illustrates political and commercial responses to it.

Figure 2.2 is based on INS data, by ten-year block. The figures on the left represent the number of Hispanic immigrants; those on the right express the same

[1]The sources of growth are continuing immigration and relatively high fertility among first generation immigrants. Recent research shows that second and later generation Hispanics reproduce at about the same rate as other ethnic groups, even assuming no intermarriage.

numbers as a proportion of total immigration. Figure 2.3 shows Hispanic immigration in recent years. The number of immigrants per year has declined, but the U.S. still receives about 250,000 legal Hispanic immigrants per year. In terms of absolute numbers and duration of immigrant flow, the country has never seen anything like this – a steady flow of Spanish-speaking immigrants and substantial increases in the absolute and proportional size of the Hispanic population.[2]

Do More Hispanics Mean More Spanish retention?

The data on non-English language usage are scant. It is not possible to document long-term trends because the U.S. Census has not consistently included language questions that are comparable over time. Long-form respondents were asked their mother tongue in 1910, 1920, 1940, 1960, and 1970. In 1910 and from 1980 on there has been a question about language spoken at home. The yes/no question, "Do you speak English?" was included in 1900, 1910, and 1920; after which inquiry about English proficiency was dropped until 1980. Furthermore, since 1970 the Census has not asked a question that establishes respondents' familial generation in the country. When a native-born person identifies as Hispanic, there is no way to know if this person's family has lived here for many generations or if his or her parents were immigrants.

Snapshot data do indicate that Hispanics in the U.S. are now maintaining Spanish more than in previous times, and certainly more than any European immigrants maintained their native languages alongside English. For example, the 1989 Current Population survey indicates that 72 percent of second generation and 43 percent of third

[2]As a percent of the domestic population, late nineteenth and early twentieth century immigration was higher. But these immigrants did not all speak the same language, and as discussed in chapter two, the influx did not continue.

generation Latinos in the greater Los Angeles area speak Spanish at home (López 1998). Since virtually all second and third generation respondents report that they speak English very well, these figures can be read as indicators of intergenerational transmission of bilingualism.[3]

Most second and third generation Hispanic adults who report that they speak Spanish at home actually speak a mix of Spanish and English, depending on topic and conversation partner. In response to my question about surprisingly high bilingual maintenance among third generation Latinos in the Los Angeles area, Rosalind Gold, Director of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Association for Latino Education Opportunity (NALEO) commented:

> Is this the only language spoken at home? I really think that third generation Latinos are probably doing a mix of Spanish and English. Something we see a lot is a household with two or three generations. For example, you have women who are living with mothers and grandparents, and often their mothers and grandparents are helping to take care of their kids. So their kids are speaking Spanish to Grandma and English to Mom. And so I think that what I would say about this number is that if you were to tell me that this was the case for sole usage of the language, I would say no. But there is certainly some usage, especially at home. A lot has to do with multiple generations living together, or visiting a lot together. There are really close ties in a lot of Latino families (Gold 2001).

When fluent English speakers tell the Census Bureau that they speak Spanish at home, they are making a statement that is as much (if not more) about ethnic and political identity as it is about language. The number of bilingual Hispanics who live with Spanish monolinguals is large but it is proportionally small compared to more recent

[3] They say nothing, however, about literacy in Spanish.

immigrant groups.[4] Family ties are only a beginning of an explanation for the persistence of Spanish among the native-born.

Chapter four will show that the probability that U.S.-born Latinos maintain Spanish increases with the size of their population in a given area. This also means that the demographic opportunity to marry other Latinos rises. Linguistic homogamy cannot be assumed here, but to the extent that it exists among Hispanic couples it obviously encourages the transmission of Spanish to the younger generation (Schoen and Stevens 1988). Another snapshot: Table 2.1 summarizes the rates of out-of-group marriage for two generations of women in Los Angeles. Although younger Mexican (the dominant Hispanic group) women were twice as likely as their mothers to marry outside their group, the majority of them still marry other Mexicans. Given the population dynamics described above, this is not surprising.

Another reason to expect more Spanish maintenance now than in former times is that it is easier and more viable than ever for immigrants to retain social, economic, and political ties to their home country. This is especially true for Latinos because many come from nearby places. Dominican entrepreneurs can run neighborhood grocery stores in both New York City and Santo Domingo, shipping merchandise and capital back and forth and working in both places as it suits them. Farm hands from central Mexico readily come north for the summer home-construction season in the United States and still remain fully productive participants on the family rancho. The lessening of civil strife in

[4] The 1990 Census data used in chapter four show that only 9 percent of native-born, bilingual Hispanic adults in the U.S. live with persons who do not speak English well.

Central America has made is possible for long-term migrants from this region to visit their families for holidays and special occasions (Suro 1999).

The Politics of Bilingualism

Since the 1960s, the U.S. government has legally supported and encouraged ethnic diversity and minority rights in the education system and the workplace. Groups like the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) and the National Council of La Raza have formed to help Latinos benefit from equal opportunity legislation, and in some cases to make sure that it is enforced. Gold (2001) describes NALEO's purpose as follows:

> We work to empower Latinos to participate in the American political process through a variety of ways. We really look at the entire spectrum of political participation and political access. So one part of the spectrum is encouraging people to become U.S. citizens – promoting US citizenship. We do that through both public service campaigns and direct assistance, where we assist people in filling out the forms and negotiating the INS bureaucracy. We also generally work on empowering Latinos to become more active in their neighborhoods and communities through civic education programs.

How important is Spanish in these activities? Gold continues:

> In 1988 we did a study of Latino immigrants who were eligible to become US citizens. One of the areas we looked at was language use. What we found is that Latinos get their information from a variety of sources in terms of the language. That they'll go back between Spanish and English language media depending on what they're looking for. And I would say that one thing we have definitely seen over the last few years is a dramatic increase in the coverage of United States political news by Spanish language media. There has been a dramatic emphasis on it, not only in terms of the news coverage, but also in terms of the marketing folks advertising space. Now that candidates are looking at reaching Latino audiences, Latino media have marketing departments set up to go after political candidates and say "Look – you want to get your messages across, you'd better buy air time with us." I have to say the quality and the thoroughness of US

> political coverage in Spanish language newspapers and TV is really, really impressive.
>
> One of the issues for us with respect to bilingualism that is a very important political access issue is that we have laws in this country right now that say you have to provide voting assistance in the native language of the voter. As people are talking about election reform, we want to make sure that as part of election reform, those laws get enforced and that if jurisdictions get grants educate voters or upgrade their technology, that they better make sure they're in compliance with those laws and that they use that money to educate voters. If that means educating by providing assistance in their native language, then that's something that's very key. We do find that there are voters that are US citizens with dual-language usage, but when it comes to some political issues, they would prefer to have voting assistance in their native language.

Has bilingual voting assistance been a politically contentious issue?

> What we're most concerned about is that as Congress looks at election reform, some people have seen it as an opportunity to go after the voting rights act or bilingual voting assistance. So we want to keep a message up front. The provisions of the voting rights acts have been enormously powerful and helpful to facilitating Latino participation.

Gold's comments highlight the diverse and vital roles that Spanish plays in Latino political life. Though most voters are capable of learning about the issues in English, they actively support private and public fora that provide political coverage and voter information in Spanish. There is no neat division between Spanish use for practical, communicative purposes and for symbolic, cultural preference-based purposes – or simply as an alternative. Hispanic voters are gleaning information and discussing their concerns in two languages, and appear eager to promote and protect their right to do so.

Gold (200) maintains that there is no such thing as a single Latino political identity. Policy analyst Evelyn Aleman (2001) agrees, but her statement that "the idea of a Latino community and Latino interests is created by activists" suggests an increasingly

potent notion of 'imagined community' based on shared interests and concerns. The battle for the Latino vote has become crucial to both parties because "Latinos have been showing signs of coalescing into a political force." In part activated by GOP-led proposals to limit immigration, establish Official English laws, and deny social service benefits to illegal residents, the Latino electorate grew by 29 percent between 1992 and 1996 (Fletcher and Conolly 1999). The importance of the Hispanic vote is magnified because it is concentrated in five electorally rich states: California, Texas, Florida, New York and Illinois.

Representatives of the National Council of La Raza concur with the above. "Political power is based on money or numbers. Hispanics now have the numbers, so they now have the power," says La Raza President Raul Yzaguirre. "I don't think you are going to win the Latino vote by eating tamales at a public function and saying muchas gracias. Whoever is the winning candidate in our community is going have to show that he or she is going to make some appointments in our community" (Fletcher and Conolly 1999; Gribbin 1999).

Vice president Cecilia Munoz adds, "It's true we are a diverse community, but we are unified by a variety of things." Munoz first names Catholicism and Spanish as the forces that bring Hispanics together. "The candidates are falling all over us, even trying to speak Spanish to show they're our friends." With equal emphasis, she continues, "When attacked politically, we unify politically" (Gribbin 1999).

Legislating Language

In reference to the 1980s, linguist Thomas Ricento (1995) observed that:

> [M]any Americans, especially in large cities, felt their way of life was under assault. The sounds of Spanish, Korean, Chinese, Arabic, and many other languages were heard with increasing frequency in American towns and cities; the American border in the southwest was too porous; projections of demographic patterns showed that older immigrant populations were not replacing themselves as quickly as were the newer non-European groups. (p.1)

Fears such as these contributed to a dramatic rise in Official English (English-only) activism. The groups U.S. English and English First contend that the potential societal cost (in terms of social and political factionalism) of encouraging the use of languages other than English is too high to bear. U.S. English seeks "to ensure that English continues to serve as an integrating force among our nation's many ethnic groups and remains a vehicle of opportunity for new Americans" (US English 2001). English First aims to "make English America's official language; give every child the chance to learn English; [and] eliminate costly and ineffective multilingual policies" (English First 2001).

Perhaps predictably, the Official English movement's increasing momentum elicited a response. Support for well-designed bilingual and foreign language programs increased. The Education for Economic Security Act of 1982 authorized federal funding for the improvement of foreign language instruction. That same year, New York passed educational reforms that included foreign language requirements for all students (Freeman 1998:46). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, four states – New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington – adopted English Plus resolutions. Although these resolutions are largely symbolic in that they do not require anything in particular of the state government, local governments, schools, or the public in general; they do

officially document intent to promote bilingualism. Of late, leaders in many fields (and their counterparts in business and professional schools) have also come to view fluency in a foreign language and multicultural sensitivity as essential to the United States' role in an international community characterized by increasing competition *and* cooperation (Sassen 1984; 1991).

The demographic, political, and legal contexts within which people decide which language(s) to use and maintain are clearly intertwined, and vary across areas of the U.S. in both importance and configuration. The following chapter will discuss and define a theoretical model of how these aspects of the macro-level context, as well as economic and social factors, contribute to an overall, area-specific context for language decisions.

Table 2.1. Out of Group Marriage Rates for U.S.-Born Women in Los Angeles, 1990

Ethnic Group	Women 55-64	Women 24-34
Italian	65%	86%
"Russian" (Jewish)	52%	76%
Japanese	11%	68%
Chinese	26%	56%
All Asians	14%	56%
Mexican	17%	34%
Black	2%	8%

Source: 1990 Census, López 1997

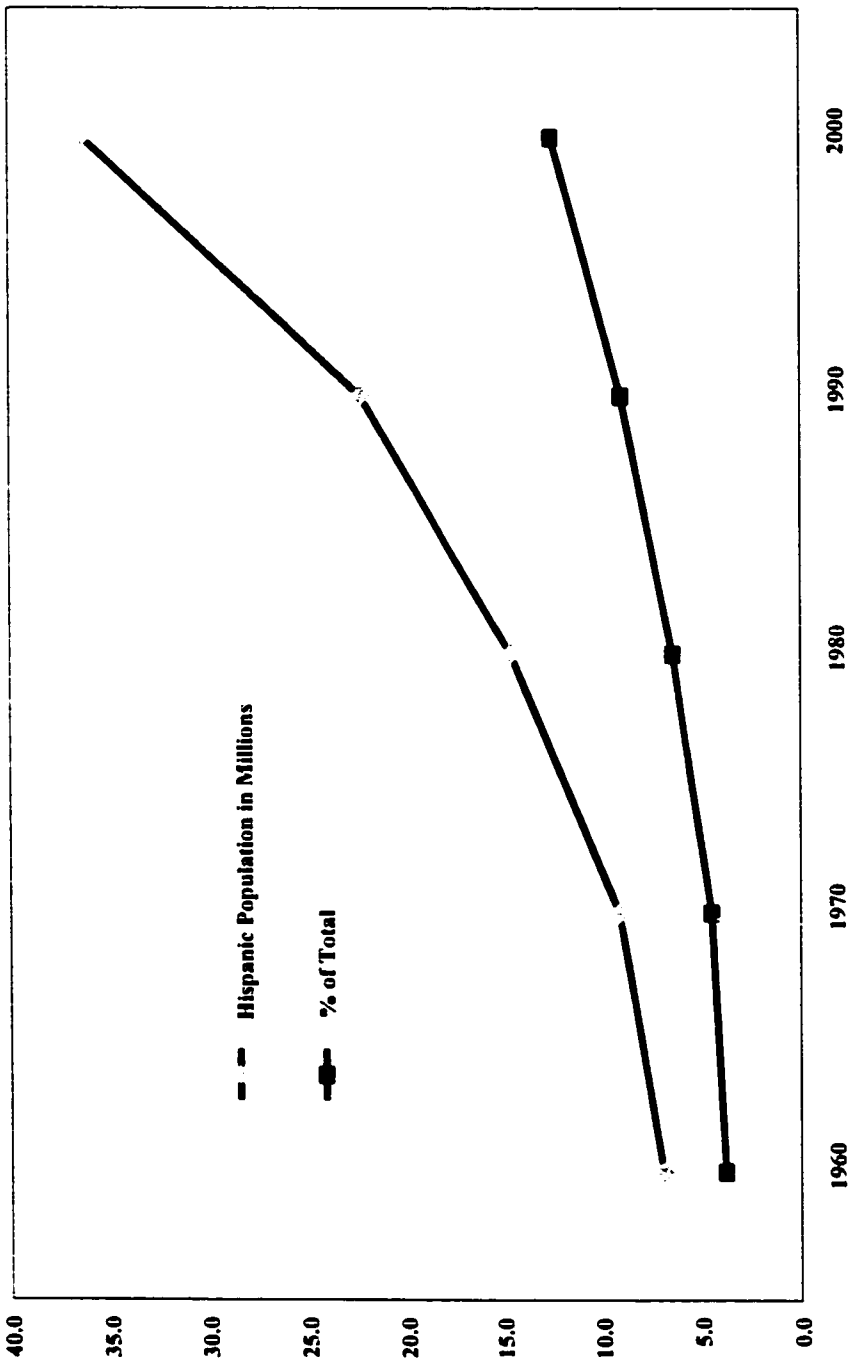

Figure 2.1. Hispanic Population Growth

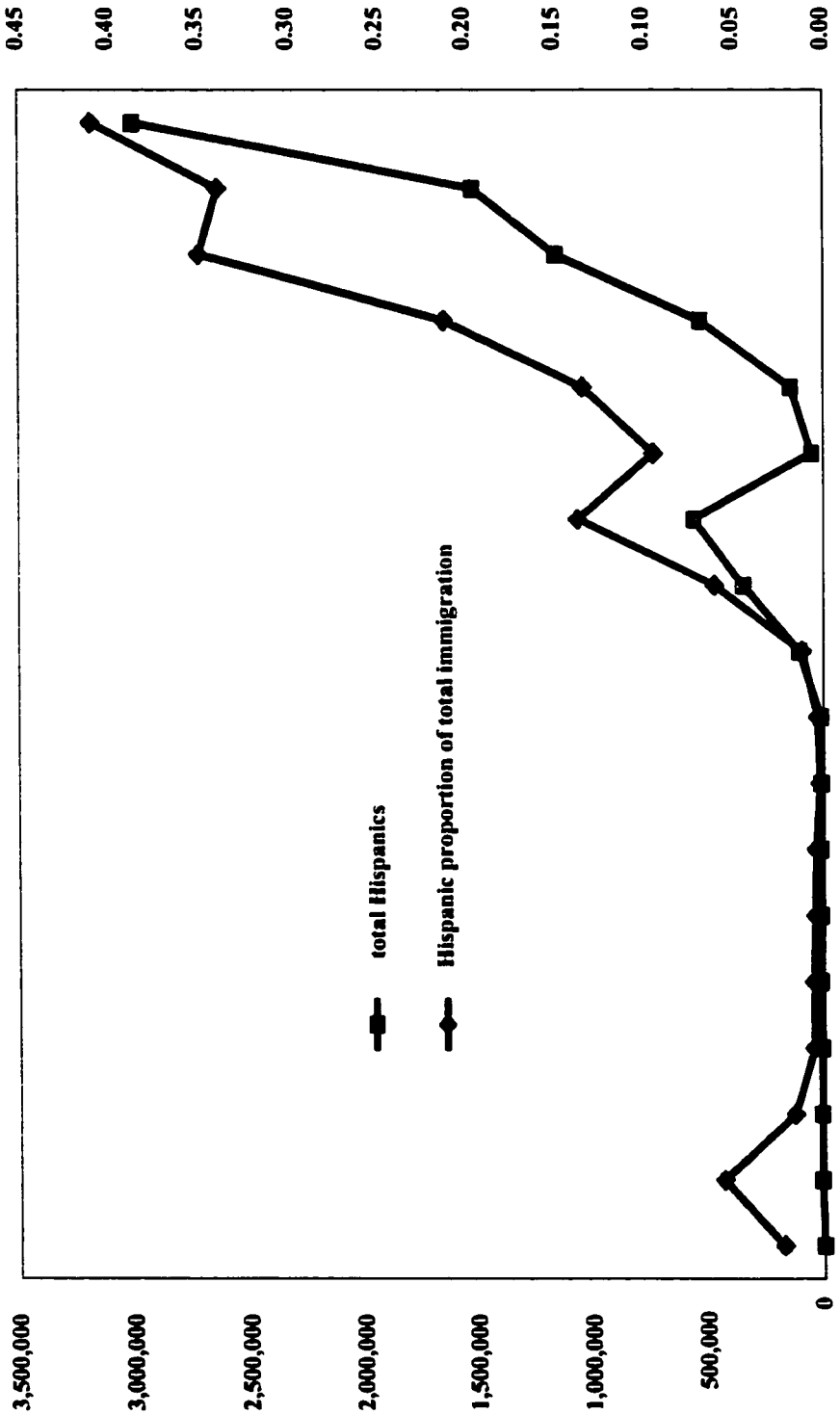

Figure 2.2. Hispanic Immigration

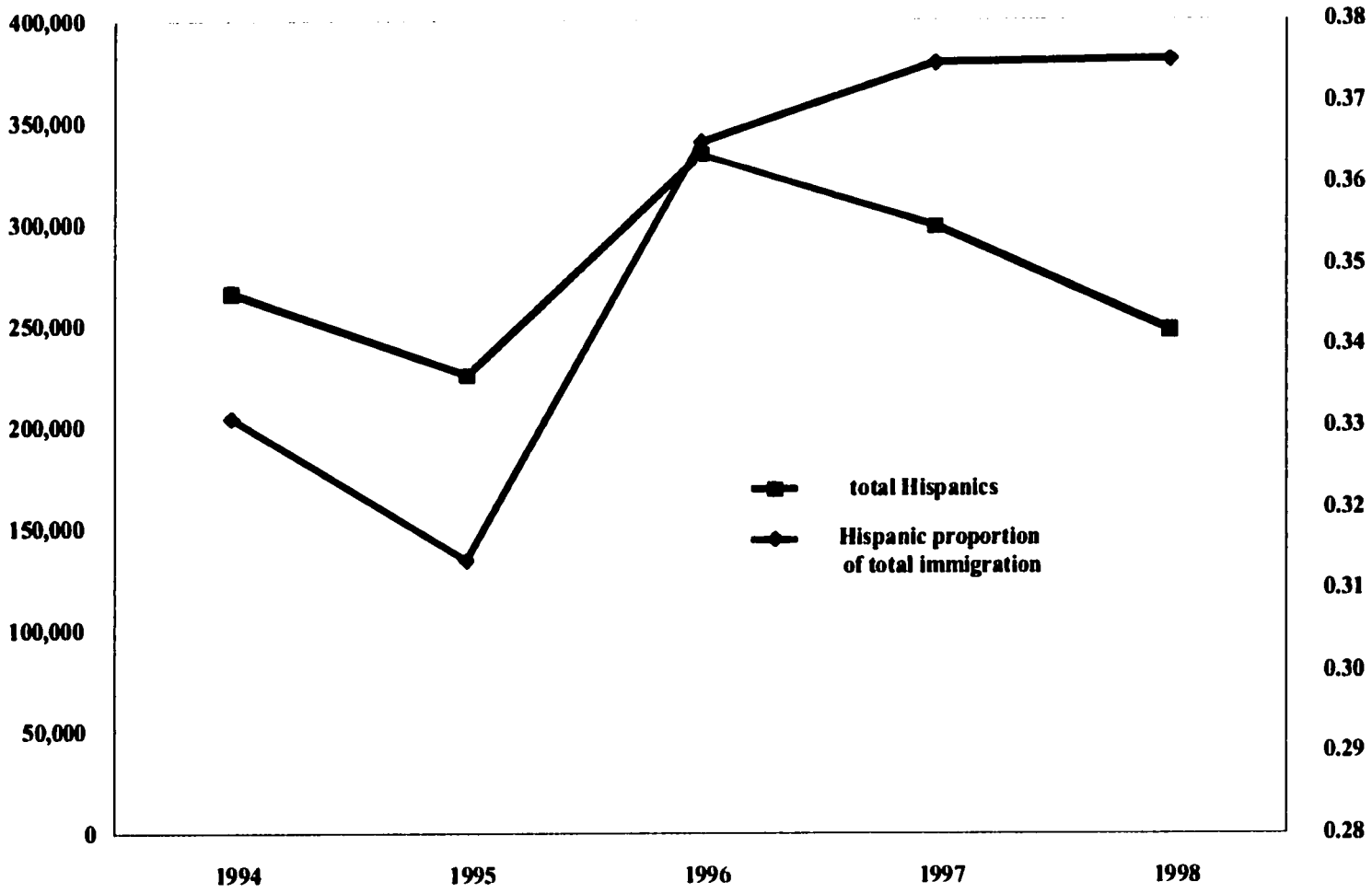

Figure 2.3. Hispanic Immigration in Recent Years

Chapter 3

Researching and Theorizing Language Choice

A language long associated with the culture is best able to express most easily, most exactly, most richly, with more appropriate over-tones, the concerns, artifacts, values, and interests of that culture. That is an important characteristic of the relationship between language and culture, the [lexical] relationship. It is not a perfect relationship. Every language grows; every culture changes.

Linguist Joshua Fishman, 1996

Sociological research on bilingualism, notably Lieberson's (1970) work on language and ethnic assimilation in Canada, often positions language in terms of its role in a competitive marketplace for the dominance of popular culture. Lieberson found that religio-social isolation, time of immigration, existence of language islands, parochial schools, and pre-immigration experience all influence native language maintenance (which, for French-speakers, often encompasses bilingualism). On the other hand,; war and military service; intermarriage; a common religion; language of government; the rise of administrative, trade, and cultural centers; universal education; technological and economic factors; physical and social mobility; prestige, and language loyalty encourage a shift to one language.

In Canada there are huge incentives for bilingualism among the French-speakers, and much lesser incentives for bilingualism among the English-speakers. Lieberson (1970) thus proposes that mother-tongue maintenance is not just a hindrance or facilitator of assimilation, but also "a significant force when compared with other factors commonly

held to play a role in differentiating ethnic groups in contact." Though Canada has certainly not been free of ethno-linguistic tensions (most notably a separatist movement in Quebec), the fact that the country has maintained two official languages at offers some evidence that bilingualism (at least for some) and a singular national identity can exist.[1]

Yet, as the previous chapters have made clear, language assimilation is often expected of foreigners not only for communication but also for symbolic reasons. It has come to signal the newcomers' willingness to seek admission into the circles of their new country and leave past loyalties behind. As Portes and Rumbaut (1996) put it, "precisely because a common language lies at the core of national identity, host societies often oppose groups that persist in the use of foreign tongues" (p. 113). This is especially true in the United States because the country has few other elements on which to ground a sense of national identity.

Maintaining or learning the language of one's ancestors is not even one of the "ethnic options" that Waters' (1990) study of ethnic identity among white Americans reveals. Waters' interviewees (all of whom were third generation or higher) describe ethnicity as a "voluntaristic personal matter"; invoking one's ethnic background is symbolic, optional, and circumstantial – "done for the enjoyment of the personality traits or rituals that one associates with one's ethnicity" (pp. 164-165). Although most of the respondents admitted that there was something different about blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, they still felt that an individualistic approach to ethnicity should apply to everyone. Some people emphatically expressed the opinion that societal discrimination

[1] Canada is by no means unique here – virtually all former colonies as well as countries carved from former empires (e.g., Switzerland) exemplify the same. But since Canada is also a nation of immigrants, it most closely parallels the U.S. case.

against blacks and Hispanics had decreased to the point where they should "just start forgetting about it and act as individuals, not as groups" (p. 164).

While many Hispanic Americans have adopted a symbolic ethnicity that they call upon in only an intermittent and voluntary way, others are choosing a non-symbolic ethnic identity that includes bilingual maintenance and political identification with other Latinos. I will argue that both groups are acting as individuals within particular demographic, social, economic, and political contexts. Collectively, their choices influence the costs and benefits associated with each course of action; they contribute to the macro-level context within which individual decisions are made.[2]

THEORIES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND IMMIGRANT ASSIMILATION APPLIED TO LANGUAGE CHOICE

National Identity

Espousal of English monolingualism in the United States – historically and at present – is grounded in the perspective that cultural differences between groups, especially differences in language and customs, hinder the success and social acceptance of newcomers. When immigrants adopt the language and social conventions of their host country, the receiving society will accommodate them (Olzak 1992:20). This viewpoint may reflect the belief that what Brubaker (1996:82) calls "ethnolinguistically embedded culture" is constitutive of nationhood. In some situations, language could be "seen as the only common bond among Americans, as the only factor in the attainment of the

[2] The concluding chapter discusses models of language maintenance and change that I am not able to adequately test with currently available data.

American dream, as the only cue to ethnicity" (MacKaye1990:146). Ascribing such enormous power to language encourages the collective belief that specific action is needed to promote the language (i.e., culture, demographic predominance, economic welfare, or political interests) of the dominant group.

Assimilationist views can also derive from functionalist ideas. For example, Gellner (1983) argues that nationalism and the cultural homogeneity it demands is the primary way in which humans have dealt with industrial society. Nationalism does not necessarily impose homogeneity, "it is rather that a homogeneity imposed by objective, inescapable imperative eventually appears on the surface in the form of nationalism" (p. 39). From Gellner's standpoint, the belief that linguistic homogeneity is an essential aspect of nationhood is not a source of nationalism, but rather a result. It is a product of nations' efforts to meet the demands of industrial society, e.g., an efficient and standardized form of communication. Nations do not have to actively seek to dominate the "cultural and linguistic souls of their subjects" via assimilationist policies because it is already in immigrants' best interest to assimilate as totally and quickly as possible (p. 46). From this perspective, bilingualism will only be valued when it enhances the status (particularly the economic status) of a particular society within a world of societies.

Others such as Hobsbawm (1990), Anderson (1991), and Greenfeld (1992) downplay economic incentives, instead pointing to ethnic identities and their meanings for members of various groups as the salient factors that inform official language policy and individual decisions about language acquisition and maintenance. Hobsbawm's (1990) interpretation of nationalism links language with the development of national

bonds and local political identities. Anderson asserts that the concepts of nationality and nationalism emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century, when several discrete historical forces converged. Perceived common needs form the image of a nation; these in turn create a national reality. For example, the intersection of capitalism and print technology, mass literacy, and the spread of printed vernacular languages led to people's acceptance of the "need" for a common language to unify a state. The linking of nation and state resulted in a different kind of nationalism, evident in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. People that considered themselves a nation began to claim the right to self-determination and territory. Language became a central part of national identity. To the degree that a common language could unite a group of people, the potential of different languages to divide people increased.

Greenfeld's (1992) understanding of national identity concentrates almost exclusively on the construction of ideas and identities. For example, in the German case she describes ethnic nationalism as an invention of the German intelligentsia in reaction against the Napoleonic invasion and the French Enlightenment's vision of equality within political society. Relevant to this study the point is that nationality was, and to some extent still is, an idealized image based on values and characteristics that already existed among the dominant group (however defined) in the geographic territory declared to be a nation.

All of these identity-focused theories suggest that social factors such as the relative status and influence of a language, its speakers, and the ethnic group(s) with which they identify will be important determinants of linguistic choice. Bourdieu's

(1991) work suggests expectations. He argues that linguistic exchange "is also an economic exchange which is established within the particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit" (p. 66). Languages do not communicate only neutral meanings, they also communicate power. Words are valued according to who speaks them (see also Rahman 2001).

Other theories that emphasize economic rationality offer potentially compatible predictions. Human capital (e.g., Chiswick and Miller 1995; Chiswick 1991) and neoclassical economic (e.g., Pool 1991) models both predict that bilingualism will only be practical or desirable to the extent that it represents a significant labor market advantage to individuals in society. Chiswick and Miller's work focuses almost exclusively on the relationship between immigrants' acquisition of the host country's official (or dominant) language(s) and their labor market outcomes. Pool's model of "efficient and fair" language policy in multilingual countries involves taxing native speakers of the official language(s) and subsidizing native speakers of other languages to balance the cost of their learning an official language. The model is said to be efficient because it minimizes the state's expenditures on translation, and fair because it is "individual-burden-equalizing" (p. 510). Bilinguals are advantaged in that they can serve as translators.

Both economic rationality and cultural ideals of national identity are necessary components of the context within which people make decisions about language maintenance and use. After defining four orientations to social action, Weber ([1922]

1978) notes that "it would be very unusual to find cases of action, especially of social action, which were oriented only in one or another of these ways" (p. 26). Likewise, in his discussion of language and ethnic identity in the former Soviet republics, Laitin (1998) maintains that it is impossible to separate rationality from culture. Our economic behavior may be driven by habit rather than by rational calculation; culturally derived preferences can be part of a rational utility-maximizing strategy (Becker 1976). Yet, if the costs and benefits of a customary cultural behavior change quickly, we will likely begin to make new calculations about maintaining that behavior. It is thus fitting that an analysis of language usage – a pivotal aspect of culture – will include rational calculation. 'Rational,' however, is not synonymous with 'material.' Status and influence are integral to choices about identity. We calculate about status maximization in much the same way that we calculate about wealth maximization (Frank 1985). A rational choice model of linguistic decisions should therefore include indicators of attitudes and beliefs about speakers and speech communities, as well as economic and political forces[3] (Laitin 1988, 1992, 1993, 1998; Ricento 1998, 2000; Tollefson 1989, 1991). In addition, it should link individual decisions and collective outcomes (Coleman 1986).

Immigrant Assimilation

Laitin (1995) defines assimilation as "the process of adoption of the ever changing cultural practices of dominant society with the goal of crossing a fluid cultural boundary separating [minorities] from the dominant society" (p15). The boundary's fluidity is

[3] This view contests Brass' (1991) claim that rational choice theorists "transform all choices, including cultural ones, into economic choices." Brass' analysis of ethnic identity formation in India and the Soviet Union is based on the premise that "ethnic identity formation is a process created in the dynamics of elite competition within the boundaries determined by political and economic realities" (p. 16). This framework is actually quite compatible with the rational action-based model discussed here.

well-recognized in the U.S. case. By now the fact that all immigrants do not assimilate in the same way has been thoroughly documented.[4] Research pertaining to the new second generation in America describes three distinct patterns of immigrant assimilation (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001b; Portes and Zhou 1993). One, consonant acculturation, looks very much like the melting pot that Waters and others (e.g., Alba 1990) describe. As classical assimilation theory would predict, the first or second generation adopts mainstream American customs, speaks only English, and is upwardly mobile.

The second, dissonant acculturation, applies to children of immigrants who acculturate not to the mainstream, but to inner-city subcultures. While these groups' educational and labor market outcomes are opposite those of the first, their linguistic outcome is the same: English monolingualism (though perhaps not in "standard" English).

The third course is that of selective acculturation. In this situation, ethnic networks and strong communities support children as they learn to deal with prejudice, navigate the education system, and find a place in the labor market. The outcome is upward socioeconomic assimilation combined with bilingualism and biculturalism. "While such a path may appear inimical to successful adaptation in the eyes of conventional assimilationists, in fact it can lead to better psychosocial and achievement outcomes because it preserves bonds across immigrant generations and gives children a clear reference point to guide their future lives" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b:309; cf.

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[4] Hirschman et al.'s (1999) edited volume is a comprehensive compilation of current research on this topic. Portes and Rumbaut (2001a and 2001b) provide a more in-depth look at patterns among predominant immigrant groups.

Glazer and Moynihan 1963). Selective acculturation offers a scenario in which maintaining a language other than English makes sense for Americans.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001b:45-69) identify four decisive factors that determine which course of assimilation will prevail:

- How the first generation was received
- The pace of acculturation among parents and children and its bearing on normative integration (Do children end up running the family?)
- Where immigrants and their children live: the barriers, cultural and economic, that the new second-generation confronts
- Immigrant social capital: the family and community resources for dealing with these barriers.

Relative to the role of non-English languages in the assimilation process, selective acculturation is by far the most interesting and relevant pathway, especially, it seems, for Mexican Americans (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b; cf. López and Stanton-Salazar 2001). Mexicans have the longest history in what is now the U.S. Today's Mexican-American population derives from an uninterrupted flow of immigrants that has lasted for more than a century. Demand for Mexican labor persists alongside nativist hostility toward Mexicans due to their numbers, poverty, and visibility (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b:277).

> The danger of downward assimilation for Mexican-American youths is only compounded by the policies that have captured the imagination of mainstream voters. For reasons already examined, nativism and forceful assimilationism yield programs that undermine successful adaptation by increasing dissonant acculturation or provoking an adversarial reaction. In light of the present evidence, there is no second-generation group for which selective acculturation is more necessary than for Mexican Americans. This would entail educational programs that combine learning of English and acculturation with preservation of Spanish and understanding and respect for the parents' culture. In

> particular, there should be ample external support for the immigrant family and for its incipient attempts at building strong community bonds. In many Mexican families, the *only* thing going for the children is the support and ambition of their parents. These aspirations should be strengthened rather than undermined. (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b: 279-280, italics in original)

School programs that equally value Spanish and English are one way to promote selective (as opposed to dissonant) acculturation among Mexican youths. These programs are the subject of chapters six through eight. In addition, it might be possible to identify places where selective acculturation is already taking place. In terms of contextual factors' influence on Spanish maintenance in the U.S., one would expect that – to the extent that bilingualism among native-born Hispanics is a result of selective acculturation – there will be proportionally more bilinguals in places where Latino populations are concentrated and where Latinos have economic and political resources at their disposal. The same reasoning leads to the anticipation that bilingual maintenance will persist in these places and among people who grew up in them.

The analyses in the following chapters stem from the premise that actors' orientation to action is instrumental, and that language shift or language maintenance is "really, in the long term, collective results of language choice" (Fasold 1984:213). Based on what they know, people choose a particular course when they believe it offers the best means of realizing their goals in a given situation or in an expected future situation (Kiser and Hechter 1998:801; Laitin 1998:216). Observed or anticipated changes in social, political, and economic opportunities, migration patterns, and population dynamics engender uncertainty and thus provide reasons for people to explore new identities.

I maintain that instrumental action can also be integrative. While Kelman (1971), Krashen (1980), and Schuman (1978) define individuals' cost-benefit analyses as instrumental (e.g., getting a better job) or integrative (e.g., fitting in), Hidalgo (1986) convincingly argues that within the context of everyday life these divisions are – at most – superficial.[5] In framing this project within the context of American national identity formation and maintenance, I attempt to illustrate instrumental/integrative rationality within a historically derived context.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the framework within which people in the United States make language choices has changed. A continuous flow of immigrants (especially from Spanish-speaking countries), a globalizing economy, and the emergence of transnational communities that span national borders all alter the costs and benefits of English monolingualism and bilingualism (Massey et. al 1987; Portes 2001; Portes et al. 2002). Social, political, and legal contexts are changing as well.

Chapter four will specify macro- and micro-level characteristics that shape the language decisions of Hispanic adults in the U.S. I will identify a configuration of demographic, economic, political, and/or social conditions that correspond to the level of bilingualism in U.S. metropolitan areas, then explore the influence of individual circumstances and contextual incentives on micro-level language decisions. The same conditions are likely to influence the degree to which bilingualism is valued in U.S.

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[5] Tollefson (1991) raises an important point in regard to the entire instrumental/integrative framework: It does not consider the historical development of motivations within groups, or why particular groups are required to learn new languages. This approach does not explain how language communities form or invest languages with varying degrees of value, and why some groups are willing to go to war for their language, while others change to a new language readily and without much problem. Finally, it assumes that other factors are constant, in effect "freezing" history by not recognizing the impact of historical and structural factors on language learning (pp. 26-30). Here, the factors that Tollefson points to are elements of the historical and structural context that has led to a contemporary situation, rather than object of study.

schools. Schools are a primary vehicle for the transmission of culture and a sense of national identity (Brass 1991) and for transmitting what Freeman (1998: 71) calls social identity: "cultural dispositions or preferences that govern an individual's way of believing, thinking, and behaving." Schools also serve as the gateway to participation in the political and economic arena. School policy about language learning and usage is thus a very powerful mechanism for positioning languages and their use within the social structure. Chapter five discusses the history of school language policy in the U.S. Chapters six through eight explore the circumstances under which schools are most likely to provide programs that encourage bilingualism and biliteracy for all students, including native English-speakers.

Chapter 4

Bilingualism among Hispanics in the U.S.

What contextual and individual-level factors influence the decision to maintain Spanish, or see to it that one's children do? In this chapter, I model the area-specific circumstances that influence the degree to which Spanish-English bilingualism (as opposed to English monolingualism) exists among U.S.-born Hispanic adults in a particular metro area. I then extend the analysis to native-and foreign-born individuals, including micro-level and contextual variables and exploring their interactions.

EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS

Metro Area Characteristics

The most obvious factor to influence Spanish retention is the presence of other speakers in one's area of residence (Scrauf 1999; Stevens 1992). Lacking a community of speakers – or at least of people for whom the Spanish language constitutes a part of a shared cultural heritage – it is improbable that many people who are fluent in English will actively maintain Spanish. Equally clear is that foreign-born Hispanics – even those who speak English well – are very likely to use Spanish in their daily lives. Immigrants thus expand the community within which it is useful or desirable to speak Spanish. *I expect to find more bilingualism in metro areas where the Hispanic population and its foreign born proportion are relatively large.*

The degree to which a metro area's Hispanic population is spatially concentrated could also influence bilingualism among the native-born. Enclave communities tend to encourage the use of Spanish, at least during off-work hours. They also create commercial and service opportunities that require Spanish fluency (Guerra 1998; Lieberson 1970; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Portes and Rumbaut (1996) show that, regardless of social class, the children of immigrants who live in ethnic neighborhoods are much more likely to become bilingual adults, whereas those who do not usually become English monolinguals (pp. 228-229). *I expect the presence of Hispanic enclaves to be positively related to the prevalence of bilingualism in a metro area.*

How do economic incentives and social context shape language decisions? Bilingualism is often a benefit to workers in neighborhoods, regions, or occupational areas where more than one language is regularly spoken. The extent to which demand for bilingual workers exists and is monetarily rewarded should influence the prevalence of bilingualism.[1] Overall, however, Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States earn less than English monolinguals do. Based on the 1990 Census, Chiswick and Miller (1997:7, 23) report a disadvantage of around 12 percent for the native-born and 20 percent for the foreign-born. Since Chiswick and Miller's models do not include bilingualism as an endogenous variable, however, their findings should not be read to mean that bilingualism is the *reason* for lower earnings.

In a smaller study focusing on intergenerational transmission of Spanish, López (1982) also shows evidence of a negative relationship between Spanish maintenance and

[1] Valdés (1997) details some of the controversies surrounding how bilingualism is rewarded in the workplace. Can bilinguals who are asked to use this skill at work insist on more pay? If bilingualism is a job requirement, how equal must a qualified worker's skill in each language be?

economic status. But he discusses a secondary pattern as well – one in which high educational and economic achievement, Spanish maintenance, and English competence are all positively associated. This trend tended to be "submerged" in the broader association between low socio-economic status and the continued use of Spanish (Solé 1990:49).

Pendakur and Pendakur's (2002) recent analysis of 1991 Canadian census data for Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver is, to this author's knowledge, the most comprehensive large-scale study about economic returns to minority language knowledge in the U.S. or Canada. A major finding is that people who speak both a majority language and a minority language earn less than those who speak only a majority language (French or English). The authors attribute this to ethnic/racial discrimination. They also find that the economic return to minority language knowledge rises with the presence and relative size of ethnolinguistic enclaves. "Large enclaves may serve to minimize the effects of labor market discrimination or may provide economic opportunities within the enclave" (page 174). Like that of López (1982), Pendakur and Pendakur's work suggests that bilingualism will not be an economic disadvantage in every case. In relation to the present study in which bilingualism is the phenomenon of interest, the findings summarized above lead to the expectation that *there will be more bilingualism in areas where the economic disadvantage is lower than average, does not exist at all, or is reversed.*

Clearly, bilingualism's payoffs encompass more than real or perceived economic advantages. The social status and influence of Hispanics in a given area should also have

some bearing on the desire to maintain a distinct identity by retaining or becoming fluent in Spanish. While people whose bilingualism is job- or family-related (e.g., to communicate with relatives in Mexico) will probably not be concerned about the status of Latinos in their community, it will matter a lot to those whose language choices are more identity-centered. *I expect to find a positive relationship between Hispanics' status and political influence and the proportion of native-born Hispanics who are bilingual.*

Political disincentives for bilingualism may also exist. A social and political climate that strongly supports a one-way model of assimilation could discourage non-English language maintenance. Some proponents of a neorepublican view (e.g., Pat Buchanan) claim that limiting immigration will help to preserve American political and social values. Others on the right would keep immigration at its current level. The latter sometimes advocate legal measures, such as Official English laws and English-only education, on grounds that this will speed immigrant incorporation (Plotke 1999). Speaking English only is thus equated with being American. *I expect to find less bilingualism in places where conservative political beliefs are prevalent.*

Individual Characteristics

Age could have a bearing on individual-level language outcomes in several ways. It could be positively related to bilingualism because older people are more likely to have lived in a Hispanic enclave and/or to work in a Hispanic-dominated occupational sector (Bean and Tienda 1987:22, 34). On the other hand, the Chicano movement may have influenced those who were middle-aged in 1990, and their children, to retain Spanish.

Also, 1.5 generation[2] members of the 1990 PUMS sample are more likely to retain ties to their country of origin than people from families who immigrated earlier would have been (Portes 2001b). All of these possibilities are plausible. They support the inclusion of age in this analysis – but without a specific prediction attached.

Many studies of language proficiency and usage reveal gender-specific patterns. Traditionally, women are viewed as keepers and transmitters of the symbolic aspects of Hispanic culture, such as songs and religious rituals (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1993; Peña and Frehill 1998; Rodríguez 1999). Fulfilling this role could promote more Spanish retention among both native-born and immigrant women than among men. *I thus expect to find more bilingualism among women than among men, whether native- or foreign-born.*

It is clear that education contributes to the English proficiency (a constant in this analysis), either directly or by providing skills that make it easier to learn English as a second language (Carliner 2000). Lieberson (1970) found that educational attainment and bilingualism are positively associated among Canadians whose mother tongue is French, but bilingualism did not vary at all by education among native English-speakers. "Indeed, bilingualism among the least educated French is more frequent than bilingualism among the college-educated component of the English-mother-tongue group" (page 26). Applied to Hispanics in the United States, this suggests that American schooling will promote English fluency and literacy for Spanish-speaking children, but will not necessarily promote Spanish proficiency for them or the English-speaking counterparts. *I expect to find a negative relationship, or no relationship, between education and bilingualism.*

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[2] Individuals who arrived in the U.S. at age ten or younger comprise the 1.5 generation.

National origin is likely to play a role in language choice because, as discussed in previous chapters, the meaning and process of assimilation is not the same for all groups. The possibility and prevalence of regular travel between the U.S. and one's country of origin or heritage will influence the degree to which assimilation is an additive process rather than one in which the ways of the receiving place replace those of the sending place. This reasoning applies all the more to Puerto Ricans, for whom there are no legal barriers to entering or leaving the fifty states. A group's status may also influence the relative advantage its members find in following the traditional model of assimilation or in taking an alternative path. As Fernández Kelly and Schauffler's (1996) work reveals, low-status group membership could be an incentive to "forget" that group's characteristics. López's (1999) research lends additional support to this hypothesis. His findings lead to the prediction that, among immigrant youths who follow a pattern of segmented assimilation into inner-city subcultures (in this case becoming part of ethnic gangs), "all these gang members will be banging in English" (p. 218). In contrast, belonging to a group that enjoys high status within the larger community could provide extra incentives for maintaining the characteristics of that group, e.g., bilingualism. This is likely the case for Cubans. All of the above leads to the expectation that *the probability of bilingualism will differ by national origin* (cf. Bean and Tienda 1987:33-34).

Metro-Area Context

To the degree that the demographic, economic, social, and political factors discussed above correspond to the amount of bilingualism found there, they should also be

significant predictors of bilingualism among individuals. Macro-level characteristics constitute incentives (or disincentives) for using Spanish alongside English. *The factors that, together, best explain the level of bilingualism in a metro-area should also contribute to a model of individual bilingualism.*

DATA AND VARIABLES

This study's units of analysis are metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) or primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs) and the native-born and 1.5 generation Hispanic adults who live in them. The individual-level analyses also include foreign-born adults. Everyone in this study reports English fluency.

Data about general characteristics of the Hispanic population come from the 1990 Census (file STF3C). Data used to calculate the proportion bilingual, bilinguals' relative socioeconomic status, and some contextual variables come from the 1990 1-percent PUMS (Ruggles and Sobek 1997). The variable "Hispanics' political influence" is Santoro's (1999) "index of Latino institutional resources": a composite measure that encompasses voters and elected officials. The index is based on standardized and summed state-level measures of registered Hispanic voters in 1992 and the percentage of Hispanic legislators in 1985.[3] Voting statistics come from the County and City Data Book (1988, 1994), with county-level figures aggregated up to the MSA/PMSA level when necessary. Table 4.1 provides additional details about the variables; Appendix 2

[3] Sources: the Census Bureau's 1992 Current Population Reports (Earlier reports did not include registration rates for states with small Hispanic populations.) and the NALEO Education fund.

shows their correlations. Here I discuss how each is relevant to a test of the critical mass model described above.

Dependent Variable

In the MSA/PMSA-level analysis, the dependent variable is the proportion of native born or 1.5 generation Hispanics, fluent in English, who retain Spanish.[4] In the individual-level analysis of the same population, the dependent variable is Spanish-English bilingualism. The Census asks respondents which language they speak at home, and how well they speak English. Here, Spanish-English bilinguals as those who report that they speak Spanish at home *and* speak English "very well." This measure by no means encompasses all bilinguals (e.g., Spanish-speakers who are married to English monolinguals and thus do not speak Spanish at home), but it is the best indicator we have at the macro-level, and well-worth using (Bills 1989; Hart-Gonzalez and Feingold 1990; Solé 1990). Speaking Spanish at home reflects a preference for using the language, and – where applicable – a desire for one's children to know and use it.

MSA/PMSA-Level Independent Variables

Modeling area-specific incentives for bilingualism involves four baseline variables: the proportion of a MSA/PMSA's population that is Hispanic,[5] the proportion of Hispanics who are foreign-born, the degree to which Hispanics are clustered within particular

[4] Because the dependent variable is derived from PUMS data, the metro-area analysis is limited to MSA/PMSAs where at least fifty Hispanic adults who speak English very well were included in the sample. In the STF-3, this equates to places where the population is at least 5 percent Hispanic.

[5] Appendix 3 shows the distribution of proportion Hispanic data for the metro areas included in this study. The variable is logged to normalize its distribution and reduce the influence of a few cases: large MSAs with extreme concentrations of Hispanics. An alternate strategy – including proportion Hispanic and its square – produced results that are very similar, but with slightly poorer overall model fit.

neighborhoods, and location in California.[6] The Absolute Clustering index (ACL) measures "the extent to which areal units inhabited by minority members adjoin one another, or cluster, in space." A high degree of clustering indicates a racial or ethnic enclave (Massey and Denton, 1988:293).[7] The marker for California is a control for the difference between the Hispanic population there versus the rest of the country. There are proportionally more Hispanics in California whose families have been in the U.S. for a very long time (López and Stanton-Salazar 2001).[8] Thus, despite high levels of bilingualism, there is a disproportionate number of English monolingual Hispanics who live in the state, and who choose to identify as Hispanic.[9]

To test the propositions that relate to economic- and status-based incentives for bilingualism, I employ ratios that reflect bilinguals' and English monolinguals' relative income and their Duncan socioeconomic indicator (SEI) score.[10] The status measure here is a composite of Hispanics' mean education, income, and SEI relative to non-Hispanics'. The measure of political influence is a state-level index of the percentage of registered

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[6] Earlier models also tested several measures of change in a MSA/PMSA's proportion Hispanic since 1970. These were non-significant.

[7] This index "expresses the average number of minority members in nearby areal units as a proportion of the total population in those nearby areal units", where distances between areal units are measured from their centroids (Massey and Denton, 1988:293-294). It varies from 0.0 to 1.0. An alternate index, measuring isolation in terms of the minority-weighted average of the minority proportion in each MSA/PMSA, yielded very similar results in these models.

[8] The 1990 Census does not provide a way to directly measure length of U.S. ancestry beyond the first generation.

[9] While the same could potentially be the case for other states that were once part of Mexico: New Mexico, Nevada, and Texas (plus parts of Colorado, Arizona, and Utah); all of these except Texas encompass few metropolitan areas. This study is therefore not adequate for assessing possible differences in bilingual maintenance due to location in these states. A marker for Texas included in earlier analyses was *positively* related to bilingualism among U.S.-born Hispanics, but lost significance once measures reflecting Hispanics' status and influence were introduced. This could mean that the relationship between Hispanics' status and political influence is stronger in Texas than in California, and/or that more English monolinguals in Texas choose *not* to identify as Hispanic. The latter possibility is impossible to assess with available data.

[10] Income, SEI, and status variables are expressed in relative, rather than absolute, terms to indicate local status (Frank 1985).

voters and the percentage of legislators who are Hispanic. The former indicates potential political strength; the latter is the most widely used indicator of a group's position in the political system (Browning et al. 1984).

Two measures reflect potential disincentives for bilingualism. The first, average proportion of Republican votes in the 1984 and 1992 presidential elections implies a social and political climate that strongly supports a one-way model of assimilation. The second marks four states – Arizona, California, Colorado, and Florida – in which Official English laws were passed via referendum vote after having failed in the state legislature.[11] While there is no evidence that voters in these states differ significantly from other voters in terms of their general cultural orientation, it may be that the initiative process allows voters to express their sentiments, e.g., to react against a change in "the prevailing pattern of language usage" (Citrin et al.1990:541). Or, as Frendreis and Tatalovich (1997) conclude, movement entrepreneurs who frame the language issue in patriotic and politically salient terms may enjoy more success in referendum states.

Individual-Level Independent Variables

Given that the measure of bilingualism employed here only captures bilinguals who speak Spanish at home, I control for the presence of someone else in the household who speaks only Spanish, or whose English is limited. This variable indicates the degree to which Spanish usage is explained by a necessity to communicate at home. In the separate analysis of immigrants, the control is for a household member who speaks only English, or whose Spanish is limited.

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[11] Previous models included controls for and MSA/PMSA's location within any state that had passed an Official English law in or before 1990. This did not contribute significantly to the analysis. The same is true for English-Plus resolutions.

As discussed in the previous section, educational attainment is also a control variable, unattached to specific predictions. Whatever findings ensue should be viewed with caution due to the way that bilingualism is measured here. Highly educated Hispanics may be more likely to speak both Spanish and English fluently, but less likely to speak Spanish at home.

The national origin markers used here represent the Census' "general" Hispanic subgroups. In the 1990 1% PUMS sample (weighted), Mexicans comprise 69 percent of native-born and 39 percent of foreign-born Hispanic adults who are Spanish-English bilingual or English monolingual. Puerto Ricans make up 12 and 19 percent, respectively; Cubans 0.2 and 11 percent. "Other" Hispanics (the reference category) are 19 percent native-born and 31 percent foreign-born.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Metro Areas

Table 4.2 reports the results of an OLS regression analysis of Spanish-English bilingualism in United States metropolitan areas. Models 1-3 account for contextual, economic, and status variables; Models 4 and 5 incorporate political dynamics.[12]

Models 1 and 2 show the expected influence of size of the Hispanic population and foreign-born proportion thereof. Clustering exerts little effect, and becomes non-significant in subsequent models.[13] This finding is surprising, though it could be due to

[12] "Hispanics' political influence" reflects both status and political influence.
[13] This variable is retained in the final model because it improves the overall fit.

the relatively high correlation of the ACL and LNproportion Hispanic (r =.72)[14] Also as expected, there is a negative 'California effect.'

Model 3 suggests that both economic rewards and status associated with bilingualism influence its prevalence in an area, but in an interdependent way. While bilinguals' relative income does not improve the model,[15] bilingual Hispanics' socioeconomic status (in relation to English monolingual Hispanics) does. This suggests that a visible concentration of bilingual professionals in a community contributes to Spanish maintenance or acquisition there.

In contrast, Model 4 shows that the general status of Hispanics (regardless of their language usage) is not significantly related to the level of bilingualism in an area.[16] Hispanics' political resources, however, are. This could indicate that positive group representation encourages the maintenance of traits that distinguish the group in a way that individual group members' achievements do not. Figure 4.1 illustrated the relative effects of the independent variables in Model 4.

Model 5 adds measures of the broader political context. There appears to be no relationship between a higher- than-average proportion of Republicans and the prevalence of bilingualism in an area. While a bit surprising, this finding lends additional support to the claim that the issue of language usage in the United States cuts across political cleavages (Citrin 1990; Citrin et al. 1990; Frendreis and Tatalovich 1997).

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[14] The ACL is also well-correlated with the ratio variable that compares bilingual Hispanics' SEI to that of English monolingual Hispanics (r =.64). The SEI variable, as constructed, could also indirectly reflect an enclave effect.

[15] This is also the case when the SEI variable is not included. The income and SEI variables are not highly correlated (r =.32).

[16] This is also the case when bilinguals' SEI is removed from the model.

Referenda in favor of Official English laws are also non-significant. This result concurs with other research. For example, Citrin (1990) documents that proponents of these laws frame their message in terms of patriotism, not intolerance. People who favor them often share a characteristic that Citrin et al. (1990:554-555) call "Americanism" – believing in God, trying to get ahead, and defending the country. They think of Official English in terms of national unity – not necessarily in terms of a subtractive model of immigrant assimilation or an unchangeable view of American identity.

Individuals

Table 4.3 reports the results of a logistic regression analysis of bilingualism among a large sample of native-born and 1.5 generation, English-speaking Hispanic adults who live in U.S. metro areas. The variable that is most strongly associated with bilingualism is a Spanish monolingual in the household. This is an important control, though it is only relevant for 9 percent of the people in this study.

Model 2 adds a block of individual characteristics: age, sex, and educational attainment. Bilingualism is slightly more prevalent among older adults. This may reflect the importance of Spanish maintenance in past times, when one-way assimilation was really not an option for anyone who did not look white.[17] As expected, women are slightly more likely than men to be bilingual. Education's effect is small and negative; each increasing degree of education diminishes the odds of bilingualism by about 8 percent. Though not predicted here, this finding does add weak support to the conclusions of other research on non-English language maintenance in the U.S. (Bills

[17] An additional test for cohort effects showed that native-born Hispanics who were over 45-years-old in 1990 were about twice as likely to be bilingual as those who were 30 to 45.

1989; Fishman 1984; Veltman 1983). The authors of these studies discuss their findings in light of the fact that the level of support for foreign language maintenance in U.S. schools is generally low, and foreign language learning is not a big priority.

A closer look at the data suggests that an interpretation of the negative relationship between educational attainment and bilingualism should emphasize that bilingualism is much more prevalent among native-born Hispanic adults with less than a high school education.[18] Appendix 4 lists the mean level of bilingualism by level of education. The summary shows that it is 15 percent higher among those who have not completed high school, as compared to high school graduates. There is only a 6 percent difference between the high school graduates and those who have earned a bachelor's degree or higher.

It is also possible that the relationship between bilingualism and education could differ depending on the level of bilingualism in one's community. For instance, poorly educated Hispanics would have little need for bilingualism in places where there are few other bilinguals, because their job colleagues would not use Spanish. Well-educated Hispanics might have a more universal need to be bilingual, since their professional roles would bring them into contact with all kinds of different people.[19] As a preliminary test, I separated the data set into four quartiles defined by MSA/PMSAs proportion bilingual. The education coefficients are consistently negative, but to varying degrees. In the first quartile (proportion bilingual < 0.50) the odds of bilingualism decrease by 4.5 percent per

[18] When this group (which comprises 29 percent of the sample) is excluded, the negative relationship between educational attainment and bilingualism decreases from 7 percent to 3 percent per attainment level.

[19] I thank Pete Guest for this suggestion.

level of education. In the second quartile (0.49 < proportion bilingual < 0.59) the odds decrease by 7.6 percent, in the third quartile (0.58 < proportion bilingual < 0.71) the odds decrease by 10 percent, and in the fourth (proportion bilingual > 0.70) by 5.5 percent. The second part of Appendix 4 is a crosstabulation of MSA/PMSA proportion bilingual (in quartiles), individual bilingualism, and educational attainment. At first glance, it looks like the degree to which MSA/PMSA proportion bilingual influences individual bilingualism hardly differs by levels of education. The lower block of data (including only people with graduate degrees), however, lends some support to the notion that the amount of bilingualism in one's area of residence is a less-important determinant of individual bilingualism among the highly educated. Since the number of cases in the 'graduate degree' group is small, more research (e.g., using the 5% PUMS) is necessary to assess this finding's consistency.

Model 3 of Table 4.3 adds ethnic origins. It appears that Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans are all more likely to be bilingual than are persons from other Hispanic roots.[20] In addition to reasons that have to do with status and the potential (or lack thereof) for intergenerational social and economic assimilation, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are especially apt to retain strong ties to their country of origin or heritage because of geographic proximity and a tradition of return migration. In the case of U.S.-born Cubans, very high geographic concentration combined with positive group identification and relatively abundant community resources (such as bilingual schools) is likely the most salient explanation of Spanish retention. Nelson and Tienda (1986) also present some evidence that native-born Cuban Americans are more likely that other Latino

[20] Bean and Tienda (1987:93) document a similar trend, using 1980 PUMS data.

groups to 'lose' their ethnicity by not identifying as Hispanic on the Census. To the extent that English monolinguals are choosing not to call themselves Hispanic, we would expect a higher concentration of bilinguals among those who do.

Models 4 and 5 show that area-level context does add substantially to what household- and individual-level factors allow us to predict. While other characteristics still matter, the macro-level context exerts an independent influence on the choice of which language(s) to maintain and use.[21] Compared to Model 3, Model 5 is, overall, about 5 percent better at predicting the odds of bilingualism.[22] But Model 5 improves on Model 3 by about 21 percent at predicting English monolingualism. This indicates that the context measures do capture negative incentives for bilingualism, and also suggests that in the contemporary U.S., individuals' language decisions are more greatly influenced by disincentives for bilingualism than by factors that encourage it.

Figure 4.2 is a plot of the mean predicted values (for MSA/PMSAs) from Models 3 and 5. The X-axis shows the actual level of bilingualism by metro area. The gray data series reflects individual and household characteristics only, and shows almost no pattern of variation in predicted bilingualism across MSA/PMSAs – regardless of the observed level bilingualism. The black data series includes metro area contextual variables, and corresponds well to the actual metro area data. Once area-specific context is accounted

[21] It is common to use Hierarchal Linear Modeling (HLM) in analyses that employ multi-level variables. In this study, as is usually the case when the N is very large, the HLM findings should essentially match those reported here – derived from logistic regression in SPSS. Another strategy employed in previous versions of this work was to use the predicted value for bilingualism in a given metro area as a composite context measure in the individual-level analysis. Indirect standardization is the same as a fixed effects hierarchical model. This yielded almost identical results.

[22] These figures come from the logistic regression classification tables (cut value = .50).

for, aggregated predictions of individuals' language choices are consistent with the macro-level pattern (Fasold 1984).[23]

Table 4.4 replicates the analysis in Table 4.3 with foreign-born Hispanic adults as the units of analysis. For this group, the real question is: Why would you *not* speak Spanish at home? Thus the first variable in the analysis is 'English monolingual in the household.' There is also a control for years in the U.S., which, interestingly, is positively related to bilingualism. As Figure 4.2 shows, this is most likely due to the fact that, because Spanish monolinguals are excluded from the data set, most of the foreign-born included in the analysis have been in the U.S. for a long time. The percent that are bilingual ranges from 80-87 among the five groups in which the 'years in U.S.' variable is expressed. It is highest for the 16-20 year group and lowest for the 0-5 year group. This is probably because 21 percent of the individuals in the 0-5 group report that they live with someone who speaks only English, compared to 15-16 percent for the other groups.

The seemingly strong, negative relationship between being a foreign-born male and bilingualism begs further explanation. Both the number of males and females and the proportion of each group that is bilingual are about the same. However, Figure 4.3 shows that immigrant women are about twice as likely as immigrant men to live with an English monolingual. Of this subset of women, 52 percent still report that they speak Spanish at home, compared to 45 percent of the men.

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[23] In a previous analysis, one variable reflecting the predicted level of bilingualism in a metro area substituted for the distinct contextual variables employed here. The results were very similar, though the current strategy improves model fit.

It is also possible that occupational pressures encourage foreign-born men to become English-dominant. Lieberson (1970) found more bilingualism among working-age Canadian men than women. He attributes this to men's higher labor force participation in a market with two official languages, finding "definite evidence of structural pressure towards bilingualism" generated by occupational demands (page 127). Bilingualism is about equal for men and women as they enter adulthood, but women are more likely than men to 'unlearn' their second language later in life. In the U.S., however, English dominates the labor market. Labor force participation could thus encourage immigrants to stop using Spanish once they have mastered English, resulting in less bilingualism among men than among women. A test of this explanation would require further analysis that includes measures of labor force participation as well as occupational classifications.

It is not surprising that, compared to the native-born and 1.5 generation group, contextual variables add little to a model of bilingualism among the foreign born 'Proportion foreign-born' is the only contextual variable that is significantly related to bilingualism. Even this does not have much explanatory power; Models 3 and 5 of Table 4.4 do not differ at all in their predictions of individual bilingualism and monolingualism.

DISCUSSION

Though the cross-sectional models used here do not allow for firm conclusions about intergenerational patterns of language shift, this study has specified contextual, economic, social, and individual circumstances under which bilingualism is most likely

to be a stable feature of American identity, rather that a step along the way to English monolingualism. In doing so, it has demonstrated a strong relationship between macro-level incentives and native-born Hispanics' individual linguistic choices. There is more bilingual maintenance in places where bilinguals have high status and Hispanics have political power.

Several aspects of this analysis call for further research. First of all, the type of work a person does could also influence the probability of bilingualism. As noted in the previous section, it could be especially fruitful to explore this factor among the foreign-born. It is possible that varying amounts of labor force participation and concentration in different occupational sectors could add to the present discussion of gender differences in Spanish retention. Among the native-born it is more difficult to generate consistent expectations about occupation and bilingualism. Lieberson (1970) found that, in Canada, different occupations generated different degrees of pressure to "meet the customer in his own language," and thus different levels of bilingualism (page 127). Native speakers of French whose work required them to deal directly with customers were more bilingual that those working in non-consumer industries, regardless of where they lived. For native English-speakers, however, the association between occupation and bilingualism was not consistent across cities. For example, "occupations in Montreal that have the highest degree of British male bilingualism are only mildly associated with the occupations that have the highest bilingualism among the British in Ottawa" (page 128).

I would expect the same to be true in regard to the relationship between occupational categories and Spanish-English bilingualism (as opposed to English

monolingualism) among Hispanic Americans. A retail clerk, bank teller, or police officer for example, would more likely be bilingual in Los Angeles than in Minneapolis. In places where many construction, cleaning, restaurant, and factory workers are Spanish-speaking immigrants, there would probably also be more bilingualism among U.S.-born Hispanics who work with or supervise them. In cities where the Latino population is small, however, the occupations (if any) associated with bilingualism would most likely be international trade-related.[24]

Another extension of this work pertains to Spanish usage and learning among non-Hispanics. There is evidence that this is on the rise. For example, dual-language programs (discussed in chapters six through eight) and Spanish immersion programs in public schools are increasing. Enrollment in high school Spanish classes has nearly doubled in the past twenty years. The latter reflects a shift from French to Spanish as the most popular language to study, more high schools requiring foreign language study, and – regardless of requirements – a record numbers of U.S. high school students choosing it. Currently, more than one-quarter of them study Spanish (Sharp 2001).[25] Does non-Hispanics' demand for Spanish fluency correspond to the incentive structure for Spanish maintenance among Hispanics? If not, what would a model of non-Hispanics learning and using Spanish look like? Answering these questions will add another dimension to

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[24] Another consideration in regard to occupationally related bilingualism is that people who regularly speak Spanish at work may not do so at home. The Canadian census data Lieberson used did not pose this limitation.

[25] Sharp (2001) and other journalists (notably Ojita 1999) point to increased adult demand for Spanish courses as well, but this is harder to document because a comprehensive measure would have to encompass college courses as well as a vast array of private language schools and other community-based learning opportunities.

our understanding the dynamics of language choice as they relate to Americans' definitions of their identity.

Table 4.1. Description of Variables

	mean	SD	range
MSA/PMSA-level analysis (N=137*)			
Dependent Variable			
proportion native-born Hispanics who are bilingual	0.50	0.20	0.07 - 0.96
Independent Variables			
LNproportion Hispanic	-2.65	1.16	-5.28 - -0.63
proportion of Hispanic adults who are foreign-born	0.47	0.20	0.04 - 0.91
Absolute Clustering index for Hispanics (ACL)	0.147	0.154	0.00 - 0.80
California	0.14	-	0/1 (1=yes)
bilingual Hispanic adults' mean income : English monolingual Hispanic adults' mean income	1.10	0.44	0.43 - 3.85
bilingual Hispanic adults' mean SEI : English monolingual Hispanic adults' mean SEI	1.64	1.65	0.51 - 13.37
Hispanic status composite	0.67	0.10	0.46 - 0.91
Hispanics' political influence	1.48	2.40	-0.90 - 10.85
GOP presidential votes in 1984 and 1992 high	0.29	-	0/1 (1=yes)
GOP presidential votes in 1984 and 1992 medium or low (reference category)	0.71	-	0/1 (1=yes)
official English referendum	0.30	-	0/1 (1=yes)

*MSA/PMSAs that are less than 5% Hispanic (N=135) are excluded.

(continued on the next page)

Table 4.1 (cont'd.). Description of Variables

Individual-level analysis of native-born & 1.5 generation Hispanic adults living in MSAs/PMSAs (N=40,212)**	mean	SD	range
Dependent Variable			
Spanish-English Bilingualism	0.58	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Independent Variables - Individuals			
Spanish monolingual in household	0.09	-	0/1 (1=yes)
age	34.43	13.47	18-75
sex	0.49	-	0/1 (1=male)
educational attainment (17 categories)	9.92	2.57	1 (no school completed) - 17 (doctoral degree)
Mexican	0.69	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Puerto Rican	0.12	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Cuban	0.02	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Other national origin (reference category)	0.09	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Independent Variables - Context			
LNproportion Hispanic	-1.62	0.89	-5.28 - -0.063
proportion foreign-born Hispanics	0.50	0.21	0.04 - 0.91
California	0.35	0.48	0/1 (1=yes)
bilinguals' SEI:English monolinguals' SEI	1.96	1.98	0.05 - 13.28
Hispanics' political influence	2.75	2.20	-0.90 - 10.85

**Monolingual Spanish-speakers are excluded.

(continued on the next page)

Table 4.1 (cont'd.). Description of Variables

Individual-level analysis of foreign-born Hispanic adults living in MSAs/PMSAs (N=24,290)**			
Dependent Variable			
Spanish-English Bilingualism	0.85	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Independent Variables - Individuals			
English monolingual (other than self) in household	0.17	-	0/1 (1=yes)
years in the U.S.A. (5 categories)	3.57	1.48	1 (0-5) - 5 (21+)
age	35.88	13.15	18-75
sex	0.51	-	0/1 (1=male)
educational attainment (17 categories)	9.42	3.44	1 (no school completed) - 17 (doctoral degree)
Mexican	0.39	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Puerto Rican	0.19	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Cuban	0.11	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Other national origin (reference category)	0.31	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Independent Variables - Context			
LNproportion Hispanic	-1.64	0.86	-5.28 - -0.06
proportion foreign-born Hispanics	0.65	0.17	0.04 - 0.91
bilinguals' SEI:English monolinguals' SEI	2.51	2.29	0.51 - 13.38
Hispanics' political influence	1.90	1.54	-0.9 - 10.85

**Monolingual Spanish-speakers are excluded.

Table 4.2. Coefficients for Regression of the Proportion Spanish-English Bilingual among Native-Born and 1.5 Generation Hispanic Adults in U.S. MSAs/PMSAs, 1990 (N=137)
(Standardized coefficients are in parentheses.)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
LNproportion Hispanic	0.117***	0.123***	0.118***	0.084***	0.090***
	(0.686)	(0.722)	(0.696)	(0.495)	(0.527)
proportion foreign-born Hispanics		0.1.86***	0.124*	0.164**	0.157**
		(0.169)	(0.125)	(0.165)	(0.158)
Hispanic clustering		0.198#	-0.033	-0.063	-0.030
		(0.154)	(-0.026)	(-0.049)	(-0.023)
California		-0.202***	-0.154***	-0.142***	-0.146***
		(-0.354)	(0.271)	(0.249)	(-0.256)
bilinguals' income:English monolinguals' income			-0.004		
			(-0.010)		
bilinguals' SEI:English monolinguals' SEI			0.035***	0.037***	0.035***
			(0.290)	(0.307)	(0.294)
Hispanic status composite				-0.165	-0.165
				(-0.097)	(0.085)
Hispanics' political influence				0.016**	0.013*
				(0.199)	(0.161)
high GOP voting					0.034
					(0.078)
official English referendum					0.005
					(0.013)
constant	0.813***	0.748***	0.733***	0.719***	0.713***
		(0.054)	(0.057)	(0.092)	(0.094)
Adj. R2	0.467	0.609	0.645	0.662	0.663
F	120.098***	53.863**	42.217***	39.118***	30.729***

#p<0.10 * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 4.3. Log Odds for Logistic Regression of Spanish-English Bilingualism Among Native-Born and 1.5 Generation* Hispanic Adults Living in U.S. MSAs/PMSAs** (N=40,212)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
individual-level variables					
Spanish monolingual in the household	8.215***	8.731***	8.797***	7.899***	7.23***
age		1.017***	1.021***	1.023***	1.023***
sex (1=male)		0.871***	0.869***	0.879***	0.875***
educational attainment		0.921***	0.929***	0.932***	0.929***
Mexican			2.375***	2.274***	2.273***
Puerto Rican			3.884***	3.613***	3.755***
Cuban			3.146***	2.584***	2.194***
MSA/PMSA-level contextual variables					
LNproportion Hispanic				1.865***	1.366***
proportion foreign-born Hispanics				1.329***	1.127***
California				0.396***	0.576***
bilinguals' SEI:English monolinguals' SEI					1.272***
Hispanics' political influence					1.077***
-2 log likelihood	56,345	55,283	53,886	50,816	50,326
chi-square	2379***	3442***	4838***	7908***	8399***

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed tests)

*includes immigrants who arrived in the U.S. at age 10 or younger

**monoligual Spanish-speakers excluded

Table 4.4. Log Odds for Logistic Regression of Spanish-English Bilingualism Among Adult Hispanic Immigrants Living in U.S. MSAs/PMSAs* (N=24,292)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
English monolingual in the household	0.092***	0.074***	0.074***	0.075***	0.076***
years in the U.S.		1.058***	1.037*	1.043**	1.045***
age		0.975***	0.976***	0.976***	0.976***
sex (1=male)		0.544***	0.539***	0.573***	0.538***
educational attainment		1.084***	1.095***	1.100***	1.010***
Mexican			1.324***	1.452***	1.454***
Puerto Rican			1.473***	1.462***	1.466***
Cuban			1.183*	1.057***	1.035
MSA/PMSA-level contextual variables					
LNproportion Hispanic				1.037	0.994
proportion foreign-born Hispanics				2.377***	2.630***
bilinguals' SEI:English monolinguals' SEI					1.010
Hispanics' political influence					1.025
-2 log likelihood	17,398	16,680	16,630	16,575	16,573
chi-square	3530***	4248***	4298***	4351***	4353***

* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001 (two-tailed tests)

*monoligual Spanish-speakers excluded

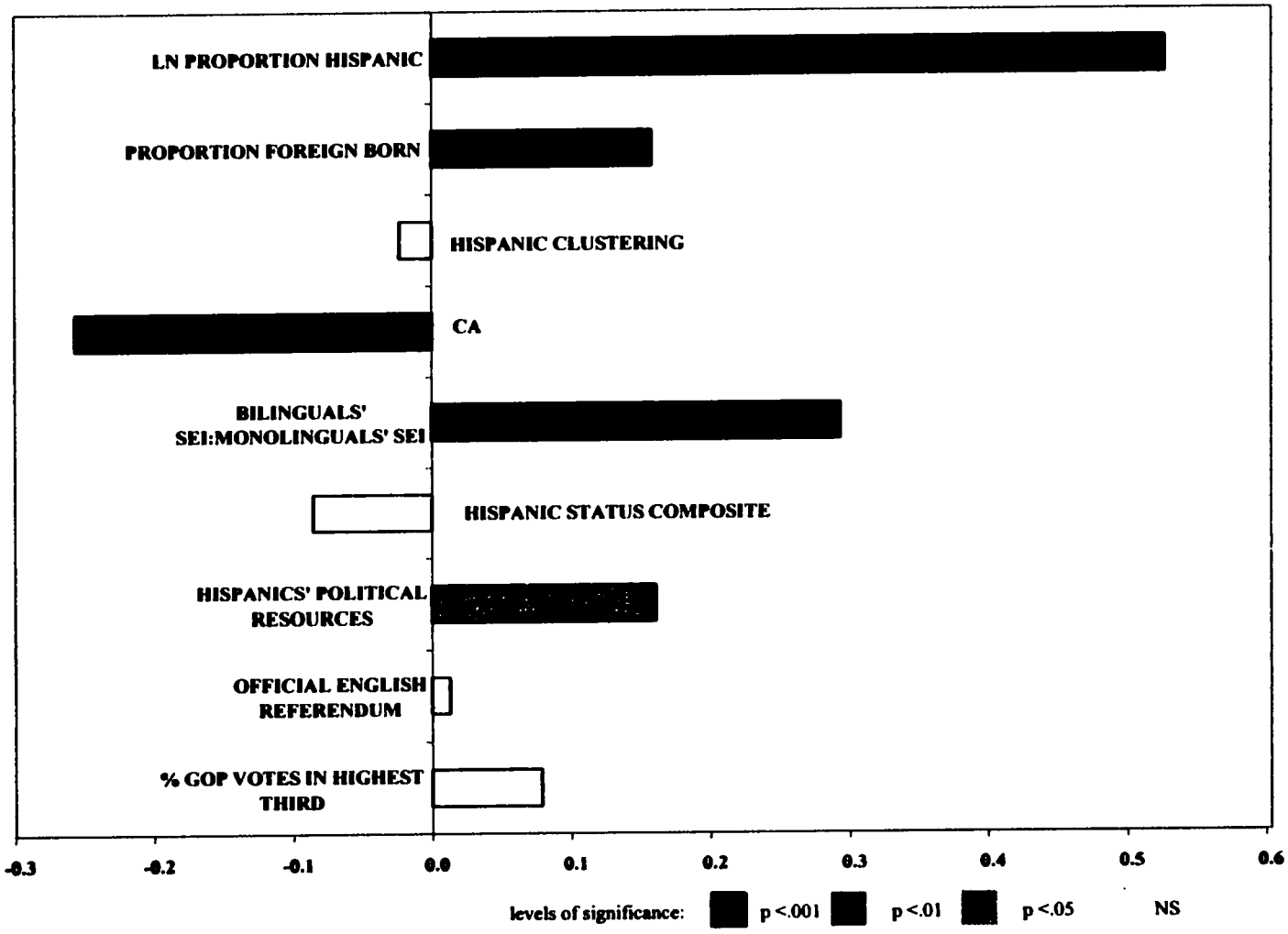

Figure 4.1. Standardized Regression Coefficients for Proportion Bilingual in U.S. MSA/PMSAs, 1990

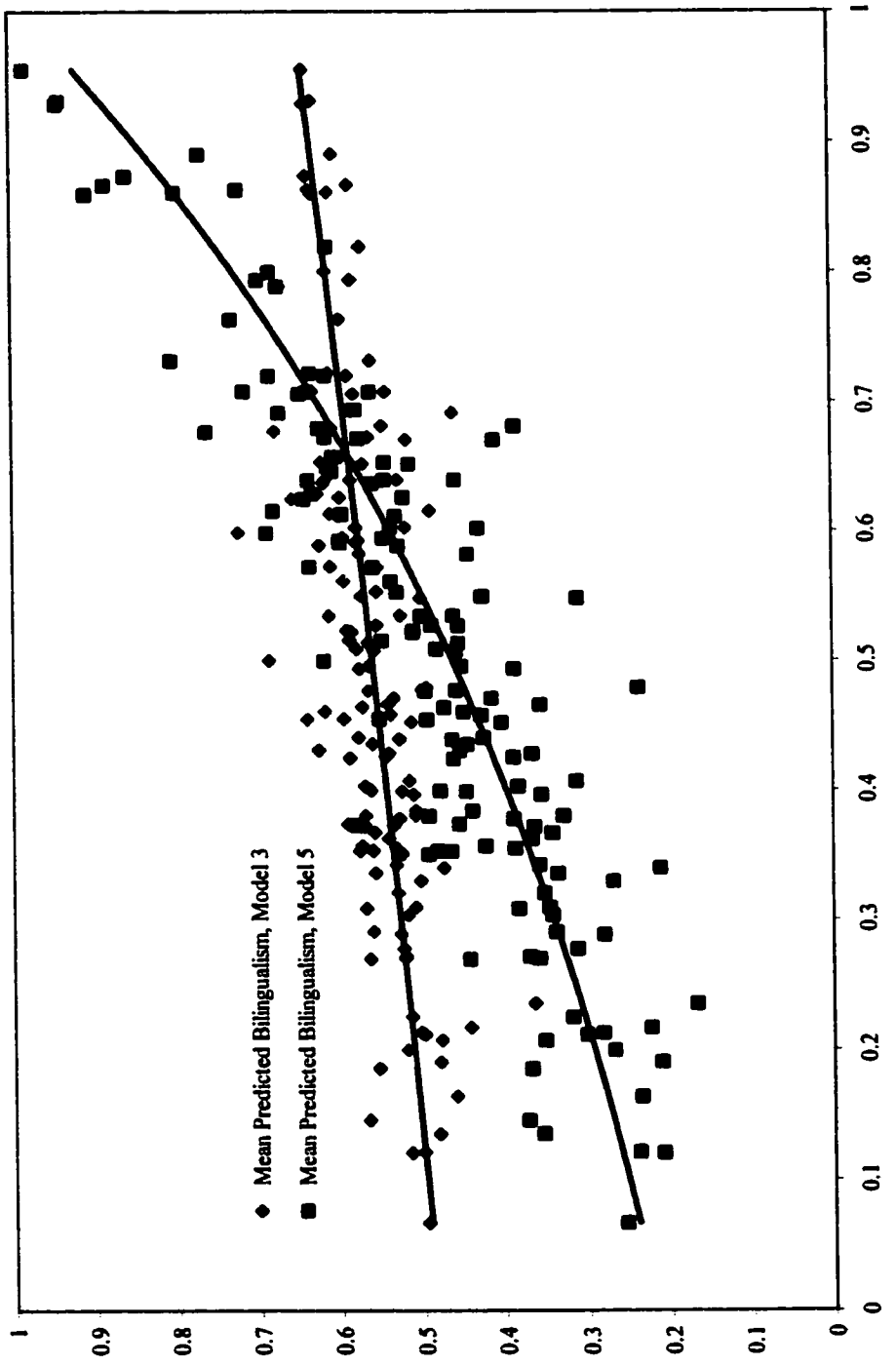

Figure 4.2. Metro Area Proportion Bilingual and Predicted Individual Bilingualism

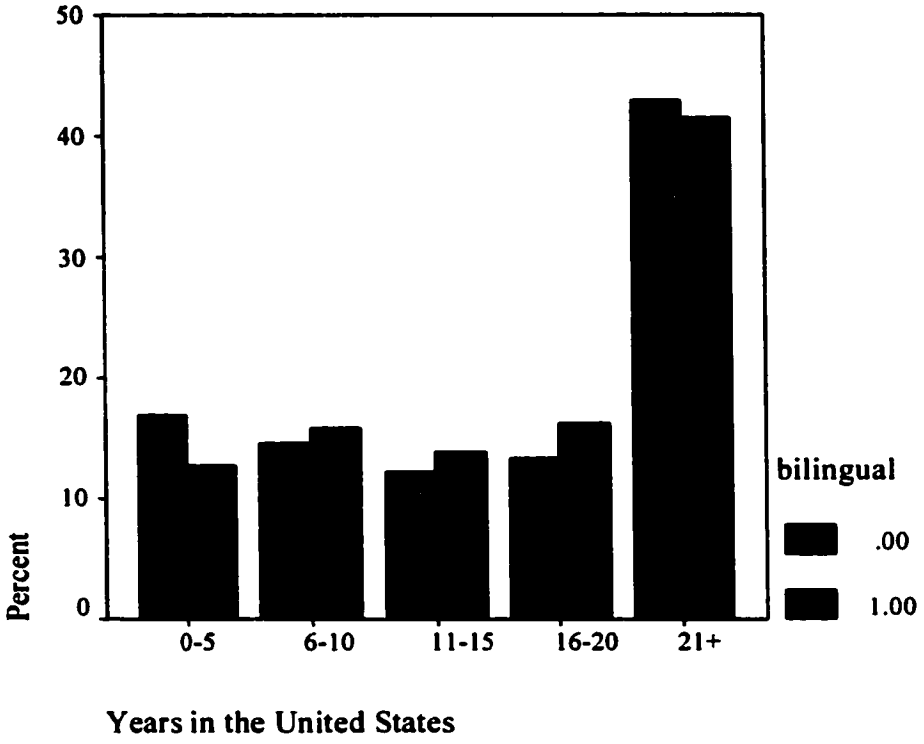

Figure 4.3. Bilingualism and Immigrants' Years in the U.S.

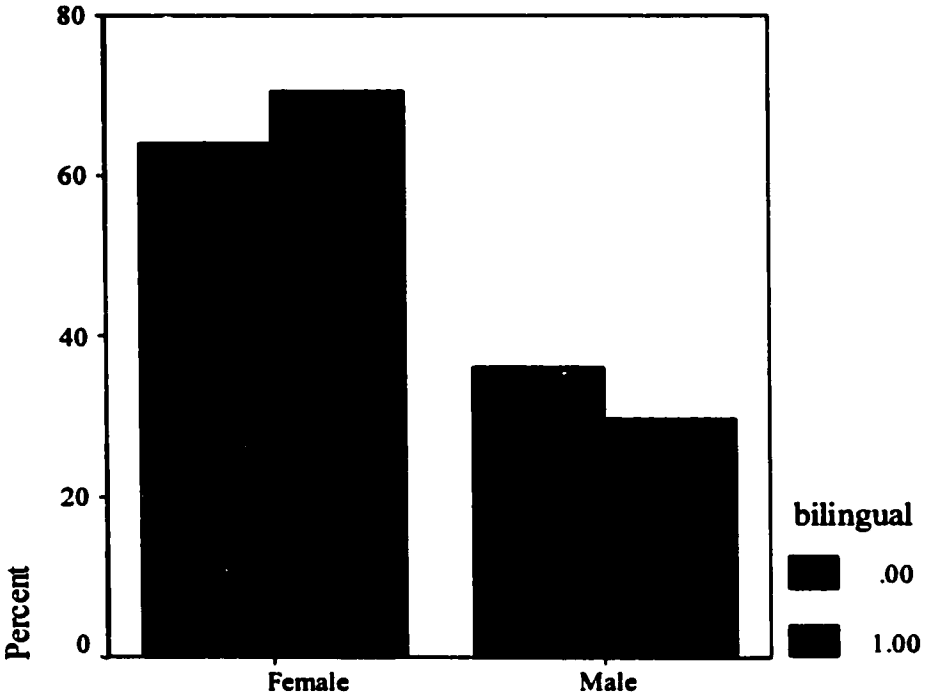

Figure 4.4. Bilingualism among Immigrants Living with English Monolinguals, by Sex

Chapter 5

School Language Policy and Politics

Because a belief that equates speaking English as one's language of choice with being American underlies the way languages are taught in our schools, bilingualism and bilingual education raise issues well beyond communication and pedagogy. Schools are a primary vehicle for the transmission of culture and a sense of national identity (Bourdieu 1991; Brass 1991). They also serve as the gateway to participation in the political and economic arena. School language policy is thus a very powerful mechanism for locating languages and their use within the social structure.

In elaboration, Bourdieu (1991) points out that we should not assume that policies emphasizing linguistic unification reflect only a common wish for effective communication. Such policies are as much about political centralization as they are about communication. The former often involves the suppression of ethnic characteristics. To this end, the education system functions as a means of institutionalizing ways of thinking as well as specific linguistic practices. Those who have a stake in the education system also benefit from maintaining standardized language norms. These norms help the system produce and maintain a need for what it produces. English-only school policies therefore help maintain the same social and economic imperatives that they respond to.

By and large, the influence that U.S. public schools have exerted on pupils encourages English monolingualism. Prior to the 1960s, schools generally dealt with students who did not speak English well via 'sink or swim' submersion in regular classrooms. For an education system, submersion was certainly a cheap route to second-language learning. But for individuals it was quite costly; it carried a high risk of educational delay, if not total failure (Snow and Hakuta 1992). Submersion worked well for some; others dropped out and remained unskilled laborers. For example, in the mid-1960s the majority of Texans over the age of fourteen with Spanish surnames had spent fewer than five years in school (Lyons 1990:67).

THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT

Realities such as this moved Congress to pass the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968 (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965). Senator Ralph Yarborough (D-Texas), a key figure behind the BEA, initially designed the legislation to address "the special needs of the large numbers of students in the Unites States whose mother tongue is Spanish and to whom English is a foreign language" (quoted in Lyons 1990:67). The BEA was not conceived to be a language maintenance measure, but rather to simply help children transition to English. The Act, which drew broad, bipartisan support, authorized resources to develop and evaluate programs and materials, train teachers and aides, and involve parents. Its focus was compensatory, aimed at poor children[1] who were educationally disadvantaged because they could not speak English

[1] The children that Title VII served had to come from low-income families.

well. In the words of Senator Yarborough, "it is not the purpose of the bill to create pockets of different languages throughout the country...not to stamp out the mother tongue, and not to make their mother tongue the dominant language, but just to try to make those children fully literate in English" (quoted in Crawford 1989:32).

In hindsight it is easy to see that, good intentions notwithstanding, the original BEA perpetuated a "language as problem" approach by associating bilingualism with disadvantage, cultural deprivation, and alienation (cf. Schmidt 2000). Even though the sociopolitical climate of the late 1960s and 70s was tolerant of linguistic and cultural diversity, most BEA-funded programs "reflected an ideological assumption that the native language of the LEP student was a problem to be overcome" (Freeman 1998:43). Linguist Einar Haugen dramatizes and criticizes this aspect of the BEA in his 1972 essay "The Stigma of Bilingualism":

> Linguists..., who have been concerned with bilingualism over the years, have offered definitions that were based on the literal meaning of the word and its relation to the learning of two languages. Having defined the universe in terms of second language learning, we found bilingualism in every country and on every level of society, from the aborigines of New Guinea to Joseph Conrad and Albert Schweitzer. But those children in our Southwest or in the ghettoes of New York who have enjoyed the tender concern of educational, psychological, and political authorities have one feature in common that is not mentioned in any academic definition of bilingualism. This is the fact that for many people 'bilingual' is a euphemism for 'linguistically handicapped'. It is a nice way of referring to children whose parents have handicapped them in the race for success by teaching them their mother tongue, which happens not to be the dominant language in the country they now inhabit (p. 308).

The original BEA did not specify approaches or methods of evaluation. Educators and school administrators were free to institute a wide range of programs, including English as a second language (ESL) programs. ESL classes are taught in English only, and focus primarily or entirely on developing English skills rather than on other curriculum areas such as math or science. Districts where the language minority population is very diverse are very likely to choose the ESL option because ESL classrooms can accommodate children from different language backgrounds, and teachers do not need to be proficient in the students' native languages.

Regardless of pedagogy, most Title VII programs were designed to promote a quick transition to English and thus provide equal education opportunity via English proficiency. There was very little support for native language maintenance.[2] The BEA was interpreted somewhat differently following the landmark case of *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974. The Supreme Court ruled that, under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, school districts must provide LEP children with special language programs that will offer them an equal opportunity to an education. Students should not fall behind in other subjects while learning to speak English. Although the ruling did not specifically require instruction in non-English languages, San Francisco (where *Lau v. Nichols* originated) initiated a bilingual program. In the following months, there were several lower courts rulings that mandated bilingual remedies.

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[2] Freeman (1998) also remarks on the lack of interest in foreign language education at that time. In 1979, the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies called American's lack of foreign language ability "scandalous," noting that not one state required foreign language instruction in high school, and many did not even require schools to *offer* foreign language courses (p. 43).

The reauthorized BEA of 1974 required districts receiving federal funds to provide transitional education in students' native languages. While the programs that followed did not generally produce bilingual and biliterate students, the goal of developing an appreciation for immigrant children's cultural heritage became almost – if not equally – as important as English proficiency and school performance. By the early 1980s, cultural awareness was such a central characteristic of many bilingual programs that Ronald Reagan's education secretary, William Bennett, claimed that bilingual education had come to serve only as an emblem of cultural pride. While some bilingual programs produced extremely impressive academic results, Bennett could support his allegation by pointing to schools where bilingual classrooms had essentially become ghettos for LEP students – settings that validated their ethnic identity, but did little to prepare them for future success.

It seems, however that the problem was not related to English proficiency. In an article originally published in 1989, Snow and Hakuta (1992) forcefully argued that bilingual programs were quite effective in helping children learn English. The irony was that they did not create bilinguals:

> Bilingual education in its present form may be one of the greatest misnomers of educational programs. What it fosters is monolingualism; bilingual classrooms are efficient revolving doors between home-language monolingualism and English monolingualism. Were it not for the name, the champion of linguistic homogeneity on American soil could not have found a better friend than transitional bilingual education (p. 390).

Nevertheless, bilingual education has been under attack since the 1980s. Public discourse on the subject shifted away from educational opportunity and student

achievement, instead linking bilingual education with language minority groups' preservation and use of their native languages – a potential threat to national unity. Yet at the same time, educators and policy makers were recognizing the extent to which the U.S. lagged behind the rest of the world in the area of foreign language education. The Education for Economic Security Act of 1982 authorized federal funding for the improvement of foreign language instruction. That same year, New York passed comprehensive educational reforms that included foreign language requirements for all students (Freeman 1998:46).

The 1994 amendments to the BEA reflect this new valuation of bilingualism.[3] It is notable that these amendments do not reflect the "language-as-problem" orientation that characterized 1980s social discourse. Freeman (1998) maintains that the BEA changed in response to a growing body of educational research about how children acquire languages and how they excel in other subjects. It incorporated new provisions for professional development, language maintenance, foreign-language instruction, and research and evaluation. "For the first time in its history, the BEA explicitly recognized the value of bilingualism on the individual level for language minority *and language majority* students, and on the national level as a tool for cross-cultural understanding as well as a vital resource in the global economy" (p. 55, italics added).

Crawford (1997) summarizes the two important principles of the 1994 BEA as follows:

- Given access to challenging curriculum, language minority and LEP students can achieve to the same high standards as other students.

[3] The full text of the 1994 BEA is available at http://www.ed.gov/legislation/ESEA/sec7101.html.

- Proficient bilingualism is a desirable goal, which can bring cognitive, academic, cultural, and economic benefits to individuals and to the nation (p. 1).

These goals and ideals laid the groundwork for major reforms in the education of language minority *and* language majority students. But shortly after Title VII was reauthorized, the purpose it embodied came under attack on Capitol Hill and in the press. Reflecting a strongly anti-bilingual political climate, Congress considered repealing the BEA, and ended up reducing Title VII appropriations by 38 percent between 1994 and 1996. This severely undermined the new BEA by forcing deep cuts in grants for instructional programs; teacher training; and research, evaluation, and support services (Freeman 1998:55).

The Campaign against Bilingual Education

What were the effects? Transitional bilingual classes are still prominent in many places, but in the 1990s a move away from them began to gain momentum. The group English for the Children, founded and directed by physicist and Silicon Valley software millionaire Ron Unz, is behind a national crusade to end transitional bilingual education for LEP students, especially in elementary school. English for the Children was instrumental in initiating and passing anti-bilingual propositions in California and Arizona. These states have adopted policies that place LEP children in ESL classes for a limited time (in California, one year). Recently the group has targeted voters in New York, Colorado, and Massachusetts.

Like English First and U.S. English, English for the Children draws support from a diverse constituency. Some parents and educators have raised serious concerns about

the length of time (in some cases, eight or more years) that children spend in bilingual programs before they are deemed ready to study alongside native English-speakers (Martinez 1999; Tobar 1999). Others remark that children struggle when they move from bilingual to all-English classes (Alvarado 2001). Increased emphasis and reliance on the outcomes of standardized tests (in English) as measures of school and teacher quality may also encourage school districts to adopt language policies that promote a rapid transition to English, but do nothing to maintain or develop native language proficiency.

In New York State, Unz commissioned a poll asking whether all public school classes should be taught in English, with non-English-speaking students placed in an intensive one-year English immersion programs instead of transitional bilingual programs. Seventy-nine percent of the 1,411 residents polled said yes. Among New York City residents, 75 percent said yes. In a national poll by the nonpartisan research organization Public Agenda, 75 percent of *foreign-born* parents said that schools' first priority should be to teach English quickly, even if that means that their children fall behind in other subjects (Tierney 1999).

Why the sudden English immersion fervor, when good transitional bilingual programs have been achieving similar results? Proponents of bilingual education suspect that insistence on ESL masks a backlash against immigration. Rudy Rodriguez, director of bilingual teacher education at Texas Women's University asks: "Is it an anti-bilingual education move or an anti-immigration move?" And answers: "My suspicion is that bilingual education has gotten wrapped up in the immigration issue" (Anderson 2001). Similarly, Snow and Hakuta (1992) note that educators in the 1980s saw the attack on

bilingual education as "yet another example of a conservative administration's lack of commitment to minority programs" (p. 394). They conclude that the debate about pedagogy is really a debate about politics.

Whatever the debate, it must be noted that transitional bilingual and ESL programs are really quite similar in that they both address a population viewed as needing special attention in order to become like the majority, and both gauge success by evaluating how quickly the children of immigrants give up their first language and shift to English (García 1995). Once children have transitioned to all-English classrooms, they are unlikely to develop adult-level proficiency and literacy in their home language, even if the parents maintain bilingualism. The cost of this approach is that the children in the U.S. who have the best chance of becoming proficient in two languages "are being seduced by the school system into monolingualism in English" (Snow and Hakuta 1992:394). At the same time, "the children who might be willing to work hard to achieve bilingualism are given instruction in foreign languages that is typically too little and too late to ensure adequate proficiency" (p. 394).

THE DUAL-LANGUAGE OPTION

The above observation about the status quo in regard to language education in U.S. schools highlights the distinctiveness of the dual-language, or two-way immersion, alternative. Since the 1960s, a small but growing number of schools have adopted programs that embody a different idea about non-English languages: they are important assets to obtain and preserve. Instead of regarding the children of immigrants as a

liability with which schools must deal, dual-language programs (also called two-way immersion) validate and make use of these children's language skills by placing them in a position to help native English-speakers become bilingual. Language minority (from a single language background) and English-speaking pupils are grouped together in the same classrooms, starting in kindergarten or the early primary grades. Ideally there is a fifty-fifty balance of native Spanish- and English-speakers. One or two teachers provide instruction in both languages.

Dual-language program objectives include academic achievement, bilingual proficiency, and multicultural awareness for all students (Christian 1994). For example, the Chicago Public School District states the goals of developing primary and second language proficiency and literacy, increasing academic achievement, and promoting cross-cultural understanding for all students in dual-language schools or classrooms (CAL 2001). DiLoreto Magnet School in New Britain, Connecticut aims to create a "multicultural, dynamic school environment in which world languages and multicultural studies are celebrated on daily basis as we move children into the next millennium of a multilingual and multicultural America" (DiLoreto Magnet School 2001). The philosophy of Oyster Bilingual School in Washington D.C. includes statements about "the opportunity to obtain competencies which will help them survive as individuals and as members of society," "building a culturally pluralistic society," and "practices and programs which will insure the intellectual, physical, emotional and aesthetic well-being of all our students" (Freeman 1998:108-109).

Beyond these stated objectives, dual-language programs may be a force for social change that, in time, could exert its influence far beyond the classrooms, schools, or districts where such programs exist. Freeman (1998) argues that "because dual-language programs in the United States ideally elevate the status of minority languages and speakers of those languages at school, and because these programs expect additive bilingualism for language minority and language majority students and the communities in which they live, schools that promote learning in two languages can be understood as contesting the legitimacy of monolingualism in Standard English as the unquestioned norm in mainstream US schools" (p. 11). Dual-language programs "can be read as one part of a larger social identities project that aims to promote social change on the local level by socializing children differently from the way children are socialized in mainstream U.S. educational discourse" (p. 27).

By pursuing bilingualism and biculturalism as primary goals, the dual-language option offers a striking deviation from mainstream schooling. The circumstances under which dual-language programs are created and maintained are equally unique. These programs are almost never legally mandated. They exist largely due to the efforts of school administrators, teachers, and parents who get them started and make them work.

Figure 5.1 shows the growth of dual-language programs since the first two were initiated in 1963. In 1980, there were only twenty nationwide; in 1990 there were about seventy-three (CAL 2001; McCargo and Christian 1998). Currently, we can find dual-language programs in twenty-two states and at least 243 public schools.[4] Figure 5.2

[4] Two hundred thirty programs are Spanish-English. The rest combine Cantonese (five), French (two), Korean (four) and Navajo (two) with English.

shows their distribution across the country. When will parents and educators value bilingualism enough to see to it that children attain and/or maintain it? The following chapter explores the extent to which contextual conditions such as the demographic and political climate of an area can help answer this question.

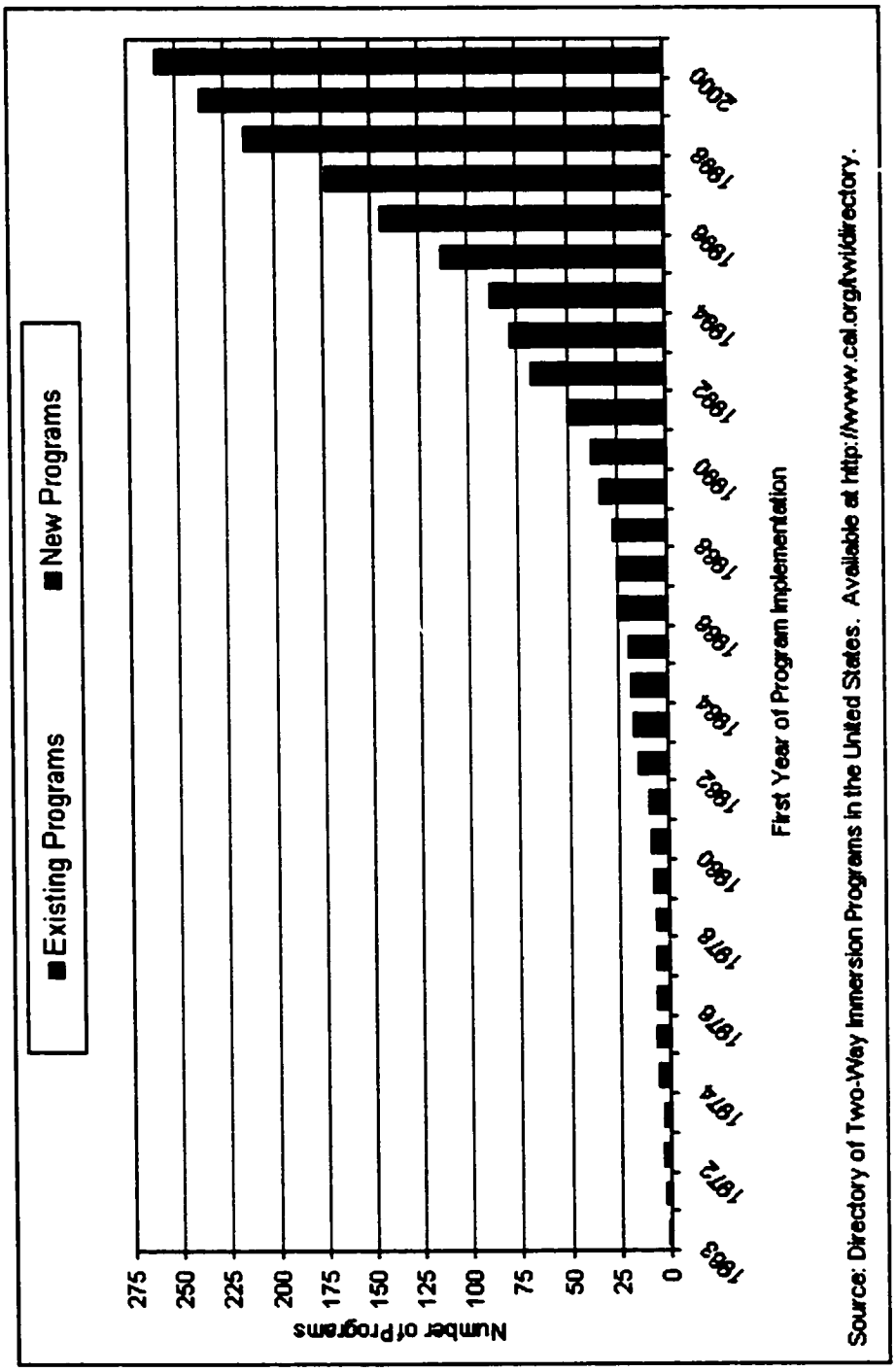
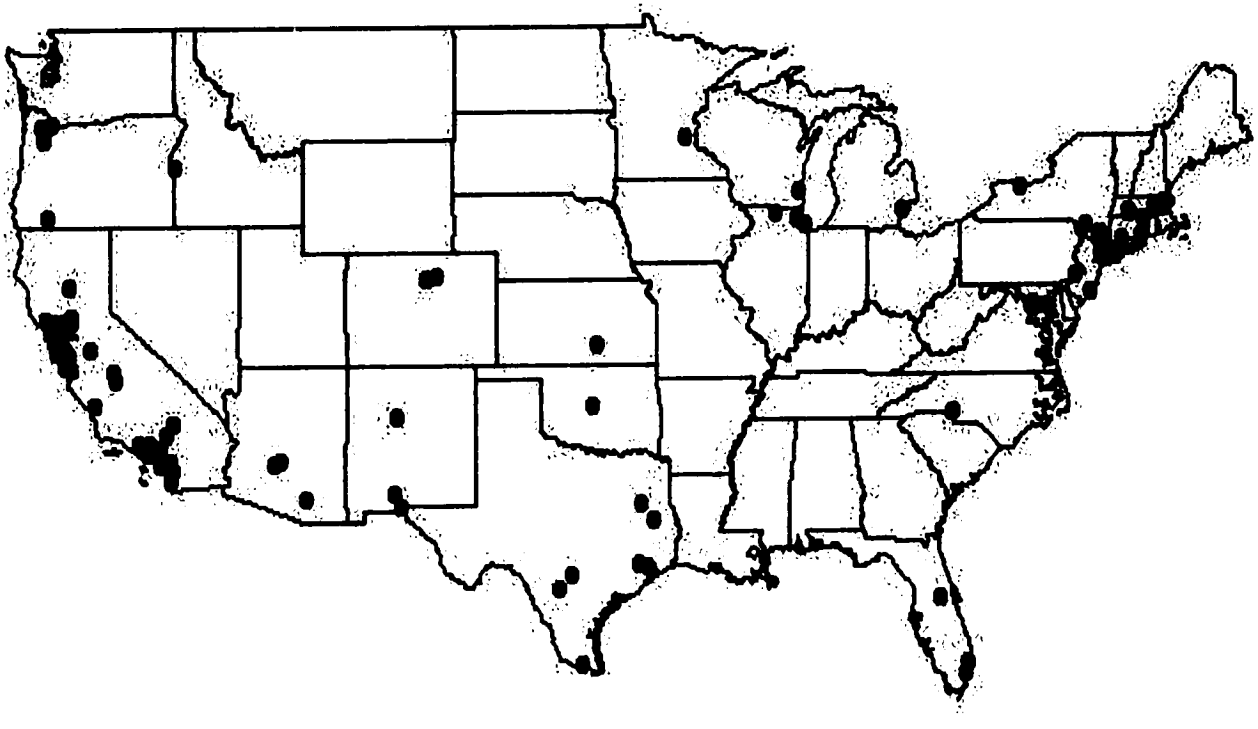


Figure 5.1. Dual-Language Program Growth, 1963-2000



Source: Center for Applied Linguistics

Figure 5.2. U.S. School Districts with Spanish-English Dual-Language Programs, 2001

Chapter 6

The Dual-Language Option in Public Schools: A Nationwide Analysis

When will schools offer the dual-language option? All of the discussion that follows is based on the same starting premise as the previous analysis of Spanish maintenance among Hispanic people in the United States: choices that affect language learning and use are instrumental in some economic or social way.[1] First, bilingualism will be practical or desirable when it represents a significant labor market advantage. This could be the case in a direct way if bilingualism were seen as a ticket to higher pay or better jobs. A labor market advantage might also be perceived indirectly; bilingualism could help children succeed in school. Of potentially equal importance, ethnic identities and their meanings inform individual decisions about language and, to some extent, language policy in schools and other parts of the public domain. This emphasis suggests that parents will want their children to become fluent and literate in a second language – and schools will provide this opportunity – when the majority regards bilingualism as a cultural asset. This could be the case in places where the status of Spanish and Spanish-speakers is relatively high, or where diversity and intercultural communication are highly valued.

In all of these scenarios, language decisions reflect something about the contextual situation. The analysis that follows will explore – on various levels – the effects of school district and community characteristics, parent characteristics, area-

[1] This is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

specific measures of bilinguals' status, and political context on the probability that a school district within which it is potentially possible will initiate one or more dual-language programs.

EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS

Extant research about the pedagogy of dual-language education, social correlates of bilingualism (and possibly of demand for bilingualism), and bilinguals' labor market outcomes helps define specific empirical expectations that are grounded in a theory of instrumental action. These are discussed below.

School Characteristics[2]

In general, large districts are able to offer more specialized programs than small districts can. Since dual-language programs combine native Spanish-speakers and native English-speakers, schools can only have them when there are enough children from both groups. I therefore expect that *school population and the proportion of children who come from Spanish-speaking households will be positively related to the likelihood that a district offers two-way immersion.*

A high level of other (non-Spanish) linguistic diversity among LEP students could make it unrealistic to direct resources toward Spanish-English classrooms. Very few districts can offer dual-language programs in more than one non-English language.[3]

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[2] Variables included as controls rather than for the purpose of testing specific predictions will be discussed in the next section.

[3] The ones that do serve large cities where other non-English language groups have established sizeable communities: Boston (Spanish-English, Russian-English), Chicago (Spanish-English, Polish-English), New York City (Spanish-English, Cantonese-English), and San Francisco (Spanish-English, Cantonese-English).

Usually, districts that serve a linguistically diverse group of LEP students opt for transitional bilingual education, ESL, or both. *I expect to find a negative relationship between the size of a district's 'other language' population and the likelihood of a two-way Spanish-English program there.*

Even with control for other factors, schools in which many children come from poor families may be less likely to initiate and maintain dual-language programs because more of their resources are allocated to various social services, and/or because the parents of these children move more frequently than others do – making it impossible to achieve the continuity that is essential to dual-language instruction (Christian et al. 2000; Rago 2001). For these reasons, *I expect the likelihood of a dual-language program to be lower in districts that serve many poor families.*

Parent Characteristics

The cultural value of bilingualism, and demand for dual-language programs, could reflect a broader appreciation for the benefits that people from other cultures bring to U.S. society rather than something specific about a community's Hispanic population. This is more likely to be the case in urban areas, and when the level of parent education in a school district is relatively high. College-educated people tend to value (or at least tolerate) racial, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity more that non-college-educated people do (Farley et al. 1994). Furthermore, these parents are more likely to view bilingualism as a tangible asset for their children (López 1999). They may also be aware of and influenced by research that links bilingualism to cognitive development and high academic achievement.

School administrators concur that educated parents are more likely to seek dual-language education for their children (Helwing 2001; Morrow 2000; Myers 2001; O'Brien 2001). In addition, they note that, while educated parents are generally quite involved in their children's schooling and have the highest expectations in regard to school quality (Bidwell et al. 1997), the parent involvement factor stands alone.[4] Parents who attend school events and parent-teacher conferences and who volunteer at school are much more likely than others to choose the dual-language option if it is available to them – regardless of how educated they are (Benitez and Pineda 2001; Hedges 2001; Medina 2001; Morrow 2000; Slater and Castro 2001). Based on the above, I predict that *parent education, and parent involvement will positively influence the probability of finding dual-language programs within a school district.*

Economic and Social Context

While some bilinguals hold high-paying jobs, and some employers do seek bilinguals at both the low and high ends of the job ladder, there is no evidence for a general pattern of high economic rewards to bilingualism (Chiswick and Miller 1996, 1997, 1999; Pendakur and Pendakur 2002). I thus expect that *the relative prosperity of bilinguals in a community will not influence the probability that its schools will offer the dual-language option.*

Bilinguals' and/or Hispanics' status could, however, reflect broader reasons to view bilingualism as instrumental in a given setting. For example, Portes and Rumbaut

[4] This is the case for many other types of special school programs as well; more educated/involved parents will be more likely to seek such programs or to take advantage of them when available. For example, the principal of a dual-language school in Arlington, Virginia characterizes the school's high-SES parents as "always looking for something better" (Myers 2001). Zhou (2002) describes Korean and Chinese parents' community-supported efforts to get their children into the best schools and programs in Los Angeles.

(1996, 2001b) show that, for the children of immigrants whose financial resources and human capital are limited, *selective acculturation* yields the most favorable outcomes in terms of their adaptation to life in America and success in American schools. "Selective acculturation takes place when the learning process of both generations is embedded in a co-ethnic community of sufficient size and institutional diversity to slow down the cultural shift and promote partial retention of the parents' home language and norms." This pathway is associated with a relative lack of intergenerational conflict, the presence of many co-ethnics among children's friends, and the achievement of full bilingualism in the second generation" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b:54). Characteristics of U.S. society augment, rather than replace, characteristics of the sending society. The outcome is upward mobility combined with bilingualism and biculturalism.

Chapter four's evaluation of factors that influence English-speaking Hispanic adults' choice to maintain Spanish-English bilingualism is also relevant here. I found that, while the immediate economic rewards for bilingualism do not significantly factor into the macro-level incentive for bilingualism, the socioeconomic status of bilinguals in one's area does appear to influence language choice. There is a positive relationship between the status of Spanish-speakers and the level of Spanish-English bilingualism among Hispanics in the U.S. But will the degree to which Hispanics in an area have *already* selectively acculturated, or have achieved a relatively high level of status and influence (regardless of whether they have retained Spanish or not) be relevant to school policy decisions, or to the language choices that non-Hispanic parents make for their children? Interviews with teachers and administrators who are involved with dual-

language programs suggest that the socioeconomic status of Hispanics in a school's area is not a determinant of programs' existence or success. While influential Hispanics and bilinguals generally support the dual-language option when it is available to them (Gallardo 2001; Hedges 2001), they are not the ones pushing for it (Helwing 2001; Hernandez 2001; Morrow 2000; Myers 2001). I therefore expect that *the relative income, status, or political influence of Hispanics and/or bilinguals a school district serves will not affect the odds that that the district will offer dual-language instruction.*

In their qualitative work on workplace control in U.S. high schools, Bidwell et al. (1997) note another pertinent point: school administrators in high-SES areas are much more responsive to parents' preferences than those in low-SES areas. The principal of one high-SES school remarks: "We never take a serious step around here without seeing how the land lies with our clientele" (p. 289). Looking at parent education is a first step towards quantitatively evaluating the degree to which dual-language programs originate in response to parent demand, and/or administrators' assessment of parent support.

Political Context

Laws and resolutions that discourage or encourage the use of languages other than English may also reflect or affect the degree to which people in a particular area value Spanish and Spanish-speakers. Further, they may indirectly influence school administrators' curriculum decisions by providing a public statement regarding linguistic norms and goals in a particular state. Because the rhetoric and behind these statutes is inconsistent, and the degree to which they influence what actually goes on in schools is

often minimal, their inclusion in this analysis is exploratory – unlinked to predictions derived from theory, others' research, or qualitative findings.

DATA AND VARIABLES

This inquiry encompasses United States public school districts and the metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) and states that encompass them. The units of analysis are school districts that serve at least 1000 pupils,[5] at least 4 percent of whom come from Spanish-speaking households (N=2289).[6] Data about dual-language programs come from the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL 2001). Data pertaining to the demographics of school districts and the areas they serve come from the National Center for Education Statistics 1990 School District Data Book (SDDB) (NCES 1994). Measures that reflect the bilinguals' and Hispanics' relative income and status were constructed using the 1990 1-percent PUMS (Ruggles and Sobek 1997). Voting statistics come from the County and City Data Book (1988, 1994), with county-level figures aggregated up to the MSA/PMSA level when necessary. The variable 'Hispanics' political influence' is Santoro's (1999) index of "Latino institutional resources," a composite measure that encompasses voters and elected officials.[7] Information regarding Official English laws and English Plus resolutions comes from lists compiled by Crawford (2000), the

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[5] Very small districts are excluded because dual-language programs are almost nonexistent in them, and because the data quality for these districts is low.

[6] This is the median level of children from Spanish-speaking households in *all* districts that are within MSAs. Nationwide only three dual-language programs exist in districts in which less than 4 percent of the students come from Spanish-speaking homes.

[7] The index is based on standardized and summed state-level measures of registered Hispanic voters in 1992 and the percentage of Hispanic legislators in 1985. Sources: the Census Bureau's 1992 Current Population Reports (Earlier reports did not include registration rates for states with small Hispanic populations.) and the NALEO Education fund.

organization English First (2001), and Tatalovich (1995). State-level data on whether or not there is an anti-bilingual education law in force, or under consideration, comes from newspaper reports (e.g., Alvorado 2001; Associated Press 2000, Janofsky 2001). Table 6.1 provides descriptive statistics for all variables; Appendix 4 is a corresponding correlation matrix. Here I discuss the variables' relevance in terms of the propositions outlined above, and/or as controls.

Dependent Variable

The dichotomous dependent variable marks school districts that reported having at least one Spanish-English dual-language program at the start of the 2001-02 school year.

Demographic Variables

School characteristics

'School population' (expressed as its natural logarithm), 'proportion of children in Spanish-speaking households,' and this proportion squared are primary contextual conditions. The latter is included in its quadratic form to account for school districts with too many Spanish-speakers to make two-way immersion plausible (Montague 1997).

'Spending on instruction' is a control variable, highly correlated to school district size.[8] While it stands to reason that well-funded districts would be advantaged in terms of their ability to initiate special programs, it should be noted that dual-language programs do not cost more than other ways of helping LEP students learn English. Research, planning, and early implementation are often grant-supported, but the extent to which the NCES spending variable encompasses such funding is unclear.

[8] An attempt to calculate per-capita spending revealed inaccuracies in the data, probably due to variation in the way school districts categorizes their expenditures. Some numbers were too low to be plausible. The current spending variable is logged to mitigate the influence of extreme values on the analysis.

To account for the presence of non-Spanish-speaking LEP students in a district's schools, I include the proportion of students who speak a language other than Spanish, and whose English is limited. 'Proportion of non-white, non-Hispanic children' is another control that reflects racial and ethnic diversity in a school district. The variable 'renters' – the proportion of children whose families rent their living quarters – is a proxy for an urban setting. This is a broader indicator of diversity; it captures the possibility that a district that serves a relatively homogeneous population is situated within a diverse metropolis. To test the proposition that districts serving many poor families will be less likely than others to offer dual-language programs, I include the median household income of families in a district.[9]

Parent characteristics

The previous section discussed several reasons to include parent education in this analysis. This is expressed as the proportion of district's parents who have a B.A. or higher degree.[10] I also include a rough indicator of the potential for parents to volunteer at school: the proportion of mothers who do not hold a full-time job.[11]

Economic and Status Variables

Are there more dual-language programs in places where bilinguals are better off? While it is by no means a perfect measure of the economic payoff for bilingualism, looking at

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[9] Measures that could more specifically capture a concentration of poor families in a district, such as the proportions of parents on welfare or unemployed were non-significant in earlier models. The SDDB also categorizes schools in a district by several categories of 'poorness,' based on the proportion of students who qualify to receive free or reduced-price lunches. When I examined the data for the districts included in my case studies, however, I found serious inaccuracies. For example, according to the SDDB, *no* Chicago schools had over 40 percent free-lunch students in 1990. In reality, nearly all of them did. I chose not to use this measure.

[10] The SDDB does not include information about parents with advanced degrees or a parent SEI measure.

[11] The same measure for fathers, as well as a combined measure, was non-significant in earlier models.

the mean Duncan SEI score for bilingual Hispanic adults in a given allows for a rough assessment of the degree to which the current labor market value of bilingualism motivate decisions about school language policy. I test two other measures of Hispanics' status and influence: their mean Duncan SEI score relative to that of non-Hispanics (in a metro area), and their political influence (in a state).

Political Variables

Even though public opinion about language policy does not follow party lines, a high level of Republican voting (a county-level measure imputed to MSA/PMSAs) could reflect a social climate that is less favorable towards linguistic diversity. Other relevant political variables are English-Plus ordinances, Official English laws passed via referendum,[12] and the proposal or passage of anti-bilingual education laws.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Table 6.2 reports the results of models that explore, in turn, the degree to which school district and community demographics, parent characteristics, bilinguals' and Hispanics' characteristics, and political factors influence the probability that a school district will offer the dual-language option.

School and community factors alone make for a relatively strong model. It appears that dual-language programs are more likely to exist in larger districts, urban settings, and where the Spanish-speaking portion of the student population is sizeable, but

[12] While there is no evidence that voters in referendum states differ significantly from other voters in terms of their general cultural orientation, it may be that the initiative process allows voters to express their sentiments, e.g., to react against a change in "the prevailing pattern of language usage" (Citrin et al.1990:541). Or, as Frendreis and Tatalovich (1997) conclude, movement entrepreneurs who frame the language issue in patriotic and politically salient terms may enjoy more success in referendum states.

not overwhelming.[13] Median income of the families that a district serves is non-significant, and will be dropped from further models because of its high correlation with parent education. Model 2 incorporated spending on instruction instead of school population, with results very similar to those in Model 1. Further models will use population because it is a more reliable measure (see footnote 8).

Model 3 includes parent characteristics. The proportion of parents with a B.A. or higher degree exerts a strong, positive effect on the odds that a school district will offer a dual-language program, as does the proportion of mothers who do not work full time.

Measures of bilinguals and Hispanics' status and influence are added in Model 4. As predicted, none of them are significant related to the presence of dual-language programs. This indicates that currently observable economic rewards for bilingualism do not significantly influence the decision to adopt the dual-language option, and, as educators report, high-SES Hispanics are *not* driving the dual-language movement. Politically active Hispanics' focus on schooling has generally been much broader; its emphasis is on education in general, not on Spanish maintenance (Gold 2001; Valdés 1997).[14]

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[13] There is an inverted bell-shaped relationship between 'proportion children in Spanish-speaking households' and the predicted probability that a district will offer dual-language education. It is highest when 10 to 30 percent of a districts' student population speaks Spanish. This finding corroborates Montague's (1997) assessment: A balanced population of majority and minority language pupils is crucial to the success of a dual-language program.

[14] Though my qualitative research (chapters seven and eight) corroborate this finding, it is possible that the metro area-level measures of Hispanics' socioeconomic status may not adequately reflect conditions in a school district within that area. The SDDB does not include PMSA codes, so 1990 Census variables must be aggregated at the MSA level. This difference is relevant in large metro areas because they encompass several PMSAs. Since 2000 Census data will be available by school district, this limitation will not apply to future analyses that combine SDDB and Census data.

Model 5 incorporates political variables. Interestingly, state-level English-Plus ordinances are positively related to dual-language programs in the schools, while Official English referenda and high Republican voting are non-significant. Of equal interest is that anti-bilingual education laws and dual-language programs are positively related.

Model 6 is a final and best-fitting model – an optimized summary.[15] It shows that Spanish-English dual-language programs are most likely to exist in relatively large, urban school districts, where there are enough Spanish- and English-speakers to balance the classrooms, and not too many other-language LEP students. Given the above, parent education is relatively high, and parents (at least mothers) are able to spend time at school. State-level English Plus statutes exert a positive effect, as do anti-bilingual education campaigns. The fact that the latter appear to *increase* the probability that districts will offer dual-language programs is partly because forty out of the one hundred dual-language districts included in this study are located in California, where an anti-bilingual education statute is in effect. But simply marking school districts in California adds less to the model. The qualitative findings reported in chapter nine show that California Proposition 227 had little effect on dual-language programs that were in existence before bilingual education became highly politicized (Camancho 2001; O'Brien 2001; Vaca 2001). But in some places, choosing the dual-language option may be a proactive or preservationist strategy on the part of bilingual educators who want to more-

[15] Although it is not significant, 'proportion of children in Spanish-speaking households, squared' is included because it slightly improves overall model fit.

or-less maintain what they are already doing, even in areas where dual-language programs do not really seem likely to succeed (Badillo-Beneyto 2001).

DISCUSSION

What is driving the dual-language movement? It appears that dual-language programs express a general valuation of linguistic, racial, and cultural diversity in terms of seeing bilingualism as important to one's success in a globalizing world. While it is fair to generalize that future-oriented parents and/or school administrators are behind dual-language programs' initiation, we cannot yet discount the argument that dual-language programs are, to some degree, a reactive phenomenon.

This acknowledgement, however, does not allow us to classify dual-language programs among other efforts to help LEP students assimilate. Qualitative studies by Guerra (1998) and Jiménez (2001) show that Mexican adults and children in the U.S. who most highly value bilingualism and biliteracy identify themselves as transnational individuals, i.e., the wave of the future. Portes and Rumbaut's (2001b) extensive study of second-generation children yields a similar conclusion:

> At present, sending countries are increasingly part of a single global web with the United States at its center. In this new world order where multiple economic, political, and cultural ties bind nations more closely to one another, it is not clear that the rapid extinction of foreign languages is in the interest of individual citizens or of the society as a whole. In an increasingly interdependent global system the presence of pools of citizens able to communicate fluently in English plus another language and to bridge the cultural gap among nations represents an important collective resource. (p. 273)

It should be noted, however, that Portes and Rumbaut's final words are as much a call to action as a summary of their findings and speculations about the future:

> In light of the present evidence, there is no second-generation group for which selective acculturation is more necessary than for Mexican Americans. This would entail educational programs that combine learning of English and acculturation with preservation of Spanish and understanding and respect for the parents' culture. (p. 280)

Dual-language programs do exactly this. And the findings reported here show that they can be viable in at least the urban areas where Mexicans and other recent immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries reside. Magnet-type programs that attract a diverse group of engaged parents are stunning successes, but, as chapters seven and eight will show, the dual-language option is also present in schools where administrators and teachers must actively recruit parents into the programs. As the principal of a school on the poor side of Long Beach, California reports:

> Our largest ethnic groups are Hispanic and African American. We have a lot of African American kids in the immersion program. Generally I see those kids getting along with all kids better that the others do. We have two large residential areas here. One used to be a federal housing project next door; now it's privately owned and this large condominium place over here that has a lot of kids who are violent and who live in violence. The kids I see in immersion are from those areas. They're much more accepting of other people in general. They get along with a variety of people and play with a variety of people. I think of two kids last year. One was one of our best basketball players on the playground. He got along well with everybody. And another boy who is African American who was one of our highest achievers and just got along with everybody – in the classroom obviously, and then on the playground also. They had friends who were in trouble all the time and they were never in trouble. They tried to help. These kids are more accepting of other cultures and other people. (Hedges 2001)

Freeman's (1998) research in a (albeit elite) bilingual school in Washington D.C. suggests what is behind Hedges' observation. She often remarks that there is "much more than language" behind the school's mission (p. 26). At least in some cases, dual-language programs represent a different way of creating and transmitting social identity, which she defines as "cultural dispositions or preferences that govern an individual's way of believing, thinking, and behaving" (p. 71). Since social identities are constructed through discourse, communication is more than just a transfer of information. Language-mediated activities shape people's understanding of themselves and their roles in the world.

CONCLUSION

This analysis has revealed something about the settings in which dual-language programs are most likely to exist. But from it one learns nothing about the choice to implement these programs, and why this choice is made. It is not always easy to identify the primary decision-makers. They could be parents, administrators, or others who are able to influence what goes on in schools. It is safe to assume that parents who involve themselves in school affairs do so in their children's interests; they are investing in the human capital of their offspring (cf. Brinton 1988). But what of the administrators who actually initiate school programs? Are they responding to parent demand? Are they trying to realize benefits that a dual-language program could bring to their schools (and thus to them), such as increased funding (e.g., at Title VII grant), a magnet-type program, or improved academic rankings? Is their primary motivation a belief that bilingualism

and biliteracy will give students a competitive economic advantage and/or prepare them to appreciate and thrive in a multicultural society? Is dual-language education simply seen as the best pedagogical strategy in areas with an appropriate number of LEP students that share a mother tongue? All of these aspects could influence school administrators' decisions, and vary widely across districts and states. They are best addressed via qualitative research that includes inquiry into the policy process within school districts, the level of autonomy granted to school administrators, and the structure of incentives for teachers and principals.

Another issue is that while school districts are certainly an appropriate level of primary analysis, dual-language programs actually exist in individual schools. This analysis does not privilege large districts, but it also does not capture the differences between them. A large district implementing many dual-language programs looks the same as a large district with only a few. There is no way of knowing if the difference is due to population characteristics and socio-political factors, or to differences in the way the leaders of these districts work within a given context.

Chapters seven and eight will not answer all of the questions raised above, but they provide a start. The chapters report the results of an effort to qualitatively describe and compare dual-language schools in two very large school districts: Chicago Public Schools and Los Angeles Unified. Chapter eight also contrasts Los Angeles and its surrounding districts within the context of a state law that places stringent limits on bilingual education.

Future research could address yet another point: Is the movement towards dual-language programs a social movement, or an educational trend? Is it mainly a response to Hispanic students' failure to achieve within the U.S. education system, or does it truly reflect an increased valuation of bilingualism? The following excerpt from an Associated Press article illustrates that these could be combined goals.

> Hispanic students are twice as likely as blacks and three times as likely as whites to drop out of high school, according to Education Department statistics that suggest the nation is ill-equipped to deal with the fastest-growing group of schoolchildren.
>
> Education Secretary Richard Riley, hoping to create a brighter future for these children, is asking public school districts to establish in the next five years 1,000 new dual-language schools that instruct children in English and in a native language such as Spanish.
>
> "If we see to it that immigrants and their children can speak only English and nothing more, then we will have missed one of the greatest opportunities of this new century," Riley said Wednesday. "It is high time we begin to treat language skills as the asset they are."
>
> Riley said dual language instruction has proven to help Hispanic children do better academically as well as preserve children's heritage and promote bilingualism that can help students in an increasingly global economy. (McQueen 2000)

Whether or not there will be a thousand dual-language programs by 2005 remains to be seen. A nationwide drive towards school accountability for students' progress (measured by standardized tests) presents both opportunities and challenges to dual-

language programs. Their development, results, and diffusion pose topics for continued inquiry.

Table 6.1. Description of Variables for School Districts included in this Study*, 1990 (N=2233)

	mean	SD	range
Dependent Variable			
dual-language program(s) in existence, 2001	0.04	-	0/1 (1=yes)
Independent Variables			
LNschool population	8.55	1.11	6.91 - 14.18
LNspending on instruction	9.24	1.13	5.77 - 15.24
proportion of children in Spanish-speaking households	0.12	0.14	0.03 - 0.84
proportion of non-white, non-Hispanic children	0.10	0.12	0.00 - 0.80
proportion children in non-Spanish- or English-speaking households	0.07	0.06	0.00 - 0.46
proportion of families that rent rather than own	0.32	0.17	0.01 - 1.00
median income in children's households	$40,749	$14,901	$9,874 - $129,014
proportion of parents with a BA or higher degree	0.20	0.15	0.00 - 0.90
proportion of mothers not F/T employed	0.54	0.10	0.15 - 0.90
Bilingual Hispanic adults' mean SEI (metro area-level)	1.48	1.26	0.00 - 13.38
Hispanic adults' mean SEI : all adults' SEI (metro area-level)	0.81	0.17	0.00 - 2.27
Hispanics' political influence (state-level)	1.11	1.87	-0.92 - 10.85
Official English law passed by referendum	0.24	-	0/1 (1=yes)
proportion of GOP presidential votes high (1984 and 1992 average)	0.25	-	0/1 (1: >54.6%)
English Plus state law or resolution	0.04	-	0/1 (1=yes)
anti-bilingual education law passed or under discussion, 2001	0.36	-	0/1 (1=yes)

*The units of analysis are school districts that serve at least 1000 pupils, at least 3 percent of whom come from Spanish-speaking households.

Table 6.2. Log Odds for Logistic Regression of Dual-Language Programs in School Districts, 2001 (N=2233)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
schools and communities						
LNschool population	2.63***		2.61***	1.63***	2.76***	2.83***
LNspending on instruction		2.70***				
proportion of children in Spanish-speaking households	760.95**	1358.04***	21,398.18***	1308.46**	534.26*	1471.72**
proportion of children in Spanish-speaking households squared	0.007	0.002*	0.0003**	0.01	0.03	0.01
proportion of non-white, non-Hispanic children	0.40	0.26	0.71	0.91	3.15	
proportion children in non-Spanish- or English-speaking households	0.18	0.14	0.13	0.09	0.003*	0.007*
proportion of families that rent rather than own	33.73***	23.76***	21.40***	27.67***	22.50***	25.67***
median income in children's households	1.00*	1.00				
parents						
proportion of parents with a BA or higher degree			23.54**	17.80**	29.79**	32.36**
proportion of mothers not F/T employed			33.79*	41.61*	21.64#	16.05#
bilinguals' and Hispanics' status and influence						
Bilingual Hispanic adults' mean SEI (metro area-level)				0.94	1.00	
Hispanic adults' mean SEI : all adults' SEI (metro area-level)				0.20	0.28	
Hispanics' political influence (state-level)				1.07	1.04	
political (dis)incentives						
Official English law passed by referendum					1.01	
proportion of GOP presidential votes high (1984 and 1992 average)					0.92	
English Plus state law or resolution					5.87***	5.26***
anti-bilingual education law passed or under discussion, 2001					2.67*	2.74***
-2 log likelihood	604.79	604.77	595.05	591.02	574.43	577.19
chi-square	211.85	211.87	221.59	225.62	242.21	239.45

# $p < 0.10$ * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed tests)

Chapter 7

Bilingualism in the Chicago Public Schools

School Board Adopts New Policy For Bilingual Education
For Immediate Release
February 25, 1998

The Chicago School Reform Board of Education today adopted a new policy for its bilingual education programs that calls for students to master English in three years.

Under the policy, students who are not fluent in English will spend up to three years learning English while being taught their regular subjects in their native language. Students who master English sooner can be transitioned into the regular program of instruction, with their parents' permission.

Students who are not English-fluent after three years of bilingual instruction may be kept in the program for a fourth year. Once students transition into regular classes, they will continue to receive some support in English.

The details of the policy and the reasons for adopting it were outlined by Armando Almendarez, Chief of Language and Cultural Education. The new plan, titled A Framework for Success, calls for improvements in transitional bilingual education, as well as the expansion of dual language programs. Noting that students who stay in bilingual education programs more than three years tend to perform poorly in reading in both English and their native language, Almendarez proposed to offer English as a Second Language instruction to support students who have moved

into the mainstream classrooms. In addition, the Chicago Public Schools is extending dual language programs into preschool, so English-speaking and Spanish- speaking children can learn each other's language.

In casting his vote for the policy, Board President Gery Chico made the following statement: "We must not build shrines to the 'status quo.' We must continue to look for what works, to lead public education into the 21st century. This same commitment to the pursuit of quality education applies equally to the more than 71,000 students enrolled in bilingual education. We must remain committed to ensuring that the education they receive is of high value... that it is focused... supplied with qualified teachers and support resources... and that it accomplishes its goal of teaching the students and transitioning them to English language classes. We expect no less from ourselves, our principals and teachers, and we should expect no less from those who educate in bilingual education."

Paul Vallas, the schools' Chief Executive Officer also endorsed the new policy, declaring that "our first responsibility is to make certain that all students master English so they will have access to a good education, college, jobs and a decent life. Our second responsibility is to foster bilingualism among all our students, which we are doing through dual language programs and by introducing into high school programs a two-year requirement for study of a world language."

The new policy has been endorsed by 39 community and ethnic organizations representing the variety of languages found in the public schools.

The Chicago Public Schools is the nation's third-largest school district and the second-largest employer in Illinois, with more than 43,000 employees. The school system operates 559 schools and serves 430,000 students.

NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGES IN THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

There have been transitional bilingual programs in the Chicago schools since 1973. Since no uniform goals and standards existed, administrators, teachers, and parents interpreted "transitional" as they wished. Troubled schools had a strong incentive to keep LEP students in bilingual programs for as long as possible. Once these students entered regular classrooms their standardized test scores counted, often bringing down already low averages. It was thus not uncommon to find students who had been in transitional programs for eight or more years.

The current curriculum options for LEP students emerged as a response to a general crisis of poor performance in Chicago schools. District administrators developed a set of initiatives for revising the bilingual programs, incorporating clear outcome goals and uniform standards. When they presented these at public forums, some communities expressed considerable opposition. Any changes in the status quo – however poor it was – seemed like anti-ethnic measures that could mean the beginning of the end for bilingual programs. To circumvent such obstacles, representatives of Chicago schools' newly formed Office of Language and Cultural Education embarked on a campaign to inform and involve parents. According to district administrator Fernando Martinez (1999), fear of a directive similar to California's Proposition 227 helped the district aggregate support for the new standards. If Chicago schools did not improve, the state government would surely take over.

In 1999 the district maintained transitional bilingual programs in eighteen languages, with the new goal of moving LEP students into mainstream classrooms in

three years (with an optional fourth year). Meanwhile, twenty-six preschools and fourteen grade schools had voluntarily instituted dual-language programs (Spanish-English or Polish-English). What is different about the dual-language schools? According to Martinez, the key is a growing recognition that a second language is an important, marketable skill. He acknowledged that college-educated parents are more likely than others to seek out two-way programs for their children, but is optimistic that the actions of "enlightened populations" will influence others. Martinez thus predicts that, in time, the dual-language option will become equally popular across SES groups.

The enthusiasm that Martinez and others in the CPS Office of Language and Cultural Education showed for dual-language programs was impressive, perhaps contagious. Along with overseeing a number of other programs in a huge district, the Office staff expressed a credible commitment to offering general support, pedagogical resources, and practical advice to school principal and teachers who opted to offer and teach in two-way immersion classes. For example, Appendix 6 is a handout from a training session about how to implement a dual-language program in a variety of school settings.

CHICAGO SCHOOL VISITS

Nearly two years after my initial conversation with Martinez, I returned to Chicago to see how things were working out. Table 7.1 lists the schools that offered Spanish-English dual-language programs during the 2001-2002 school year.[1] The list is sorted by year of

[1] The programs listed meet the Center for Applied Linguistics' criteria for two-way immersion programs, and are included in the 2001 CAL directory (www.cal.org). Excluded are Spanish-immersion classes for

program initiation. Descriptive statistics include the year a program was initiated, grades covered in 2001, racial mix, percent LEP children, percent children who qualify for free lunches, and the student mobility rate (based on the number of children who enroll in or leave a school during the school year). District-level statistics are included for comparison.

I wanted to know how the Chicago case would compare with the quantitative findings reported in the previous chapter. I also wanted to understand what drives successful dual-language programs in a district where school administrators have an enormous amount of freedom. With the goal of shedding some light on these questions, the narratives that follow summarize several of my interviews with Chicago school principals and teachers.

Inter-American Magnet School: A Parent-Driven Program

Inter-American Magnet School is the only public school in Chicago that was founded by parents. It was the dream of two North side mothers who wanted bilingual, multicultural education for their children. Adele Coronado-Greeley and Janet Nolan took their idea to the community and, after a long series of meetings, proceeded to approach the Board of Education. The Board agreed to support a dual-language preschool, which opened in 1975. At the end of that year, the Board wanted to discontinue the program, but the parent advisory council managed to persuade them to expand it instead, adding a subsequent grade every year. Today, Inter-American is a totally dual-language K-8 school with about 640 students.

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native English-speakers, preschool-only programs, and "world language" programs that expose students to a variety of languages and cultures but do not foster proficiency in non-English languages.

Where do these students come from? Each year there are about a thousand applicants for sixty-six slots (three classes of twenty-two, each with eleven native English-speakers and eleven native Spanish-speakers). Admission is determined by lottery, but principal Eva Helwing (2001) notes that only informed parents even know about the lottery system or try to get their children in. The Anglo and African American parents who apply are almost all highly educated professionals. The Hispanic parents fall into two education groups: very high and very low. Most of the Hispanic children at Inter-American are of South American heritage, even though this group represents only a small proportion of Chicago's Hispanic population. Helwing surmises that information about the school is spread via ethnic social networks.

In a word, Inter-American parents are involved. They contribute to virtually every aspect of school life. Although there is no organized volunteer program, parents frequently visit and help out in the classrooms. Why did these parents choose a dual-language school? Helwing reports, for Hispanic parents, the overwhelming reason is that "they understand the importance of the culture and language to their families." Economic motives are secondary, if even present. In contrast, Anglos and African Americans often express economic reasons for wanting their children to be bilingual. Multicultural awareness, travel to Spanish-speaking countries, and future academic advantages are on these parents' minds as well, but to a lesser extent than is competition in a global economy.

Inter-American has earned an international reputation for promoting academic excellence through dual-language, multicultural education. As a result, the school community has remained largely uninvolved in the politics of bilingual education. School board-mandated changes in transitional bilingual programs were irrelevant at Inter-American because the school never had a transitional program, and clearly did not need to be reformed.[2] Furthermore, the district

[2] In 2000, 73 percent of Inter-American's students' scores on the Illinois Standard Achievement Test were in the "meets standards" or "exceeds standards" range. For Chicago Public Schools as a whole, the figure was 41 percent (Chicago Public Schools 2000).

administration views dual-language and "bilingual" education as clearly different things. Dual-language programs are part of its effort to fix failing bilingual programs. Given high parent involvement, committed teachers, and a student retention rate of almost 100 percent, Principal Helwing's biggest challenge is funding. Unlike most Chicago schools, Inter-American receives no federal funds. This is because of students' relatively high test scores and their parents' relatively high incomes. Only 54 percent of the children at Inter-American come from low-income families, compared to more than 90 percent at the district level. To compensate for the lack of federal money, teachers regularly write grants. Classrooms plentifully stocked with varied, up-to-date materials attest to their successful efforts. The school has also won numerous awards, which often come with cash prizes.

I asked Helwing my standard question: When and under what circumstances will a dual-language program exist and thrive? She replied that a program must serve a liberal, diverse, and well-educated population. Family involvement is key. Even if they are not bilingual themselves, parents need to actively support their children's learning. Helwing is wary of any situation that could segregate children linguistically, e.g., families in which some siblings are in dual-language programs, but others are not; or schools with just a few dual-language classrooms.

Brenneman School: Dual-Language by Default

Brenneman School in northeast Chicago has offered a dual-language program since 1991. The program now extends through grade five. When I asked thirty-year veteran teacher Mercedes Martinez (2001) about the origin of two-way immersion, she told me she did not even know it was going to begin. She had always spoken, written, and posted materials in two languages. One day the principal asked her to start teaching in Spanish only; Martinez was to be the Spanish-speaking part of a dual-language teaching team.

She makes the transition sound easy and natural. As far as Martinez is concerned, Brenneman has always been a bilingual school.

The neighborhood that Brenneman serves is predominantly African American, with a substantial Hispanic immigrant population as well as some long-established Hispanic families. Two-way immersion is not new at Brenneman, but the school staff still recruits children into the program through parent education and outreach. From African American parents who choose the dual-language option, Martinez most frequently hears economic reasoning about why their children should learn Spanish. She characterizes the Hispanic parents as "easy going.... They do what the teachers say." And of course, they want their kids to speak Spanish. I asked if parent education made a difference. Yes... "but mostly, these parents are easy to convince." Listening to Martinez, I surmise that she has already earned the trust of many whom she finds "easy to convince." She is gregarious and friendly, speaks in a manner that inspires confidence, and goes out of her way to keep parents informed.

Community response to the program has been quite positive, and it is running quite smoothly. Student turnover is a significant challenge, but favorable demographics mitigate the problem posed by the school's high mobility rate. There are enough native Spanish- and English-speakers to fill multiple classes at the lowest levels; the children who stay funnel into one or two higher-grade classrooms.

Two-way immersion has not really changed the school culture at Brenneman. One quickly gets the sense that the place had just as much the atmosphere of a bilingual school before dual-language classrooms were introduced. The difference is that now Brenneman is producing bilingual students.

Andersen Academy: A Strategic and Committed Administrator

2001 marks the sixth year that Hans Christian Andersen Academy has been a dual-language school. The Academy, located on Chicago's West Side, serves about 800 pre-kindergarten through eighth grade students. Principal Suzanne Dunaway (2001) remarks:

> I've been here since 1980 and during the 21 years I've been here I've seen the population rotate back and forth between mainly Mexican to mainly Puerto Rican back to mainly Mexican. But every year the school is about 80 percent Hispanic. The area is gentrifying; parents who cannot afford to live here are moving out. But some of their children come back by way of bussing from overcrowded schools. Downtown area schools like this one are losing their populations, so they all accept children from overcrowded schools on a year-round basis... When I say our school's 80 percent Hispanic that doesn't mean that they speak Spanish. They have Spanish last names. I guess I'd have to say now that more of them are English-dominant than Spanish dominant.

Dunaway was a key player in the decision to bring a dual-language program to Andersen. One of the reasons for doing so was that the area was becoming more upscale. "If we were going to attract the community, we had to find something to attract them to our school... So we decided we would become an academy and have dual-language as our focus." Being an academy within the Chicago Public Schools means that a school has a specific area of specialization and enough space to be able to accept some children from outside the neighborhood. I asked Dunaway if, at that time, she had any concrete information about parent demand for a dual-language program. The answer was *no*. She simply knew that 30-40 percent of the school population was LEP, and was convinced that transitional bilingual education was not the best thing for them.

> I believe that children should be able to maintain their language. And plus, you need four to six years, possible seven or more, to learn a language. The mandate is three years in the [transitional bilingual]

> program and out. So many of us felt that that was not appropriate. By switching to the dual-language program, the children would have the opportunity to maintain their language and stay in the program. At the same time they are reaching the goal of learning how to speak English quickly, and they're held to the same standards as everyone else after third grade.

Andersen Academy became a dual-language school at a time when there was considerable district-level support to do so. The school was given five teacher positions, and (since academy status was granted in the spring) cash to equal what those positions would have cost throughout that first year. These funds made it possible to give all teachers thirty hours of Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) and ESL training, and to put the English monolingual teachers through Berlitz Spanish courses. Dunaway was also able to hire a coordinator for the program.

Six years later, much of that initial support is gone. A big reason for the district's change of course is that, to a large extent, early dual-language programs were funded with desegregation money. Of late, Chicago schools have not overtly focused on this. Instead, the district offers "options for knowledge." The degree to which schools become more racially balanced will depend on informed parents' choices in regard to the focus of their children's primary and secondary education.

Waning outside support is not Dunaway's only challenge. Our discussion turns to the issue of high student mobility.

> You know, how you start out with an equal number of native Spanish- and English-speakers, well, that's totally no longer equal. Some are English-dominant; some grade levels are Spanish-dominant... We had to change the program just about every year according to what was in front of us at the time – whatever's right for the students. And that's why, at the first-grade level, we amended. There used to be four dual-language classrooms and one English-only classroom. In 2000-2001, there were two English-only classrooms and one bilingual classroom. The reason for taking this

> approach is that, lacking a good grasp on their native language; some children – from both English- and Spanish-speaking homes – could not handle two languages at once.

At present, Andersen Academy maintains dual-language classrooms only where there is support and commitment from parents. To this end, Dunaway remarks that the school needs to do a better job of letting the community know what dual-language education is about. Parents often do not really understand this. "When you explain the program to the parents you think they've got it, and then you find out the second or third year when they start seeing the content area come home in the second language, the parents freak out. They thought, 'Cool, my child's going to learn Spanish.' But they had no idea they were going to learn the content in Spanish."

Contributing to parent passivity is the fact that Andersen is a neighborhood school – a default school for many. And since there are usually some open seats at Andersen, the school also accepts "overflow" children from other parts of the district.

> I accept children at any time during the year... and you know what kind of children those are. I'm not saying that people make an overt effort to send me the bad children. But it's just that, if you have two families standing at your front counter and one has straight As and the other has straight Fs, you'll likely find room for the good students and send the others to Andersen.

Student turnover, parent apathy, and poorly qualified students are all reasons that have led Andersen Academy away from a totally dual-language approach. While Dunaway is still quite committed to maintaining some two-way immersion classrooms, she is concerned that the dual-language program is becoming a strain on teachers because they are not in full agreement that this is what the school should be doing now. Some areas are not working as well as they should be. "We're falling short in parent

involvement and in keeping the same kids here. We haven't really started teaching language arts in grade two... We have a lack of Spanish-speaking teachers right now."

Hedges School: An Optimistic Beginning

Hedges school is in a part of south Chicago that is still called "the back of the yards," though the stockyards and rendering plants are no more. The school was named for someone in the sausage business. Over the past forty years or so, Hispanics have replaced earlier immigrant groups in the neighborhood. There is still a small African American community here.

The student population at Hedges is about 90 percent Mexican. This includes many third- and higher generation children as well as those from new immigrant families. Principal Barbara Glapa (Glapa and Martinez 2001) instituted a dual-language program three years ago because she felt that Spanish speakers in transitional bilingual classes were not learning enough English, and because she herself wanted to learn Spanish. So far, there is one dual-language class each in pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, and first grade. A 50-50 balance between Spanish and English is maintained by switching teachers throughout the day.

Comparing her experience at Hedges with other schools she knows of, teacher Maria Martinez (Glapa and Martinez 2001) remarks:

> We have not seen anybody dropping out here, though we have experienced a few problems with the parents not understanding, you know, we have a 50-50. We have seen parents who say, "Why is my child receiving reading in Spanish?" I'll pull up their records, and explain it to them. Sometimes they go back, they're happy – sometimes they're not. We get a lot of people who say, "But my child wants to go to English reading." So that's been really our only problem. We have to explain it to them; this is the way things are working out. But we haven't had too

many people dropping out. We've even had people go to Mexico and come back.

Hedges parents – including a sizeable group of Hispanics who are monolingual in English – were not clamoring for a dual-language program before, but they are offering plenty of support now. Some of them are learning Spanish along with their children. The district has funded and trained two parent assistants who each work four hours per week. There is also babysitting and transportation money available to parents who volunteer in the program.

I asked Glapa and Martinez if and how the dual-language program has changed their school. Martinez observed, "The dual-language kids have an advantage: they know more children. We've broken down some barriers... And I think that they've become a little bit more accepting of culture – even among the teachers. They're beginning to know and share each others' cultures."

Monroe School: Shaky Ground

James Monroe School in the Chicago's Logan Square area is over ninety years old. The neighborhood used to be Polish, then Italian. Now it is predominantly Mexican. The area is growing so rapidly that Monroe, which serves over 1400 pupils, cannot accommodate all of the neighborhood children. About four hundred are bussed to other schools. The newcomers are from other parts of the city, as well as directly from Mexico. Monroe has become a hub of the area's Mexican immigrant community. The school offers adult education at night, as well as dances, day care, and some sports activities.[3] There is also ongoing training for parent mentors who volunteer in the

[3] Some of these programs are funded by the city colleges and the Logan Square Community Association.

school's classrooms. According to Assistant Principal Genaro Benitez (Benitez and Pineda 2001), "whenever an opportunity exists to employ a well-qualified parent, we take them. Since they're already trained here, we'd rather keep them here."

The dual-language program at Monroe is four years old, but still only extends from pre-K to kindergarten. The main hindrances to advancement are extremely high student mobility, and the presence of a sizeable group of students who enter school with very limited ability in *any* language. Given this situation, I wonder why the school offers the dual-language option at all. Benitez answers that, although there is also a transitional bilingual program at Monroe, he thinks that at the primary level, "children will benefit more by having the experience with a monolingual teacher – either Spanish or English."

Two of the school's three pre-K classrooms are dual-language. This is the case because the school staff 'sells' the program to parents. "Many of them are brand new here. They don't know about the programs we have in school. We have to educate about what we offer." I ask about the native English speakers: Are they easier or harder or the same to recruit? Benitez replies that this group is easier. "We tell them that it's for their kids' benefit, and we explain the benefit they can have."

Benitez and Bilingual Coordinator Grace Pineda are both experienced well beyond their current situation. We discussed dual-language education at a more abstract level. Says Benitez:

> You know, in order for any program to go successfully at any level, it has to be accepted by the people who are going to run the program. Teachers have to accept. Teachers have to know the extra time needed for planning, without any extra money, because there is no extra. It's just that they really want to do it. They think it will be good for the children, and for themselves because that's a new skill that they may have. Many of these teachers may decide to go for another level of

> education or to apply for a job in another place, and they have that in their resume. That's a plus for many of them – especially the young ones.

Pineda is less optimistic:

> The biggest problem with the dual language in this school is with the teachers. They just don't want to do it and be accountable. We want to see results – to have a program that's a model – not just say, "Oh great, we're doing dual-language." If you train teachers really well, then these programs are going to work. And they need training BEFORE they enter into this program.

Benitez could not disagree. When teachers refuse to teach in the dual-language program, it is because "they don't know where they're going. They don't know the direction where it's going. They're just lost."

I asked about the kids. Has dual-language affected the culture of the school? Benitez replied, "When they are outside, they try to get together. Even the Spanish-speaking ones – they get together with the others. I think it's a good way for them to learn. You see them together in the lunchroom too."

The more I learned about Monroe, the more I thought that the dual-language program would always serve only the school's youngest children. The program seems more like another one of the many community services based here than a serious effort to produce bilingual students.

Finkl Academy: Too Much to Do

Finkl Academy is a relatively new school in the industrial corridor of the near southwest side of Chicago. It is a community facility on a year-round schedule, with about 750 students from pre-kindergarten through eighth grade. The average class size is twenty-five students. In addition to serving students from its attendance area, the school receives the entire seventh and eight grade population from a neighboring school attendance area.

In 1999 the student body was 87 percent Hispanic and 13 percent African American, 94 percent low-income and 56 percent LEP. The yearly mobility rate was 45 percent.

The school tried a dual-language program for two years, but it did not last. I asked current principal Anita Rago (2001) about the programs origins. She replied, "It came from ... the principal who was here when we opened the school – I'm not really sure if it came from her or from some of the teachers at the primary level who thought this might be a good thing. And some of the local school council members were involved."

How and why did the program end? "It just kind of fizzled. We didn't have the room, and the teachers wanted full-day kindergarten. So we could not have both. You have to make some decisions along the line." The school has since returned to a transitional bilingual model. Rago sees this as a good move.

> I think when you get into schools like ours; the needs are so basic and so crucial as far as language development, period. To get into something like dual-language is just not – you just can't deal with that right now. Even our very bright children – they're so very language-deficient. It's vocabulary. Now, some of the magnet schools are becoming language academies. They're offering various languages. So that's an option. I think that's the reason why we can't get into a lot of these things. We don't feel equipped to because we're overwhelmed with the basic needs of our kids. We'd love to be able to provide all the enhancement-type things. But it's just not feasible sometimes.
>
> We have some very good bilingual teachers here. But it's very stressful because they have to follow the guidelines and they feel, you know, "Am I not giving them enough English to move on?" We're into accountability here. So we're trying very hard. We even bought a new primary reading program, in English and in Spanish. We had some very poor materials before this. I talked with the first grade bilingual teacher last week. We made a decision that if she could, by the time the children leave first grade, that they would know at least the names of all the alphabet letters and the sounds they make, and a

> certain number of sight words. We want them to be able to go to second grade and pick up from there. We're trying to get some progression going. In the past it's been pretty helter-skelter. With this new reading program I already see a difference in the English reading.

I asked Rago if teachers or others at the school write grants to help pay for the materials they want. She answered, "We're starting to look at some of that stuff." There do not seem to be enough hours in the day.

POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS

Angela Badillo-Beneyto manages program compliance and community partnerships for the Chicago Schools' Office of Language and Cultural Education. I interviewed her last, wondering how her comments would compare with what I had learned on my school visits. Badillo-Beneyto (2001) unhesitatingly agreed that school principals are behind the district's modest but noteworthy dual-language push. Why the effort? Because they believe in two-way immersion, because they want to circumvent the three-year cap on transitional bilingual education, or perhaps for both reasons. Badillo-Beneyto is clearly skeptical about some of the newer dual-language initiatives. Currently the district's transitional bilingual programs are "high accountability," whereas dual-language programs are under less scrutiny. Some schools with overwhelmingly high LEP populations seem to be simply relabeling their old bilingual programs as dual-language in order to circumvent the new guidelines. This "militant behavior" stems from local communities where Latino parents feel very strongly about their children maintaining Spanish, yet the schools the children attend do not have the demographics to support classrooms with a 50-50 mix of native Spanish- and English-speakers.

The fact that dual-language programs in the Chicago Public Schools are locally initiated and relatively unscripted poses both opportunities and challenges. Administrators are free to try the dual-language approach. They and their teaching teams may choose the format and materials that seem to best fit their situation, and (within physical and financial constraints) make changes when they see a need for them. The structure invites and demands creative budgeting – combining federal dollars earmarked for LEP and low-income students, and discretionary money from the state. Some school teams augment their dual-language resources by successfully applying for grants and/or funds administered by the Office of Language and Cultural Education.

Some school administrators, however, would gladly trade several degrees of autonomy for more support from the district. For example, one principal (who asked not to be named) remarked that training sessions for dual-language teachers have become one-size-fits all, while the teachers' actual work situations vary dramatically.

> The district doesn't want to hear anything about problems. I keep saying I have problems here. I need someone to help. I get, 'what problems? What problems are you having now?' I mean they keep bringing people to see [the program] and they don't want to hear that life [at this school] is not perfect. We're trying to work on it. I feel committed to it. And I know there are teachers here who are too, but we need to work out solutions to some of these hard problems. We're working on it, by ourselves.

District staff, principals, and teachers all remarked on the need for standardized evaluation criteria designed for dual-language students. This need is now being addressed, and several principals expressed confidence that the evaluation problem would soon be resolved. One less patient principal closed our interview by saying emphatically, "If you're going to establish a new program, things should be set *beforehand.*"

DISCUSSION

The press release that begins this chapter outlines a district-level effort to improve the quality of English and other-language education in Chicago schools. Dual-language programs are a focal part of the plan. The official endorsement of two-way programs combined with stringent reforms in transitional bilingual education to create a significant incentive for schools to try dual-language. That relatively few have done so could suggest that the fear of schools' hiding their old bilingual programs behind a dual-language label is misplaced.[4]

For each school with a dual-language program, Table 7.2 lists the percentage of all students that meet or exceed Illinois standards in (English) reading, writing, and math, based on their scores on the Illinois Standard Achievement Test (ISAT).[5] The final three columns show averages for all the dual-language schools; the same averages with two magnet schools (Inter-American and Sabin) excluded from the calculation, and averages for the entire district. These numbers reflect the entire school population, including children who are not in dual-language classrooms. The table shows that dual-language schools are doing somewhat better than average, even when the mean percentages are calculated without the magnet schools.[6]

With the possible exception of Inter-American, which has been totally dual-language since 1975, the information in Table 7.2 does not permit an evaluation of dual-

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[4] The Chicago Schools Office of Language and Cultural Education does not maintain a directory of dual-language programs in the district, or enforce a definition of what a dual-language program is. It is thus possible (yet nearly impossible to verify) that some Chicago programs that do not meet the CAL criteria are operating as dual-language.

[5] Ortiz de Dominguez is excluded because it only serves grades pre-K through two. Testing does not begin until grade three.

[6] The district-level percentages indicate, however, that 'better than average' in Chicago is still problematic.

language students' performance on the ISAT. But it may reveal something more about the school conditions under which Chicago administrators are most likely to choose the dual-language option, and about the administrators themselves. These schools are not among the worst in the district, nor are they (again with the exception of Inter-American) among the very best. They are near-average schools within a district that is under the gun to improve, and in fact has improved substantially in the past few years (Vallas 1999). It does not appear that principals of schools that have nowhere to go but up are choosing the dual-language option. Together, the dual-language school-level descriptives, ISAT rankings, and interviews reflect challenging school situations – with competent administrators and teachers committed to meeting the challenges. Two-way immersion in Chicago is definitely not an elite-driven phenomenon.

How does the Chicago case study compare to the findings reported in Chapter six? Table 7.3 compares the mean scores for all variables used in the analysis of U.S. school districts (from Table 7.1) with the CPS values. The Chicago Public School District is large and urban, with a sizeable LEP population – the overwhelming majority of which speaks Spanish. These factors were all positively associated with the probability of dual-language programs existing in a district. The interviews also support the quantitative finding that two-way immersion is an unlikely choice if there are not enough native English-speakers in a school. Efforts to maintain truly dual-language programs in majority LEP settings are often unsuccessful. On the other hand, 85 percent of the children in Chicago schools qualify for free or reduced-priced lunches. Only 8 percent of their parents have a college education, compared to a mean of 21 percent in the multi-district study.

To the extent that being poor and having less educated parents means that a child will be poorly prepared to enter school, these factors will weigh against a dual-language program's success (as noted in the section about Finkl academy, above). In Chicago, most of the students are poor and have less-educated parents. Yet teachers and school administrators speak of only a subset of children as "poorly prepared." In part, educators could be adjusting their expectations to their reality, but clearly they are also adjusting their strategies. For example, two-way immersion has been successfully implemented in pre-kindergarten and Head Start classrooms. The interviews also show that, in dual-language schools, many passive (or intimidated) parents responded well to teachers' and principals' efforts to inform and involve them. These efforts sometimes include training and hiring parent classroom aides. It is possible to help parents become assets to their children's education.

Parent SES is also associated with demand for two-way immersion. In places like Arlington, VA and Lake Forest, CA, parents dominate the story of how a dual-language program was established (Meyers 2001; O'Brien 2001). This is certainly not the case in Chicago. Except at Inter-American, where parents basically established a dual-language school, principals and teachers have been the ones to determine which schools offer dual-language programs.[7]

Another issue that is often related to low levels of parent income and education is high mobility. Since continuity is a necessary condition for dual-language education, excessive student turnover is often cited as a reason why a two-way program failed or was not implemented in a school with otherwise compatible conditions. The accounts

[7] This topic will be discussed in more detail at the end of chapter 8.

summarized here suggest that the definition of 'too much' mobility depends on the size of a school, the balance of native English- and Spanish speaking students, and the willingness of parents to put their children in a two-way program. In the best cases (e.g., Brenneman), several classes per primary grade dwindle down to one or two by the fourth or fifth year. Having spent a short time in a dual-language classroom does not disadvantage the students that move away, but they (especially native English-speakers) are unlikely to reap any particular benefits from the experience.

The mix of native Spanish- and English speakers in the Chicago Public Schools is a dual-language educator's dream. It appears that – given its size and diversity – the district's policy of granting school administrators control over how students in their schools will be taught, and holding them accountable for the results, is leading to implementation that is well thought-out at the school level. There is little evidence that the current political climate, which supports two-way immersion as one way to reform poor transitional bilingual programs, has or will encourage a large-scale switch to dual-language in schools that lack the population to support it.

CONCLUSION

This case study augments and complicates the analysis in chapter six. It also reveals something about the motives behind district- and school-level administrators' decisions to implement dual-language programs (or not) and about how parents actively or passively select these programs for their children. The reasoning that bilingualism will build students' human capital and/or be of direct economic benefit to them is consistent in the interviews. Culturally or socially based arguments about, for example, preserving an

ethnic heritage or developing a deep understanding of another culture are less prevalent. Administrators' success at managing their schools is assessed via test scores in reading, language, and math – not cultural awareness. Of course some principals, teachers, and parents strongly value the cultural aspects of Spanish maintenance and learning. Others believe that bilingualism is an intrinsic good. But at all levels, these factors play at most a secondary role in the decision-making process. Primary are students' present and future education and employment outcomes. This is the case regardless of whether parents actively seek the dual-language option or administrators 'sell' it to them.

The linking of bilingualism and academic/economic success mirrors two earlier observations. First, Hispanics as a group are interested in good education. Their support and demand for bilingual programs is contingent on what these programs deliver. Second, it appears that Hispanic population growth and the rising importance of transnational economic ties will increase the labor market value of Spanish-English bilingualism, advantaging bilinguals over English monolinguals. To the degree that this occurs, the status of Spanish and Spanish-speakers will also increase. English-speaking parents do not want their children to be left behind.

As mentioned above, a relatively favorable political climate and a district policy that gives school principals a lot of freedom to experiment have facilitated the rise of dual-language programs in Chicago. The next chapter will compare Chicago and Los Angeles – districts that are comparable in many ways but contrasting in terms of the prevailing political climate, the school district policy process, and the degree to which the dual-language option is present. Los Angeles will also be compared to neighboring

districts that operate under the same political and legal constraints, but differ from Los Angeles in terms of their support for and implementation of Spanish-English immersion.

Table 7.1. Chicago Public Schools with Spanish-English Dual-Language Programs, 2000-01

School	Program Initiation	Grades Served	Hispanic %	Black %	White %	Other %	LEP %	Free Lunch %	Mobility Rate
Inter-American	1975	preK - 8	64.2	15.5	18.1	2.2	26.1	53.6	7.6
Brenneman	1991	preK - 5	33.2	55.1	3.7	8.0	31.4	93.0	38.1
Salazar	1993	preK - 5	95.2	4.5	0.3	0.0	50.4	93.8	22.7
Chavez	1995	preK - 4	89.1	7.1	3.8	0.0	46.5	97.9	60.7
Andersen	1996	preK - 5	98.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	27.9	95.2	31.3
Ortiz de Dominguez	1996	preK - 2*	99.7	0.1	0.2	0.0	56.3	96.7	23.3
Darwin	1998	preK - 2	88.0	8.9	3.0	0.1	37.9	94.5	28.3
Jungman	1998	preK - 2	93.7	3.0	3.3	0.0	47.8	91.5	39.4
Monroe	1998	preK - K	90.0	2.7	6.8	0.5	32.2	91.2	19.9
Sabin	1998	K - 2	79.0	15.8	3.3	1.9	39.8	85.5	9.6
Hedges	1999	preK - 1	93.8	4.0	2.2	0.0	44.5	96.6	33.8
Finkl**	-	-	87.8	11.3	0.7	0.2	53.2	92.6	45.1
ENTIRE DISTRICT	-	-	**34.4**	**52.3**	**9.9**	**3.4**	**13.7**	**85.6**	**26.6**

*This school only serves grades preK - two.

**This school no longer has a dual-language program.

Source: 2001 Illinois School Report Cards

Table 7.2. Percent of Students that Meet or Exceed Illinois Standard Achievement Test (ISAT) Standards, 2001

	Inter-American	Brenneman	Salazar	Chavez	Andersen	Darwin	Jungman	Monroe	Sabin	Hedges	*average*	*avg. w/o magnets*	ENTIRE DISTRICT
Grade 3 Reading	63	34	33	24	31	33	50	55	43	52	*42*	*39*	36
Grade 5 Reading	60	31	31	33	29	21	34	38	42	38	*36*	*32*	34
Grade 8 Reading	73	n/a	61	40	39	43	n/a	60	51	43	*51*	*48*	47
Grade 3 Writing	71	33	50	38	28	39	33	27	45	68	*43*	*40*	34
Grade 5 Writing	82	23	38	58	47	68	29	41	41	76	*50*	*48*	49
Grade 8 Writing	75	n/a	64	60	54	47	n/a	26	49	18	*49*	*45*	50
Grade 3 Math	77	39	27	39	52	51	36	55	74	62	*51*	*45*	47
Grade 5 Math	71	18	42	31	28	39	48	57	33	28	*40*	*36*	32
Grade 8 Math	66	n/a	33	17	26	14	n/a	37	35	15	*30*	*24*	26

Source: 2001 Illinois School Report Cards

Table 7.3. Variables in the Nationwide School District Analysis (1)

	mean (N=2233)	Chicago Public Schools
LNschool population	8.55	13.35
LNspending on instruction	9.24	13.85
proportion of children in Spanish-speaking households	0.12	0.19
proportion of non-white, non-Hispanic children	0.10	0.37
proportion children in non-Spanish- or English-speaking households	0.07	0.05
median income in children's households	$40,749	$21,783
proportion of families who rent rather than own	0.32	0.66
proportion of parents with a BA or higher degree	0.20	0.08
proportion of mothers not F/T employed	0.54	•
Hispanics' institutional resources (state-level)	1.11	0.07
Hispanic adults' mean SES : all adults' SES (metro area-level)	0.81	0.66
Bilingual Hispanic adults' mean SES (metro area-level)	1.48	1.69
Official English law passed by referendum	0.24	no
proportion of GOP presidential votes high (1984 and 1992 average)	0.25	no
English Plus state law or resolution	0.04	no
anti-bilingual education law passed or under discussion, 2001	0.36	no

•values missing in the 1990 NCES SDDB

Chapter 8

Bilingualism in Los Angeles Unified and Surrounding School Districts

Spanish is enjoying a renaissance here. Yes, maintenance. Now it's not looked down upon to speak Spanish. Spanish radio stations are targeting second-, third-, and fourth-generation listeners.

Evelyn Aleman, Policy Analyst

Parents think it's patriotic to forget their primary language and go for English only. For many immigrant parents, surviving means speaking English – surviving has nothing to do with being bilingual.

Rose Patron, Director of Multicultural-Multilingual Education for Fresno schools[1]

In June 1998, California voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 227, the "English Language in Public Schools Initiative." The law provides that:

- All public school instruction will be conducted in English.
- Parents or guardians may waive the above requirement if they are able to show that a child already knows English, has special needs, or would learn English faster through an alternate instructional technique.
- Children not fluent in English will receive intensive sheltered English immersion for a short time, not normally exceeding one year.
- The state will appropriate $50 million per year for ten years to fund programs that provide children with English tutoring.

Parents or guardians may file enforcement suits (1998 California Primary Election Voter Information Guide, summarized in Salehyan [2002]).

[1] quoted in Puente and Morello (1998)

Despite opposition by teachers' unions and many Latino organizations, Proposition 227 received 60.99 percent of the vote. It was supported in almost all regions of California.[2] San Francisco and Alameda counties were the only places in the state where a majority did not approve the measure. Though Republicans were more likely than Democrats to vote in favor of 227, the issue was not central to either party's campaign. Unlike Propositions 187 (1994), which limited undocumented immigrants' rights to use social services, and 209 (1996), which ended affirmative action programs; Proposition 227's success does not appear to have been grounded in fears that immigrants were draining state coffers or receiving unfair advantages. Similar to the earlier initiatives, however, there is evidence that racial and ethnic divisions did drive voter support for Proposition 227 (Alvarez 2002). According to polls conducted by the *Los Angeles Times* and the Alvarez and Nagler Political Research Group, the two characteristics most strongly associated with a *yes* vote for Proposition 227 were belief that bilingual education is ineffective, and that Americans should speak English (Alvarez 2002).

How did educators and immigrant parents respond to 227's passage? A spokesperson for the San Francisco schools stated the district's intent regarding the new law as one of doing "everything possible legally and legislatively to maintain our bilingual programs" (Puente and Morello 1998). In the San Francisco metropolitan area, which is 15 percent Hispanic, parents of more than 20 percent of LEP children took advantage of the waiver provision almost immediately.

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[2] Alvarez (2002) offers a detailed analysis of the characteristics of Proposition 227 supporters.

In contrast, only 3.5 percent of LEP students in the 32 percent Hispanic Los Angeles metro area had waivers at the start of the 1998-99 school year. Here it appears that school districts were not promoting waivers, and/or that immigrant parents (most of whom are not voters) support English immersion. Both of these explanations could stem from the fact that the quality of a transitional bilingual program usually mirrors the quality of the school it is in. In Los Angeles, this often meant poorly implemented programs with substandard materials and high teacher turnover (Aleman 2001, Hernanez 2001, Vaca 2001). There was no reason for school personnel or parents to struggle to sustain a bad situation.

In elaboration on the above, the Director of Model Bilingual Programs in Los Angeles, Diana Hernandez, added that immigrant parents clearly associate English with economic success. They felt that transitional bilingual classes were holding their children back.[3] Even in the better programs, parents often did not understand the pedagogy (e.g., what an accent means and that it will disappear with time, or that reading skills are transferable from one language to another), and school personnel did a poor job of explaining these things. "Proposition 227 was sold on the basis of compassion for these 'poor kids' who weren't learning English... Well, they *were* learning English! The fact is that any program will be successful if implemented correctly. What we know about primary language programs is that they can yield the most success and the quickest success if implemented correctly."

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[3] Before Proposition 227, about 30 percent of the LEP students in Los Angeles Unified School District were in bilingual programs. The rest were in some form of sheltered English immersion. For 2000-01 the figure was 7.2 percent (California Department of Education 2002).

The debate over Proposition 227 forced educators to defend effective transitional programs. At the same time, poorly managed programs provided grist for Proposition 227 supporters' arguments:

> The issue is, do the persons in charge have the background? Not just a manual, but also a background. And are they being given support all along the way so they can understand the instructional implications of these components? We would hear sometimes that the administrators would say, "Well, we'll do this part but we won't do this part." But we would go into schools for other reasons and, you know, a bilingual program in first grade would be perhaps the teacher teaching just reading in Spanish, but all the other subject in English. And maybe in second grade it was all Spanish and no ESL because the teacher didn't believe in it. And then maybe in third grade they transitioned. (Hernandez 2001)

Proposition 227 and the issues leading up to it create an ever-present backdrop for any discussion of recent California school programs that involve LEP children. It called for major pedagogical change at a time when educators were already scrambling to respond to a state- and nationwide call for increased school accountability in *all* areas. Even though two-way immersion is fundamentally different from transitional bilingual education – its goal is fluency and literacy in two languages rather than a shift to English, and programs serve native English- and other-language speakers – initiating or continuing two-way programs means addressing Proposition 227 and maintaining high accountability for student performance.

CASE SELECTION AND CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

While the narratives that follow show extreme variation in the way Proposition 227 has impacted dual-language programs across schools and districts in Southern California, this

chapter is neither an analysis of why the law passed nor of its outcomes.[4] Rather, the chapter's goal is to contribute to a further understanding of the incentive structures and policy processes behind the initiation and maintenance of dual-language programs. It compares several Southern California school districts in light of the Chicago case as well as the large-scale findings reported in chapter six.

Selection of Cases

Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) is an appropriate case to compare with the Chicago Public Schools in that LAUSD and CPS are similar in terms of size and students' socio-economic background.[5] In both districts, the primary LEP population speaks Spanish. The districts differ in that, while the dual-language option is available in Los Angeles, it is quite rare. In order to assess the degree to which this difference is due to Proposition 227, five other Southern California districts are also considered: Santa Monica, Long Beach, Saddleback Valley, Montebello, and Ventura. All of them have at least one two-way immersion program. These additional cases allow for comparison and contrast on other dimensions besides their response to Proposition 227: notably parent SES, percent LEP students, and policy process.

Organization

The order in which the narratives are presented follows the age of the oldest dual-language program in a district, from oldest to youngest. Table 8.1 lists the schools in these districts that offered Spanish-English dual-language programs during the 2001-2002 school year. Descriptive statistics include the year a program was initiated, grades

[4] For in-depth exploration of these topics, see Cornelius and Salehyan (2002).
[5] LAUSD is the second-largest school district in the country; Chicago is third. CPS' proportion of poor families is about 10 percent higher than LAUSD's, and parent education is slightly lower.

covered in 2001, racial mix, percent LEP children, percent children who qualify for free lunches, and the student mobility rate (for Los Angeles schools only). District-level statistics are included for reference. To facilitate their comparison, the narratives are organized as follows: How a program was initiated, parent characteristics, challenges in regard to maintaining the program, and necessary conditions for two-way immersion. Sections are omitted if the interview did not provide any relevant data on a particular subtopic, and grouped if the information is scant.

A discussion of the Southern California cases follows the narratives. The chapter's conclusion will summarize the findings from Chicago and Southern California, and discuss them in relation to the empirical expectations set up in chapter six.

NARRATIVES ONE & TWO: SANTA MONICA AND LONG BEACH -- GUARDED SUCCESS

Santa Monica

Community News File / Santa Monica
School Gets Charter Status to Continue Bilingual Ed

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Friday, September 18, 1998

The state Board of Education has voted to give charter status to a school in the Santa Monica-Malibu Unified School District, allowing it to continue teaching students in both Spanish and English.

Becoming a charter school will allow Edison Language Academy, which has about 400 students in kindergarten through fifth grade, to maintain its dual language curriculum, although most bilingual education programs in the state were prohibited by passage of Proposition 227.

> Lori Orum, an administrator at Edison, said: "100% of our teachers were behind the charter, and our whole parent community."
>
> The decision also allows the school to continue offering language-immersion instruction to about 200 students at John Adams Middle School and Santa Monica High School, Orum said.
>
> Edison is the only school in the Santa Monica-Malibu district that has applied for charter status.

Jesús Vaca (2001) is in his third year as Director of Bilingual and Multicultural Programs for Santa Monica/Malibu Unified School District (SMMUSD). He came to Santa Monica from Palmdale, in the northeast part of Los Angeles County. Prior to that, he taught in LAUSD. Vaca loves his job.

> I actually never imagined that there was a job such as this. When I was doing the site administration work, I worked with all programs. In my job now I help create scenarios and plans, then implement those plans. When you can use your language, it really brings it to the forefront how important it is to really develop your primary language. It really gives you an opportunity to use your primary language in a professional manner. It has to come out in that way. If you're doing presentations or anything else, you need to be fluent. And they'll remind you if you're not! I thought I was fluent, but I don't think I'm as fluent as I need to be.

Dual-Language Program Initiation

I was especially eager to speak with Vaca because the dual-language program in Santa Monica (particularly at Edison Elementary School) is nationally known, and has become a model for others. It began over ten years ago as part of a self-initiated desegregation effort – a way to attract non-Hispanics to Edison. Today, the Santa Monica program is still unique in that it extends from kindergarten through twelfth grade.

In Vaca's words, two-way immersion started as "kind of a dual commitment by the community and the school district. The school district had to move in that direction [desegregation], and yet the public embraced it and took it over. It was back and forth."

> Parents are clearly interested; for quite some time there have been waiting lists at Edison. Within the last couple of years, the number of English-only students wanting to become part of the program is higher than that for Spanish-speakers. Some English learners are opting to attend other schools.[6]

Parents

Of the dual-immersion parents, Vaca says that both Spanish- and English-speakers expect a quality education for their children. Most of the Spanish-speaking families live in the school's neighborhood. They are "working parents with middle-to high school education." The English-speaking parents often have more education. "But they both have the same expectations and participation in PTA, bilingual advisory committees, and other things."

Parents' reasons for choosing two-way immersion are

> ...always about where we live, in Southern California. They look at the population shift, and they understand that in order to better serve their child they need to be exposed to certain things, and obviously the Spanish language is one of them. They're also looking for the cultural experience. Beyond offering them a language at Edison and at John Adams and at Santa Monica, we're offering them a cultural experience. That's difficult for many persons to understand – that it's not just wholly focused on students learning the grammar and everything else. They're also getting experiences with a different culture – coming in and seeing that this goes beyond your everyday instructional component. This is about the way people live and how they have adapted. ...If people are looking for strictly just a language program where they're going to become very fluent and vastly educated in dual languages, they're looking at the wrong

[6] There are still native Spanish-speakers on the waiting list, just not as many as in previous years.

> program. This program really does focus on both the cultural and the language instruction.

Challenges

Does the slight decline in interest that Vaca mentioned earlier have something to do with Proposition 227? He is not sure.

> It could be related to the simple fact that since the program has been there for a while, maybe some of the expectations at the high school and middle schools were not met with families. For example, at the high school last year we had something in the area of between eight and nine courses and this year we had to cut back dramatically to around two or three. That's because of budget constraints. So now they feel like, well here I have a kindergartner who's about to start school. They're selling this as a K-12 program. Should I place my child in this program? Because language acquisition as you understand takes between five and seven years. There's no purpose for a child to be enrolled at Edison from kindergarten to grade five and then all of a sudden the offerings are never there.

The main issue at the higher grade levels is that the dual-language classes are usually not as big as the others. For example, a dual-language history course usually runs with twenty to twenty-four students. The regular history classes can have up to thirty-two. "They need to understand that in a sense you are filling two positions with one teacher – they're doing it in two languages. It's just articulation between district personnel and site personnel so that they understand that if we're in fact promising the parents dual-language education then we have to follow up, regardless of what the financial aspect would be."

Part of the problem is staff turnover.[7] New personnel tend to connect dual-immersion to transitional bilingual education.

> It's really difficult to understand the program unless you're part of it for a couple years. I can attest to that because I was in the same scenario. You

[7] Vaca emphasizes that this is only a problem at the high school.

> truly need to understand that it's a unique program. Students really, truly, become literate in two languages. If they don't understand that, it's hard for them to really come aboard. ...One thing people need to realize is that this program is serving the whole population, not a specific few. I think that would help clarify a lot of this.

Necessary Conditions

To institute and maintain a successful dual-language program, Vaca believes that three components need to be in place. The first is "to make sure that the community where you're going to implement truly understands what a dual-immersion program is. They need to go beyond the language issue and really understand that it goes into the cultural component. They have to really support it. They have to really want the program. They have to contribute to the program."

The next thing is, at the district level, making sure that the resources are there, year after year. This does not necessarily mean *extra* funds or staff, but rather an agreement about how resources will be allocated. And most important, says Vaca, "after you get a program going, is the staff. You need to make sure that they are competent, and that they are committed to your program. You cannot have turnover. Teachers need to interact across the grade levels and on planning."

Long Beach

Program Initiation

In the late 1980s, Robert Hedges (2001) helped introduce two-way immersion at Patrick Henry School in Long Beach. At Henry, which draws from an upper-middle class neighborhood, "there were people and parents in the district who were consultants at the county office of education who were pushing the school district to open this kind of

program, and they became essential to getting support from other parents." The program is now a nationally recognized success. The dual-language model at Henry is often called "90/10." In Kindergarten and first grade, children hear 90 percent Spanish and 10 percent English. Initially, all students learn to read and write in Spanish. English literacy skills are added as they progress through the grade levels, leading to a 50-50 balance in the fifth grade.[8]

In September 2001, Hedges was beginning his second year as principal of a school "on the other side of the tracks": Daniel Webster. Webster's dual-language program has been in place for seven years. It got started because "three principals ago, there was a principal who wanted to do it. He was the driving force. Then there was a good group of LEP students and families and a lot of English-speakers too. So they had both groups to draw from." There were some enthusiastic parents, and "of course," willing teachers. As this example suggests, school administrators in Long Beach Unified have ample opportunities to initiate new programs or otherwise make changes in their school. Hedges reports that when he wants to do something new, the approval process usually consists of just a talk with his immediate supervisor. But there is a downside: "You're allowed to do something but don't get support. You're sort-of on your own."

Parents

[8] Appendix 7 (prepared by Hernandez as part of a teachers' handbook) explains 90/10 implementation in greater detail. The long-term results of 50/50, 90/10, and other pedagogical variations are quite similar in terms of English language and literacy (Thomas and Collier 1997), but some researchers (e.g., Sugarman and Howard 2001) have found that it takes an extra push to ensure equal development in Spanish – for both native language groups. Educators often favor the 90/10 design because it offers such a push. Currently, fifty-six of California's sixty-seven primary-level dual-language programs follow a 90/10 model.

The dual-language program at Webster has been partially funded through a Title VII grant written a year or so after the program began. At that time the school also maintained transitional bilingual classes, but Proposition 227 has since ended these. Parents of LEP students now decide between intensive English immersion and two-way immersion. Plenty of parents are choosing the dual-language option, but they do so when they come into the school to enroll and the counselor explains the program to them.

> It gives us the change to talk with parents about what apparently happens to the brain when you're learning a language. Your child will be benefited in more ways than you know about. So we talk about some of those things too. And we certainly talk about learning about other cultures, and being accepting. Those make sense to most people.

Though Webster's Spanish-speaking parents do not walk into the school and ask for their children to be placed in two-way immersion, Hedges notes that they seem to understand what dual-language education means, and how it is different from a transitional bilingual program. He attributes this to word-of-mouth.

English-only parents are also eager to put their children in the two-way program.

> They live in a neighborhood where a lot of people speak Spanish and they know it would be good for their children to speak Spanish. Plus, it'll help them get jobs. I heard someone the other day saying, "Your child can get out of school and go to the AAA and get a job. I work there, and we have a lot of people who call and ask for someone who speaks Spanish. And nobody does."

Does anything set the parents who choose dual-language apart from those who do not? Hedges says *no*. "I think those classes, for our school, are representative of the school... Generally, this is a poor neighborhood, and a poor school. Parents are pretty accepting of whatever you do." This is new for Hedges. "I wanted to involve parents more with things and ask them about things and have them make decisions. Here I'm

sort of forcing them to make decision, saying, 'This is up to you; it's your decision, not mine.'"

I asked if the school requires any particular commitment from dual-language parents. Somewhat surprised at the question, Hedges said no. Dual-language teachers may be a little more likely to ask parents to visit and work in the classroom, but the school expects "just the normal things" of them, "you know, like committing to put their children in uniforms and helping with homework."

Challenges

Despite the fact that about 230 of the school's 800 students are in dual-language classrooms, Hedges worries about enrollment from year to year. The program admits more English-speakers in kindergarten because they are the most likely to drop out later.[9] English-only parents seem quick to blame the dual-language approach if a child is having trouble learning to read or is performing below grade-level in other areas. Currently the school has two dual-language classrooms in kindergarten, first, second, and third grades. In fourth and fifth grades, maximum class size increases from twenty to thirty-five. "So third grade is a year when we look for students who are either moving or not doing well in the program, because we need to have five fewer." So far, this approach has worked.

As a group, Webster students struggle. Their Stanford 9 scores are among the lowest schools in the district.[10] Hedges reports excellent progress over the last two years –two and three times the school's target. The two-way program has been part of the success.

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[9] At this school, English- and Spanish speakers are equally likely to move away.
[10] Besides the Stanford 9, LBUSD has its own "benchmark" assessments in reading, writing, and math. Dual-language students are also assessed in Spanish.

> I've not had any, "Those classes are dragging us down" kind of comments. In fact, in some they're doing better than English-only classes. The fourth grade class last year was better than anybody at that grade level. ...I have consciously included the dual-language teachers in things like grade-level meetings. I've always said to them, "You come to the grade level meeting. If there's something you need to discuss about dual-immersion, then go at the end, or do it separately. You need to be part of what everybody else is doing." So we haven't had much "us" and "them."

Because of the school's low test scores, two years ago the deputy superintendent asked that the dual-language program's 90/10 design be changed to a 50/50. Students in 90/10 programs usually score lower in English reading until the third grade, and then begin to meet or surpass their counterparts in English-only classrooms (Thomas and Collier 1997). Apparently, the superintendent did not think that Webster School could afford anything that yielded lower scores, even temporarily.

The change from a 90/10 to a 50/50 happened in the middle of the year before Hedges arrived. Three or four immersion teachers left because of it. It was a big change, and they didn't get a lot of help with how to do that. Coming in I didn't know how to do it either. Last year we hired a consultant who came in and worked with the teachers all day long, six or seven times during the school year to put together a program that was 50/50 and made sense to them, and they knew what to do. ...I know that the teachers feel better coming into this year. They have a more defined program.

Hedges is generally enthusiastic about two-way immersion. In particular, he is excited about its success and potential at Webster, and is working to expand the program there. His reasons extend beyond language. In a nutshell, "these kids are more accepting of other cultures and other people."[11]

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[11]The full quote from which this excerpt comes is at the end of chapter seven.

NARRATIVE THREE: SADDLEBACK VALLEY -- THE BEST OF EVERYTHING

Gates Elementary

Beverly O'Brien is Title VII Coordinator at Ralph A. Gates Elementary School in Lake Forest. Gates is part of Saddleback Valley Unified School District, which draws from Mission Viejo, Laguna Hills, El Toro, and Lake Forest. 2001-02 is the dual-language program's eleventh year. It now extends through middle school and into high school. The first group of high school students is now in tenth grade. At Gates, about 40 percent of the students are LEP. Their parents choose between dual-immersion and what O'Brien (2001) calls "just the regular school" – mainstream, English-only classes.

Dual-Language Program Initiation

With no hesitation, O'Brien told me that two-way immersion is here because of a strong group of English-speaking parents who want their children to grow up bilingual and biliterate. Eleven years ago, parents saw changes occurring in the state, and knew that Spanish was "a good [economic] ticket to a good future." This reasoning has not changed. "Our English-only parents are very high SES. They're coming in from some very nice areas so that their children can be in this program." At this point, the program "generates itself" within the community. There is little need for recruitment efforts.

The school board has been supportive all along, but that support came because there was "a lot of selling of the program." A group of Saddleback parents, teachers, and administrators "took people from the district and board members down to Las Palmas [in San Clemente] to see how that program was working – to say, 'Look, we can do the same

sort of thing here.'" When Proposition 227 passed, district administrators applied for and received a waiver from the new rules. This was feasible because of students' good grades and test scores. Children in the two-way program are doing better than those in English-only classrooms, performing at or above the district average. So here, dual-language has the status of an "alternative" program. Spanish-speaking parents who choose it do not need to individually waive their children out of English immersion.

Parents

When I asked about the Spanish-speaking parents who opt for dual-language, O'Brien's answer was again straightforward:

> I think they see for their children's education, it would be easier for them to start in Spanish. Or the wait list for kindergarten, the girls' list is so long. [Their parents] really want them to be in something that's very comfortable for them, rather than being in the English. They're very interested. Even those who live in the immediate area can't all get into the program right now because of the girl siblings who got in first. We're absolutely full, with the 1:20 ratio. In kindergarten we have three classes, so sixty. Same in first and second grade. Third is not quite full.[12]

Parents are very active in the program. Due to the way the 90/10 design is implemented here, however, they are not always welcome in the classroom.

> In kindergarten, if you're not a Spanish-speaker, they really don't want you helping out, because they have to stick purely to the Spanish. If the kids know that Mom is sitting right there, they'll talk to Mom in English and forget what the teacher's doing. For that 90 percent, the teacher only speaks Spanish. And then her team partner is the one who comes in and does the 10 percent in English. They don't know that their teacher speaks English. In fact, there's a sign on the door saying that this is a dual-immersion classroom. If you want to speak to the teacher, she will speak to you in Spanish. She will have to go to where the kids are not present to speak to you in English.[13]

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[12] Note: This program is strictly balanced by gender *and* native language.

[13] By third grade, students are learning English reading and hear their teachers speak both languages.

Gates' dual-language parents have formed a group called Advocates for Language Learning. Their main activity is fund-raising – to buy more Spanish books or "anything to help out the immersion program." English-speaking parents often report a fringe benefit: "They say they can't help but learn Spanish because they have to help with the homework. They get the Spanish-English dictionary, and get started."

Challenges

Though student mobility is not a significant problem, O'Brien notes that retention issues come up in fifth or sixth grade, when some children must decide between staying in two-way immersion and going to middle school with their neighborhood friends.

> You have to remember that these children have been together since kindergarten. The native English-speakers tend to stick together, and the Hispanic students tend to stick together. So those English kids, they've just been in and out of each-others' pockets for all those years!
>
> It surprised me that the dual-language students here do not integrate much.

O'Brien explained:

> In kindergarten it's sort of hard. English-only students have no idea what's going on because 90 percent of the day is in Spanish. So they cluster with the other English-speaking kids. In the middle grades there is more of a mixing. But boy, in fifth and sixth grade, they're just so much aware of what's cool. That's when – your Hispanic students – you have to get them to speak Spanish. They realize that English is the cultural language, and that's the one they want to know. *They're* even moving away from Spanish.

"So you don't hear much Spanish in the lunchroom after fifth grade?" I asked. This is true. One sixth-grade teacher is trying to buck the trend by requiring that P.E. be in Spanish. Students lose points if they speak in English. O'Brien, on the other hand, is not

particularly concerned that the older kids seem to prefer English. The reason they can choose is because they have two languages.

When I questioned O'Brien about how the dual-language program's strong presence at Gates has influenced the school's culture, her comments revolved around the teachers.

> A lot of teachers that used to be here left. In the long term I think there has been some segregation between the regular teachers and the immersion teachers. These immersion teachers are coming in, and we have a $300,000 grant every year from the federal government so they can go to lots of conferences, and any kind of materials they want are theirs... so [the dual-language teachers] were very well protected. And they do sort-of think of themselves differently – a little bit more special than the regular teachers. It's going to be different now because that grant is finished. So, we'll see. But I think we have an excellent principal. She's working really hard at bridging it together. Now it's just subtle things. Like the immersion teachers will say, "We have both languages to teach. It's extra hard. We should get some extra things for that." I've also taught in English and Spanish. And you know, you just do it.

At the time, I had never visited a school where dual- immersion teachers were better off than the other teachers. O'Brien chuckled at my comment on this. "It's that grant. They were sort-of in a prima donna mode. I just think, 'Okay, wait until the money's gone!'"

Meanwhile, O'Brien has a new grant, for an after school program to teach Spanish "in a fun way" to students who are in the English-only classrooms. Next year there will also be Spanish literacy for Spanish-speakers who are not in the two-way program, and French. Maybe an Asian language will be next. Largely due to the success of dual-immersion, funding for more language enrichment has been easy to come by.

Necessary Conditions

What makes it all work? At Gates, favorable demographics and strong academics were a given. The critical factor is "buy-in from the current staff and the parents. The children come home with their homework in Spanish. If they don't believe that's a worthy thing to learn, the program will fail. And then there's the district, and the board. It goes all the way up.

Could dual-immersion work in schools with strong on-site and parent support, but not much from above? O'Brien thinks not. Her response likely reflects her position in a district that is quite centrally run, as well as her previous experience as a bilingual teacher in Los Angeles.

Laguna Hills High School

Carlos Camancho is Title VII Coordinator at Laguna Hills High School in Saddleback School District. He held the same position at Gates Elementary School, moving when the high school got a Title VII grant to design and implement a continuation of the district's dual-language program. I visited Camancho and Community Liaison Martha Morrissey at the start of the second year for dual-language at Laguna Hills.

Dual-Language Program Initiation

Though the district's Director of Second Language Programs was primarily responsible for getting the grant, Camancho (2001) emphasizes that she was acting in response to parent demand:

> I think the parents here, even before the immersion program came into existence, have been very involved as advocates for their children. They were the ones who initially requested a second language program for the district. The district responded by initiating this dual-language program. So it's really more of a parent-initiated program than anything else. I think the district has been wise to respond to the needs of the parents, and

> has supported the program as a result of their involvement, participation, and choice. At each level, the parents have asked, "What are we going to be doing next?" How is the district going to follow up with our students in that they have special skills and needs? So the district wanted to have something for those students. We're sort-of the result of impetus to get something going.

Camancho's team visited Santa Monica High early on. "They were invaluable in helping us sort through our priorities." So far, however, Laguna Hills has received only a few inquiries from other high school personnel wanting to offer the dual-language option. Camancho thinks this is because, "In a lot of other districts, there isn't that parental push. Support for the program dwindles by high school."

Challenges

Here, students' incentives to continue their dual-language education through high school include earning advanced placement credits and receiving a special seal on their diplomas. Still, not all choose to stay in the program. In the first two groups to enter Laguna Hills, twelve out of nineteen students continued the program from middle school. Camancho thinks the main reason why some leave is that they want to attend their neighborhood high school. In order to sustain the numbers in two-way immersion, Camancho and Morrissey looked for other eligible students throughout the district. They personally contacted potential students' families to inform them of the opportunity. Then, with the help of an evaluation specialist, they established guidelines for entry.[14]

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[14] The main concern was that some of the new students who wished to join the program would be not sufficiently trained in Spanish. Camancho and colleagues decided to use the Woodcock-Muñoz language survey plus an instrument designed on-site to test grammar skills. The continuing students' median combined score became the standard for entry. So far, five new students have qualified each year.

Dual-language students at Laguna Hills take two of their five daily classes in Spanish. This does not sound particularly difficult to organize, but Camancho reminded me that the challenge comes with the selection of what would be taught.

> You have competing interests. The actual Spanish language component of it is a logical choice, but where do you augment from there? And then once you've made a decision, you have to get materials that are appropriate to the class. We've felt that we needed to be in alignment with our district standards and with the state frameworks, and we needed to have resources and materials in order to do that. That's been a real scramble, because the district has procedures on how to procure material. Everything has to be approved by the board. Then the district apparatus has to make sure we have funding, everybody has to have their signature on every single procurement requisition, then there's the actual purchase, then the publisher has to get the request... It takes a long time! So for anyone who's not familiar with what need to be done, I can certainly see a very overwhelming kind of process. For people who have the knowledge base and know how to do it, it's still a lot of work, but it's not overwhelming.

When I asked about the effect, if any, of Proposition 227, Camancho reiterated what O'Brien had told me about the district's proactively securing an exemption, and about strong parental opposition to anything that could potentially eliminate or hinder the dual-language program. He added that the high school applied for and was granted charter status as well. This means that, while the school is still part of the district and subject to district-level standards, there is a legally binding agreement (the charter) that assures the right to have the dual-language program.

Two-way immersion is still a very small program at Laguna Hills – too small to noticeably affect the school's culture. But it seems to fit here. "The school culture is receptive to programs that are unique, or exceptional, or that try to give students

advantages or special skills. Plus, the program has gotten along well with the administration, with the teachers, and with the students. There hasn't been any problem."

Based on what Camancho had told me, I surmised that his biggest challenge was finding and procuring good materials. He agreed, but only because he is lucky; he has plenty of eager and qualified teachers to work with.

> With respect to the program, and with respect to this school, I would add that we have a good program now, and the challenge becomes not only to sustain it, but to be sure we have the articulation between the two schools to iron out any wrinkles and to continuously improve the programs. Beyond that, I foresee that our programs and other programs that are getting started will have a challenge in meeting high standards for staffing.

Necessary Conditions

Camancho considers staffing to be "the key element to any program that has the ambition to produce students that are completely bilingual."

> It's extremely difficult, because not only do you have to have students who are motivated, you need to have people who are able to sort-of present the language in a wide array of methods so that the students are continually engaged and want to learn more. Staffing is critical. I think it's the one aspect of this type of program that can make or break it. But there seems to be a real lack of standards on how to recruit teachers for this type of program. I think even across California there is no standardized way to assess language skills of teachers. We need to develop and implement standards for monitoring teachers – else dual-language programs will suffer from the same pitfalls of other bilingual programs.

NARRATIVE FOUR: LOS ANGELES --STRUGGLE AND INDIFFERENCE

Background: Bilingual Education in LAUSD

Diana Hernandez is Director of Model Bilingual Programs for LAUSD. She oversees Project MORE (a late-exit transitional bilingual program) as well as the district's dual-

language program. Hernandez used to have a staff of twelve, but when I visited her office in September 2001, the staff consisted of herself and one other person. Their responsibilities have not changed.

Hernandez is clearly committed to Project MORE, and has successfully written several grants in order to be able to train school personnel. MORE (Model Organization Results of Eastman) is not a curriculum; it is a model of organizing a school so that all the components of an effective bilingual program are in place. Beyond securing funds, Hernandez's office provided support to the Project MORE school sites "so that then they could hone in on the instructional piece and be able to make sure it was rigorous and standardized and all those things that we know about instruction, regardless of the program that they were using" (Hernandez 2001).

Model Bilingual Programs used to support dual-language programs as well as Project MORE and other options for English learners.

> But then 227 happened. Now that's all changed. It's been three years. We had been over 30 [Project MORE] schools and we had to drop several schools when they no longer were providing students with primary language instruction. The only funding I had left was the Title VII grant. I was tied to what I had written as my objectives and goals. So that in the past year and a half, I've really narrowed my responsibilities to working just with the Project MORE schools.

One of Hernandez' main tasks is to help bilingual teachers use the Open Court reading program that the district now requires. Open Court only comes in English. "We can't really touch Open Court – no one can, because it's a done deal... We are only working with bilingual teachers through this training." She still interacts with staff in the

few dual-language schools, but this is now only an incidental part of her job. Dual-language instruction is largely unknown in this district.

Since Proposition 227, LAUSD has offered four options to the parents of LEP children. They are:

- Structured English Immersion: all instruction in English, with ESL-qualified teachers and some native-language support from a teacher's aid.
- Structured English Immersion: most instruction in English, with teachers qualified to use the native-language to develop academic concepts.
- Programs requiring the parent to request a waiver: (1) transitional bilingual, (2) dual-language. Waivers must be requested in person, every year.
- Mainstream: standard English-only classes for fluent English-speakers.

Every school does not offer all of these choices, but district policy stipulates that parents should be informed of them.[15] Dual-language is presented as a sub-program, lumped together with transitional bilingual education. It is thus predictable that few parents (or teachers) understand what makes it unique.

Some years ago, Hernanez' predecessor procured a grant to try two-way immersion in two LAUSD schools: Grand View and Weigand. Weigand was chosen largely because of its location in South Central Los Angeles.

> ...and also politically, because of the concern that the African American child was continuously being under-serviced – not having a lot of the same opportunities as the English learners, especially at a time when there was a real push for the bilingual classrooms. It came as a concern from African American parents too: here they had this resource [to learn Spanish], why weren't they being included? But I know the school in particular didn't request it. The administrator certainly welcomed it, but of course he didn't last. You know, as a matter of fact, there have been six since him.

[15] On a space available basis, parents may opt for a school other than the one to which a child is assigned.

In my attempts to contact individual schools, I had learned that two elementary schools were in the process of phasing out their dual-language programs. At another school, it seemed impossible to speak with the principal or a bilingual coordinator, let alone to visit. I asked Hernandez about these sites. Her reply lays out the opportunities and challenges that two-way immersion presents in LAUSD. Of the schools that were terminating their programs, she said:

> My understanding was that the superintendent of these two schools was not happy with the test scores and decided to dissolve, for many reasons. I didn't get the whole story. I didn't get involved because they've been fighting the program for years.

Why would dual-language programs be situated in schools that did not want them? The short answer is that things were different in the beginning.

> [Originally], they sought it out. First of all, there was intent to put [dual-language] out in the Valley. Politically and geographically, you know, you have South Central, you have Mar Vista, and then you figure that the other east LA or central schools were doing primarily language programs because of the numbers, but there was a need for something in the Valley. And those two principals actively – and I remember that – were asking for the program. And so a grant was written, and it was funded, but of course one principal stayed there three years, and I think the other stayed two years. When they moved, two new principals inherited the program. And I'm not going to criticize because I don't know where the principals are coming from. I'm assuming that if you have a school that has certain programs, and when you do interviews, whether you're the superintendent or the school site who's doing the selection, that there's information given to the candidates: this is what we have, this is what we're doing... But we're not there. I don't know what the process is. And so I can't fault those who have come on and may or may not have philosophically – and as you mentioned at the get-go, these programs require lots and lots of attention and support.
>
> As you probably well know, in a big district there are so many demands. And they're becoming more and more. I really don't know how schools keep it all together. Between the standards training and the Open Court training – now we have the SELT training [for English language

> development standards]; now we have something that's called America's Choice, which is a structure for certain districts that have adapted it. The newest thing is the math training. They have to coordinate all this. Open Court runs between 2½ and 3½ hours. And so it becomes a logistical nightmare when you have a strand within a school, which is what dual-language is, and they have all these other requirements. Unless the administrator is very experienced – just with operations and logistics – let alone instruction, it's impossible. Parents complain, teachers complain; then you start losing. We continuously congratulate the administrators that have stuck with it. It's been very easy to throw in the towel and put everyone on the same page. When you do that, you're getting more support district-wide, because everything is geared towards immersion.
>
> Student mobility is yet another issue.
>
> What happens in the [dual-language] schools I've seen, the pattern is that they're mainly high-poverty areas, and that your most mobile children are typically your E-O [native English-speaking] children. The second thing is that the E-O parents who put their children in these dual-language programs are always looking for something. So they start moving into magnet schools.

At this point I was eager to know if, in Hernandez' opinion, *any* LAUSD schools had successfully implemented two-way immersion. She first drew my attention to Ivanhoe, a historic elementary school in a middle-class neighborhood. The school is one of the first group of LEARN (Los Angeles Educational Alliance for Restructuring Now) schools in LAUSD. LEARN transfers the budget authority and decision making to individual schools to develop their own missions, goals, and operating styles. In responding to parent demand, the school administrator and staff worked with a committed group of parents to plan and implement a dual-language program, which began in 1998 and now extends through second grade.

Grand View School

Hernandez also praised the program at Grand View Elementary in Venice – established under very different circumstances.

Dual-Language Program Initiation

Grand View was picked as a two-way immersion site in 1991. Since then there have been three different principals, all extremely committed to maintaining the program. When I visited Grand View in early 2000, it seemed very much like a fully dual-language school – though in fact it is not. Sheltered English immersion (Option A), transitional bilingual education (Option C1), and English-only classrooms (Option D) are also offered.

Parents, Challenges, and Necessary Conditions

Principal Clarke Morrow (2000) credited the two-way immersion's success at Grand View – a poor school with a high immigrant/LEP population – to a committed and stable staff, and parents who are "risk-takers" that are very involved their children's schooling. "Money's not an issue because we don't have any." Despite the fact that Grand View's program is a relatively mature and self-sufficient, with follow-up option in middle school, Morrow (who has since retired) expressed concern about losing district resources (the services that Hernandez' office was providing), and about the anti-bilingual education climate in LAUSD since Proposition 227's passage. A year and a half later, my visit to Grand View's partner middle school lent credence to Morrow's apprehensions.

Mark Twain Middle School

Julissa Gallardo (2001) told me her title used to be 'Bilingual Coordinator.' Now she is 'English Learner Coordinator' at Mark Twain Middle School in Venice. She has been at

the school for eleven years: four as a bilingual teacher's aid, five as a teacher, and two in her current position.

Of the 1200 students at Mark Twain, only about sixty of them are in the five-year-old dual-language program, which draws solely from Grand View. Last year there were not enough sixth graders to fill a class, so this year there is no seventh grade group. As in elementary school, dual-language students are together most of the day. They split up for P.E. and one elective. Right now the eighth graders get math and science taught in Spanish, language arts and history in English – all from different teachers. To my surprise, Gallardo informed me that some dual-immersion students in were not yet proficient in English. This is the result of extensive 'backfilling' in elementary and middle school: English learners are allowed to enter the program late, even though their English is not as good as the other students'.[16] Because of this, the dual-language groups at Mark Twain split up for English language arts. Some go to mainstream English classes; the others get sheltered English instruction.

Backfilling has also left the program unbalanced in terms of native language. Spanish is most of the students' mother tongue. When I commented that this composition does not really follow a dual-language model, Gallardo could only agree.

> A lot of the parents of these kids whose first language is Spanish put them in the program so they can maintain their primary language and at the same time learn English. Our goal is to produce bilingual, biliterate students. ...It's not just an English language acquisition program, like the ESL classes are. These parents want their kids to better, and maintain their primary language as well as their English language. That's why they put them in the dual program in kindergarten. We have few, very few [students whose primary language is English] that are in it.

[16] Morrow mentioned this practice to me, but did not indicate that it was used to any significant degree.

By this time it was evident to me that two-way immersion at Mark Twain mostly means sheltered English with Spanish maintenance. This is partly due to the area's relatively high LEP population. Yet another, somewhat contradictory, complication is that even though the school purports to offer all of the options for English learners – three of which require at least some instruction or clarification in Spanish – only five or six out of seventy teachers are qualified to teach in Spanish.

Dual-Language Program Initiation

To say the least, dual-immersion seems impractical here. In response to my query about how the program began, Gallardo said:

> My second year as a teacher here, I was asked, "Would you be willing to teach math in Spanish?" And I said, "Well, sure." They said that there was an elementary school that offers a dual-language program, and explained what it was. They wanted to continue it in the middle school. The parents want the kids to receive the dual-language teaching in middle school. Grand View, being so close to us, laid it out on the table and asked, "Would you be interested in implementing this program at your school?" A lead ESL teacher spoke to us and we decided to try it out. For a year, you know. We didn't lock ourselves in. But we enjoyed it, and we told them we'd continue. That's pretty much how it got started. There was nothing formal – like someone coming to train us... We've just been going with it.

Challenges[17]

Gallardo and the teachers she works with have largely figured things out by trial and error, in terms of pedagogy, implementation, and how to integrate dual-immersion into this school. Though she claims that LAUSD is "really positive about it," actual evidence of support from above is scant. For example:

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[17] At this school, challenges comprise almost the whole story.

> We just adopted a new math program across the district. All the schools in the district are using the same series. They're not taking into consideration the few schools that have dual-language programs. If the kids are receiving their math instruction in Spanish, they need Spanish materials and resources in the classrooms. It's in the guidelines! But they don't make these books in Spanish.

"So what do you do?" I asked.

"I translate everything in the book. Students don't see the language they're using on paper."

Gallardo continued:

> I think, in the big picture, the people who are in the district offices are very positive in their goals for English language learners. But the people who are directly related to the instruction, or [mentoring] teachers to teach English language learners – it's not as big a priority to them as it is to the people who are in the district offices with all these great ideas. You know, they say, "Your schools are going to offer such and such," but it's up to the administrators in those schools to actually implement. I'm having trouble with that.

At Mark Twain, the dual-language program is so small that it easily stays on the back burner.

> Here, they don't distinguish between dual-language and bilingual programs. When I ask the parents from Grand View, "Was your son or daughter in the dual program?" They say, "What's the dual? You mean the bilingual program?" I say, "No, I mean the *dual* program."
>
> Somebody at the school told [the parents], "You want your son to receive their instruction in Spanish so that they don't struggle in the English classes?" So the parents, right away, say, "Of course. I want my kid to understand what's going on in the classroom. Put them is Spanish classes." They don't have any idea what the dual program is about.
>
> When I tell kids about my dual-immersion class, they're like, "What's that? Is that ESL?" I tell them, "No, the dual class is *not* ESL." The kids can't distinguish. And a lot of the kids in the dual program, who tell their parents they want out, they feel like other kids look at them like, "You're

ESL, you don't know English." They want to be with the English-only kids. These comments confirm what I had already learned about the status of two-way immersion in LAUSD. It is a tiny piece of a large and diverse English language acquisition enterprise rather than a separate entity.

In regard to Proposition 227, Gallardo said:

> You know, I'm so new to all this stuff. When I was teaching, my focus was just on teaching. I wasn't aware of the options in 227. All I know is that they told me, "You're getting Model B students, so you can provide clarification and directions in Spanish, but you can't teach in Spanish." All these different rules – I was so confused. So I don't know – I didn't really start doing my homework until last year, when I became the coordinator. So to tell you the truth, I don't think I was aware of Prop 227 and what it was all about when I was actually teaching in the classroom, and when duals first started. All I knew is that they asked me to teach math in Spanish, and that it was for a special program called "dual."

When Proposition 227 first passed, most of the parents of English learners at Mark Twain signed waivers to keep their children in transitional bilingual education. The former bilingual coordinator recommended this, and managed the logistics. Now it is part of Gallardo's job to help parents understand their choices in compliance with Proposition 227. Appendix 8 is the English version of a presentation she has prepared for this purpose. Currently, though there has been a small shift towards sheltered English, transitional bilingual education is still the most popular option.

Does two-way immersion have a future at Mark Twain? "We're trying. I'm surprised that the teachers I have doing the dual haven't just thrown in the towel. I just thank my teachers for sticking with it. They're as supportive as they can be." Glossing over the imbalance of native languages and varying English ability among the current dual-language students, Gallardo focused on the need for a willing staff.

> Not just hiring people who are bilingual and then telling them, "You're going to do this." They have to be educated about the program. So having willing and educated staff that will support it and back it and continue it, that's the most important thing for me to zero in on. Also, promoting it with the parents. We need to help Grand View – work together – and come up with some kind of a little pamphlet about the program that we can hand out parents that have incoming kindergarteners. That way we could bring more kids into the program and have a bigger bunch when they get to middle school.

Gallardo and the teachers she works with are not short on energy or ideas, but they sorely lack institutional support as well as resources for student recruitment, training, and materials. This is unlikely to change.

NARRATIVES FIVE AND SIX: MONTEBELLO AND VENTURA -- GROUNDED OPTIMISM

Montebello

Joanne Slater and Becky Castro (2001) were well prepared for my visit to the offices of Montebello Unified School District (MUSD). They gave me a packet of facts and figures about MUSD schools, a copy of the Title VII grant that funds their three-year-old dual-language program, and a study that describes the progression and results of the 90/10 immersion model they are using (Thomas and Collier 1997). Slater is the district's Coordinator of Bilingual Crosscultural Education. Under the grant, Castro is part of a professional development team for dual-language teachers. Currently, three MUSD schools offer the dual-language option.

Dual-Language Program Initiation

Who or what were behind the initiation of two-way immersion? Slater explained that one school board member and one principal were particularly instrumental. Plus, "it seems

like the U.S. Department of Education is interested in funding this type of program. Especially when Riley was in there. In fact, he did a special funding for just dual-language projects, added on to the regular grant cycles."[18]

In order to draw attention to the opportunity that the Montebello program offers to native English-speakers, it is called "dual-language enrichment." According to Slater, this is "totally a political aspect of the program model. It makes it an equal access program."

"Sometimes people are under the impression that these programs are remedial," added Castro. "This helps mitigate that feeling."

Parents

The first couple of years, it was necessary to very actively recruit parents. Slater's team posted information at preschools as well as at elementary school sites. Though they continue to do this, parents are now learning about the program via word of mouth and calling the district for more information.

The Spanish- and English-speaking parents seem similar. Slater commented:

> Some of the English-speakers are second generation – and sometimes first generation – Mexican Americans whose parents speak Spanish but they don't. Their parents wanted them to learn English. So they didn't have bilingual education, and they actually were Spanish-speakers when they began school, and they came in and were immersed – or submerged – in English, and lost it. They are recapturing their cultural language, their heritage language, by putting their children in this program. That's one really neat aspect of the whole thing.

Immigrant parents' response has been very good. Said Castro, "If parents are informed, and we talk to them about the benefits of the program, they see it. We have a

[18] Special federal funding for dual-language programs still exists. In the 2002 grant cycle, $6 million will be devoted to new program initiation and development (USDE 2002).

waiting list at two of the schools: Spanish-speaking parents who want their children in the program. Those who are working, using two languages, see the need or advantage of being bilingual, and to read and write correctly in both languages." These parents do not take it for granted that their children will know Spanish because it is spoken at home.

Challenges

It is really too soon to tell if and how dual-language programs will change school culture here, but Slater and Castro are both willing to speculate based on previous experience. Castro remarks:

> Within the classroom, at first the kids tend to buddy up with kids who speak the same language. But then, during the day, the teacher forms cooperative groups where the children are mixed. So they're interacting with children who speak the other language. By the end of the year they have that bond. If they were in separate classrooms, I don't know that they would be friends. That's extending out on the playground, but I don't know if it extends out to children in other classrooms as well.

Slater's comments focus on the way that, in transitional bilingual settings, LEP children often become isolated. In a previous job, "The way we fixed that was, we opened up the program more. We involved more teachers, and actually mixed the classes – put the kids in with native English-speakers – sort of around the model of the dual-language program. The English speakers weren't working in Spanish at all; it was mostly English instruction. But just the fact that they were in the classes together helped. Now, that's one really positive outcome of the dual-language programs: cultural awareness and understanding really is fostered."

In regard to academic evaluation, I learned that both groups of children are tested in both languages – for language proficiency academic achievement. Beyond this, one of

the activities specified in the grant is that some of the teachers will become researchers themselves, and use the student data that's coming out of the project. Meanwhile, regular written and verbal language assessments allow parents to track their children's progress.

Having just come from Gates, I felt compelled to ask Slater and Castro if the extra funding and attention (e.g., lots of visitors) could create a rift between dual-language and other teachers. They hope not. One way they proactively dealt with this possibility was to buy twenty nice computers, a rolling cart, and a printer. Though no one is using it this way yet, Slater envisions the package as "a mobile lab that can go from classroom to classroom" at La Merced – the first school in the district to institute a dual-language program. Everyone in the school has access to the computers. Teachers are learning how to use the wireless Internet in the classroom.

Slater mentioned that she is already planning to write another grant to continue two-way immersion in middle intermediate school, adding something that was becoming apparent to me: "I think here in Montebello we have that grant writing culture. There are a lot of other grants in other departments. There's a lot of money coming into the district, all over the place."

Slater and Castro were both bilingual educators before Proposition 227. I asked if they viewed dual-language programs in California as a response to negative public opinion about transitional bilingual education. Almost in unison they answered *yes*. Yet it seems to me that, in this district, Proposition 227 has created an opportunity to do something that those in charge of language programs clearly believe is better than what

they were doing before. In Castro's words, "I see that [two-way immersion] is the best, according to the research. Just seeing what schools like Patrick Henry have done with their children, I'm hoping to see more."

Necessary Conditions

What are the necessary conditions for a successful dual-language program? Staff Developer Castro's answer is "staff development. It needs to start six months to a year before you're going to implement the program. That's for *everybody*, not just the teachers who are going to be in it. You really need to in-service the whole staff." And of course, "You also need to have, as far as the community, people who are interested in putting their children in the program.

Ventura

Bilingual Immersion Plan May Serve as Model Education: the innovative program aims to teach Spanish-speaking and English-speaking students to be fluent in both languages.

Anna Gorman
Los Angeles Times (Ventura County)
Tuesday, July 4, 2000.

Ventura County educators say they will be closely watching an innovative bilingual program for Spanish-speaking and English-speaking kindergartners at a Ventura elementary school—and may copy it if it proves successful.

Paid for with a multiyear federal grant, the program will be launched at Montalvo Elementary School this fall. It is designed to make students fluent in both languages by the time they finish fifth grade.

There are only a few such programs in Ventura County, although there are more than 100

statewide, school officials said. But interest is high among parents who want their children to learn more than one language, suggesting that other Ventura County campuses may soon follow Montalvo's lead, educators said. Montalvo Principal Cynthia Medina said the school's language program may become a model for how to do it.

Called "dual-immersion" because students learn their native language as well as a second language, the teaching method has been less controversial than other forms of bilingual education. Two-way immersion programs generally have received support from both sides of the debate because they are viewed as an enrichment opportunity for all students.

The program depends on an equal number of children who speak English and those who speak Spanish. Montalvo's program will start with two kindergarten classes, each with 10 native English speakers and 10 Spanish speakers.

From kindergarten through second grade, the students will be taught mainly in Spanish. From third through fifth grade, students will receive half of their instruction in Spanish and half in English. Students also learn from each other, administrators say.

By the time they graduate from the K-5 school, they will be able to read, write and speak in both languages, educators say.

Qualified bilingual instructors will teach the classes, Medina said. And each year, the school will add one grade until the program extends through fifth grade.

Cliff Rodrigues, board president for the Ventura Unified School District, said that parent response has been overwhelming. There are only a few spaces left, and the school plans to start a waiting list soon, school officials said.

> "You can see the excitement on the parents' faces," said Rodrigues, who is also director of bilingual programs for the Ventura County superintendent of schools office. "English-speaking parents realize this is an opportunity for their kids to learn a second language."
>
> The program will be funded by a five-year federal grant. Each year, the school will receive about $ 200,000, which administrators will spend on technology, teacher training and programs aimed at getting parents involved.

Cynthia Medina is in her third year as principal of Montalvo School in Ventura. English learners comprise 23 percent of the school's population, and virtually all of them speak Spanish. Montalvo's dual-language program is in its second year. It is unique in the Ventura Unified School District – and in Ventura County as well.

Dual-Language Program Initiation

I first asked Medina (2001) how the program got started. She explained that it was because the school board and superintendent did not want to Proposition 227 to mean English-only in Ventura. With their support, Jennifer Robles, the district's Director of Bilingual Programs, actively sought an alternative. According to Medina, Robles saw two-way immersion as one step better than transitional bilingual education. She looked at seventeen elementary schools in the district to see where it would be most viable, and chose Montalvo because it of its population. During Medina's interview for her job as principal here, one of the questions was, "What do you know about two-way immersion, and how do you feel about it?"

> When I answered the question I told them what I knew about it. I've been part of bilingual education for over twenty years, and I just knew about it,

> but had never worked with it. I feel that it's the epitome of bilingual education. It's what we all strived for when we began bilingual ed here in this county twenty years ago, when we said, "Yes, bilingual education, but at the same time let's have what we call SSL [Spanish as a Second Language], and give it to the other kids as well so we're benefiting both ways." And now here it is called two-way immersion. It's the greatest thing you could ever ask for. Especially in light of 227. In the district I came from, the city [Fillmore, CA] adopted English-only as a citywide ordinance. We eliminated all Spanish in the schools. So coming here I said, "This is great!" Later on when I was hired for the job, I was told that the school had already made a visitation and had just begun to study two-way immersion. By the school, I mean the former principal and two or three teachers. They were looking into it and bringing back information to the staff.

Medina spent the next year doing research. At the same time she took various staff members to different schools to see how the dual-language models she was learning about looked in practice.

> We went up to San Luis Obispo. That was one place we were very interested in because their demographics are very similar to ours. And the type of conservative community is similar to Ventura. We went to Edison School in Santa Monica. The reason we went there was not because they're similar to us – they're quite different – but we wanted to see long-term results. There it is still something big and viable after, I think, seventeen years. Then we went on to other places, but those two were key.

Medina, Robles, and others regularly shared their findings with the school board.

> What was most important to the board, and to everybody else in the community, are test scores. So we had to make sure we researched and
>
> found out how kids do in this program. Both populations. We were able to come back and tell them that initially, there's a problem. The first year of mandatory testing, second grade, we have a little slump because they're not all completely bilingual yet. All the programs have shown that that comes in third and fourth grade. Then you see the scores soaring, and exceeding the counterparts in English-only. So when we showed them the studies, they supported us. They support Jennifer; they have a lot of respect for her. We went to a board meeting and did a presentation and someone on the board asked, "How can I get my grandchildren in this?"

> The superintendent said, "What happens when they leave your school? Is it going to die out?" So that's how overwhelming the support was. Without that we might not have the same success, even with the same population.

Parents

So far I had not heard a word about parents. I asked Medina how her team got them involved.

> We advertised, first through our school. We sent out literature and notices, and started to have community meetings. We advertised in the newspaper. The district has a district-wide newsletter that they put our program in. And the newspaper did an article on what we were trying to do. All that brought in trickles of people and the trickles included English-speakers.

Medina credits Robles for the school's success at attracting Spanish-speaking parents to the dual-language option. "They trust her, they respect her. ...In fact, last Tuesday I dealt with a line of people who were very upset that they didn't get in."

Parents in the dual-language program at Montalvo understand that they are making a long-term commitment. They even sign a contract.

> They have to understand that there's a certain philosophy, and to have heard everything we have to say. They need to understand that Spanish is the language that will be spoken in kindergarten and first grade 90 percent of the day. And that 10 percent is all they'll get in English. We have high expectations for them – more than we would for anyone else. And we can, because they're willing to do it. They also have to be willing to attend meetings – we have meetings throughout the year. And so then they sign the contract and come to the orientation meeting, then they wait for their letter to see if they're invited to be part of the program.

Is there anything that differs between parents who choose the dual-language option, and those who do not? In Medina's assessment, dual-language parents are, on one hand, "the type who would put their child in another magnet school." On the other hand, "they see things in a little different light. They know that this is a way to get the

best for their child. Their level of exposure to second languages, and their educational level, tends to be higher." Further:

> They all want their children to excel and go on to college. That's the goal, and we do bring that up. We talk about – when the child goes to high school – they take a foreign language. It's required. They might learn the language, but they'll never be really bilingual. Here you're giving them a change to be, starting in kindergarten. When they get up to that foreign language, they're going to be beyond that, and they're really going to have language in their hearts. They'll think in that language. When you have that, your cognitive ability is greater because you're more receptive, and able to conceptualize in the two languages. It makes *everything* clearer, and they do excel. So that's part of what makes parents want this. They all have that in common. They want more for their child, and they're open-minded.

Challenges

One of the difficulties Medina experienced in starting the program was English monolingual teachers' fear that they would be left on the margins. Some concerns were personal, e.g., "What's going to happen to me when they all come visit you?" "Everyone wants to see your classroom and not mine?" Others were more directly related to the teachers' careers: "Are you going to ask us to leave and go to another school?" This is absolutely not Medina's intent. She will not ask anyone to go, even if it means that the dual-language program does not expand as quickly as it could. But when a staff member does leave, a bilingual person is hired to replace them.

At the time of our discussion, Medina had not considered implementing a team approach, which would help incorporate the English monolingual teachers. Not surprisingly, she was determined to first learn everything she could about this from others' experience and research.

> I would have to go visit all the schools. I have to see it, study it, talk to people, and know the pros and cons before I would go that way. We're open to anything. And our staff, now that they see that it's nothing to be frightened of, they're very much more open to this now – the rest of the staff that's not in the two-way immersion. So it would probably be more viable at this time.

It soon became clear to me that Montalvo teachers – English monolinguals included – have never posed a serious obstacle to starting or continuing a dual-language program. I wondered, and asked, if there was really anything in Medina's way.

> The obstacles were, and still continue to be, making sure we have the right curriculum materials... We had it all in place because we already had a bilingual program. But we need more. We need richer stuff. Language arts are there, but we want math. We want all the enrichment. We want more literature. We want to make sure that the assessments are more appropriate than what they were in the past because we're not headed toward just English. We want to keep that Spanish... with everything as good as it is in English.

Expectations are equally high in regard to evaluation. From her visits to other schools, Medina learned that Stanford 9 results are good for reports to the community, but not very useful in terms of evaluating a new instructional program with the goal of making adjustments where necessary. So parents in Montalvo's dual-language program get a video every year, to show the progress of oral language. The teaching team came up with this idea.

Necessary Conditions

Medina's final comments focus on teachers:

> It is a lot more work. But you don't even stop to get off the merry-go-round or the roller coaster to think about it. You just keep going. I have to ensure that their children will get – not just regular education – but better. And I have to know that they're going to get it because I'm promising the parents that their children will be successful, not just in terms of what the state demands of us, but all that in two languages. So

> I'm promising them more than any other school in this county's promising them. I have to make sure I have the right staff. You know, even if we didn't have money or materials, if I have the right teachers, they're going to do it. They're going to find a way.

OVERVIEW OF DUAL-LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICTS

In regard to two-way immersion, the Southern California districts and schools described above allow for an interesting comparison of conditions under which programs get started, as well as what keeps them going. The pioneering programs in Santa Monica and Long Beach both got their initial push from district-level administrators who saw an opportunity to do something they believed was worthwhile, and would work in their district.[19] They successfully wrote grants to fund planning and implementation; created talented, supportive, and stable teams at the school sites; and gained the trust and participation of parents. The same was true at Saddleback – the highest SES district in this study – except that English-speaking parents came first in the sequence. All three of these districts had favorable school boards to work with.

In terms of program initiation, Montebello and Ventura look quite a bit like Santa Monica and Long Beach: a district-level push, Title VII funding, good staffing, parent outreach, and school board approval. In both of these cases, however, Proposition 227 was the catalyst that set the grant writing and planning in motion. Leaders in Montebello and Ventura viewed the law not only as a mandate for change, but as an opportunity to do more instead of less in terms of promoting bilingualism in their schools. They decided to

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[19] Recall that in Santa Monica, the first way the program 'worked' was by desegregating a school on a fully voluntary basis.

offer a truly bilingual education to everyone. The teams in Montebello and Ventura were able to learn from others who were already implementing two-way immersion. They also had more relevant research at their disposal than the initial planners in places like Santa Monica did. To some extent, the newer teams could promote their programs to funders and parents on the basis of others' results. On the other hand, developers and teachers in the new programs are intensely aware that they and their students are under constant scrutiny by parents, superintendents, school boards, and ultimately the California Department of Education.

Education has become a political issue in California, and test scores are the bottom line. If a school's scores are shaky (e.g., Webster School in Long Beach), there is little room for experimentation. But if a school's test scores are dismal, why not try something new? Table 9.2 shows the percentage of all students scoring at or above the fiftieth percentile on the Stanford 9 achievement test in reading, language, and math in Montebello and Ventura schools with dual-language programs, with district percentages for comparison. In Montebello, particularly at La Merced and Winter Gardens, it seems that anything could be better. A well-researched, funded program that attracts new families and brings trained staff and resources (e.g., computers) that everyone in a school can use will almost surely raise test scores as a byproduct. At Montalvo in Ventura, the stakes are higher. The school's students are testing below average, but not gravely so. It was thus necessary to design and implement multiple measures of accountability for students in the dual-language program – several primarily aimed at parents, others for the district. Some of these measures are quite innovative and seem to be much more

effective than standardized tests at measuring dual-language learning in all subjects. I venture to predict that elite dual-language schools or programs will adopt them by choice.

DISCUSSION

Table 8.3 shows how the Southern California districts and CPS compare with each other and with national means for the variables employed in chapter six. The bottom row of the table lists each district's predicted value for the variable "dual-language program in 2001." The numbers raise two questions: Why are the predictions for Santa Monica, Saddleback Valley, and Ventura incorrect?[20] And, given that the model fits both LAUSD and CPS quite well, why is the dual-language option more popular and successful in Chicago?

Santa Monica, Saddleback Valley, and Ventura diverge from the quantitative model in that they are smaller and have fewer native Spanish-speakers than the average district with a dual-language program. But these differences do not sufficiently explain the incorrect predictions. These districts are three among eighty-four for which the regression model fails to predict an existing dual-language program. A primary reason for this is that the quantitative data do not adequately capture initiative. Parents' education is a rough proxy for high parent involvement in their children's educations, as well as for parents' belief in the cognitive, cultural, and/or economic value of bilingualism. But the narratives reveal that many dual-language programs are not parent-initiated. School boards (or individual board members), district administrators, and principals often play pivotal roles. Further, as noted at the end of chapter six, the large-

[20] Using a cut value of .50, these cases would be classified as observed but not predicted.

scale analysis tells nothing about the policy processes within school districts. This will be discussed at more length below.

Why is two-way immersion rare in LAUSD? Several explanations are plausible, alone and/or in combination. First of all, most of the students in LAUSD are poor. Parents' education is lower than average – in 1990 only 11 percent had earned a B.A. degree. The case studies, however, (including Chicago, which is very close to Los Angeles in terms of size, family income, and parent education) document that dual-language programs and low-SES populations are compatible. The only difference is that low-SES families do not initiate demand for them.

Second, under Proposition 227, LAUDS presents two-way immersion as a sub-option for English learners, lumped together with transitional bilingual ("waiver to basic") classes. Unless a family happens to live in the neighborhood of one of the few schools with dual-language programs, they will probably not learn about them. For English-speaking families, this is even more certain.

Third, mobility is a pressing concern.[21] Because many children move around within the district, or have homes both in Los Angeles and Mexico, there has been a push for standardization across schools. For example, the summary of a $53 million Annenberg Foundation matching grant to LAUSD (in 1995-2001) includes the following text:

> In a region of extraordinary and debilitating mobility among students and their families, the creation of School Families[22] aims to promote a degree of stability and continuity – at the very least, from grade to grade and from school to school – through resource sharing, improved communications,

[21] No recent LAUSD mobility statistics have been released.
[22] "School Families" consist of a high school and its feeder middle and elementary schools.

> and greater coherence among teachers' expectations, curriculum, and instructional practice. (Annenberg Institute for School Reform 1995)

In light of high mobility and efforts to deal with it, it seems that LAUSD dual-language programs will only be sustainable in certain low-mobility schools (e.g., Ivanhoe), or as part of School Families.

Fourth, over 40 percent of LAUSD students are classified as LEP. In schools with an average or above average share of these children (the vast majority of whom are Spanish-speakers), it is difficult to recruit and maintain enough native English-speakers for a dual-language program. And finally (though perhaps most important), administrator and teacher turnover is very high. The district reported a turnover rate of 6.8 for 2000-01, but this does not include teachers who move from school to school within LAUSD (FCMT 2002:13). The actual rate is over 15 percent (USDE 2000). Schools generally do not have the resources to attract experienced teachers. Most come with limited or no experience, and view their first jobs as stepping-stones to better ones. From his vantage point in Santa Monica, Vaca (2001) said this in regard to the situation in Los Angeles:

> There are a few exceptions, but usually the first school you were at was just the place to start. You were always looking to get closer to home or to a school where all the supplies were there, and the environment was conducive to learning. What you find is that inner city is kind of a transition for many educators. With the class size reduction,[23] LA lost a lot of teachers back to their neighborhood schools. So they really don't have much control over who comes and goes. There has to be supply and demand.

A comparison of Los Angeles and Chicago Schools is helpful in evaluating these accounts, as well as necessary to address the question posed above: Why are Spanish-

[23] During the Clinton administration, Congress passed legislation to provide states with funding for class size reduction. About $26.3 million went to LAUSD for this purpose (LAUSD 2002).

English dual-language programs on the rise in Chicago yet rare and generally tenuous in L.A.? Transitional bilingual education has been found lacking and undergone reforms in both places.[24] Both face a student mobility problem. The districts differ in that LAUSD has more than three times the LEP students than CPS does. This, however, should not preclude establishing dual-language programs in LAUSD schools that *do* have appropriate demographics, or establishing magnet-type situations that would attract English-speakers from neighboring areas (as at Edison in Santa Monica).

The first four factors mentioned above – low-SES population, post-Proposition 227 confusion, high student mobility, and many LEP students – are all relevant elements of the context within which decisions about initiating dual-language programs are made. Yet comparison with CPS and the other California districts discussed here shows that these – alone or in combination – are not determining conditions. The fifth factor, however, differentiates LAUSD from CPS as well as from its California neighbors. In LAUSD, the curriculum and pedagogy are highly standardized; school- and classroom-level autonomy is low. Principals and teachers cannot significantly diverge from the master plan (Recall Hernandez' account of the Open Court reading program.). Such standardization is arguably a good way of coping with a highly mobile student

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[24] In Chicago, the mandate to reform bilingual education came from a school board appointed by the mayor. Its goal is to improve LEP students' achievement, but the means are not strictly prescribed. Transitional classes were held to stricter standards, and dual-language programs were publicized as a superior alternative. California voters approved a much more specific directive, under which the default response was for schools to stop offering transitional bilingual programs. Proposition 227 did not target two-way immersion, but certainly did not encourage it. Since the law applies to all English learners, districts, schools, or individual parents of LEP students must obtain waivers in order to offer/participate in dual-language programs. Despite these obstacles, two-way immersion is offered in forty-nine California school districts (ninety-two schools) – more than in any other state. Texas is a distant second, with fifteen districts and thirty-eight schools (CAL 2001).

population, but it encourages principals and teachers to be mobile as well. There are no long-term, institutionalized incentives for them to stay in the same school. Plus, L.A. has a severe teacher shortage. Principals and teachers with even low (as opposed to no) seniority are able to move up by moving out – to more desirable schools than the ones they were in.[25]

By contrast, Chicago school administrators have quite a bit of freedom to initiate new programs or introduce new pedagogy. To do so, they have to be team builders as well as good managers. Once teachers have committed to a project, they have a stake in its success – as individuals and as a group. When this is the case, pitfalls and mistakes can be viewed as challenges to overcome rather than reasons to leave. Every single narrative in this study conveys the same reasoning about on-site leadership and staffing: *A dual-language program cannot exist without a consistent, competent, and supportive administrator-teacher team.* This is equally the case in elite schools and poor schools, where there is plentiful district-level support and where there is little. The administrative structure of CPS encourages the formation and maintenance of such teams, whereas that of LAUSD does not.

It is also noteworthy that the only aspects that significantly differentiate the Southern California districts (with or without LAUSD) from CPS[26] are Hispanics' institutional resources (higher in Southern California), and bilingual Hispanics' SEI (higher in Chicago). Neither of these variables, however, contributed significantly to the

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[25] This is a recognized problem in LAUSD, and several recent grant-funded initiatives address the issue via monetary incentives and training/certification for new teachers and the many paraprofessionals working as classroom teachers (Annenberg Institute for School Reform 1995; LAUSD 2002).

[26] Significance is assessed with one-way ANOVA tests.

regression equation. This finding was interpreted as an indication that, in general, Hispanics (elected officials, voters, prominent or influential Spanish-speakers...) are not driving the dual-language movement. The narratives confirm this understanding. While many Hispanic parents and community members participate in or otherwise support dual-language education, they have not demanded it. Education is a key political issue among Hispanics, but it is framed in much broader terms: quality schools and schooling for all (Aleman 2001; Gold 2001).

CONCLUSION

This section will discuss the empirical expectations and quantitative findings from chapter six in light of the Chicago and Southern California case studies, and summarize the additional findings that the qualitative research has yielded.

School Characteristics

The quantitative study of dual-language programs indicates that school population and the proportion of children who come from Spanish-speaking households are positively related to the likelihood that a district will offer two-way immersion. The case studies downplay the importance of district size. Since these districts range from medium to large, however, the qualitative analysis does not contribute to a discussion of the circumstances under which dual-language programs can exist within small districts, or just how small a district can be.[27]

While the case studies confirm the prediction that two-way immersion will be more prevalent where Spanish-speakers are plentiful, they also show that school-level

[27] The smallest dual-language district is Fresno, CA – with just over 1000 students in 1990.

proportion of children from Spanish-speaking households is a more appropriate measure than district-level proportion. Provided that there are enough Spanish-speakers to fill half a class per year, their concentration within a given school and their parents' willingness to put them in two-way immersion are the facilitating or limiting factors. The quantitative data show that dual-language programs sometimes exist in districts where the proportion of Spanish-speakers is very low. In addition, they suggest that a very high proportion of Spanish-speakers will lower the probability of two-way immersion. The quadratic term is non-significant in the final model in Table 6.2, but this again could be because district-level measures do not necessarily mirror the populations of individual schools.

Student mobility is not measured in the quantitative analysis, but comes up often in the narratives. Mobility can be a major challenge dual-language program to maintenance. The Chicago case study is most revealing here because it includes actual mobility rates. The discussion reveals that some schools (e.g., Brenneman) have adopted strategies that help them deal with high mobility in a dual-language setting. Others (e.g., Finkl) were unsuccessful. In Los Angeles, the extent to which student mobility hinders the initiation of dual-language programs is unclear (though it has definitely undermined the existing program at Mark Twain). The larger issue in L.A. is mobility among teachers and administrators. Since it is very difficult to maintain a dual-language program without staff stability, it is not surprising that these programs are rare in LAUSD.

Parents

The case studies help explain the quantitative finding that the median income of families in a district does not help predict the presence of a dual-language program. They indicate that two-way immersion can exist in both middle/high- and low-SES districts and schools, but that the process through which it is initiated is different in the two settings. This is illustrated is Figure 8.1. In relatively high-SES schools such as Inter-American in Chicago's Lakeview area or Gates Elementary in Laguna Hills, the narratives clearly show that parents' demand and efforts were responsible for starting the schools' dual-language programs. Initially, the CPS Board was, at best, ambivalent towards the parents and staff at Inter-American, but did not prevent the program from moving forward. Gates parents and teachers always had school board and district support, which has facilitated the program's expansion into middle and high school. In contrast, school and/or district administrators were the ones to initiate two-way immersion in lower SES schools such as Brenneman, Hedges, and Monroe in Chicago; Webster in Long Beach, and Winter Gardens and Laguna Nueva in Montebello. In these places, school administrators must educate parents about two-way immersion and solicit their participation.

The parent education variable in chapter six seems to capture parent involvement more than SES. The narratives corroborate this; educated parents are more engaged in their children's education. 'Mother not full-time employed' is also a crude measure of potential involvement, but it does not adequately represent parent participation that is the result of principals' and teachers' efforts to bring parents into schools (as at Hedges in Chicago and Montalvo in Ventura).

Community Context

The narratives confirm the quantitative finding that the relative prosperity or political influence of bilinguals and Hispanics in a community does not influence the probability that its schools will offer the dual-language option. As mentioned in the discussion of each case study, Hispanic Americans collectively express strong interest in quality education, but are not known to uniformly advocate for particular language programs. While high- and low-SES parents are often eager to place their children in two-way immersion, they are not the ones pressing for it. The push comes either from high-SES English-speakers or from administrators at the school or district level.

Backlash against Bilingual Education

Chapter six suggests that dual-language programs are more prevalent in states in which legislation against bilingual education has been passed or is being considered. This finding may be largely due to the fact that California is one such state, and there are a lot of dual-language districts in California. While they do not support the notion that two-way immersion is being used as a way to re-label transitional bilingual programs, they do show that some California administrators saw the dual-language option as a way to comply with Proposition 227 without resorting to English-only schools. There is no evidence, however, that this is a general trend.

Policy Process

The narratives include examples of districts that maintain very tight control over what is taught in their schools (e.g., Los Angles and Saddleback) as well as districts that allow school administrators a lot of freedom to initiate new programs (e.g., Chicago and Long

Beach). In the first instance, dual-language programs are unlikely to exist and/or continue without district support. Where district-level controls are looser, school administrators may complain about lack of district support, but this does not keep them from going ahead with their plans.

Another aspect of district-level control is standardization across schools. This is best exemplified by LAUSD. As mentioned above, a highly standardized curriculum (in combination with other factors such as a teacher shortage) seems to encourage mobility among principals and teachers by making it easy for them to change schools. This situation is unique to Los Angeles, and – in combination with the district's top-down policy process – best explains the across-case differences in dual-language education's existence and persistence. Two-way immersion in LAUSD is likely to continue at schools like Ivanhoe and Grand View (as long as the school continues to attract administrators who support the program), but is unlikely to spread. Growth is more probable in areas with well-supported programs and compatible demographics, such as Ventura and Montebello. Future research could test these predictions by examining the growth and diffusion of two-way immersion within and across school districts.

Table 8.1. Schools with Spanish-English Dual-Language Programs, 2001-2001

School	Program Initiation	Grades Served	Hispanic %	Black %	White %	Asian %	Other %	LEP %	Free Lunch %	Mobility Rate
SANTA MONICA										
Edison	1986	K-5	70.9	6.0	22.2	0.9	0.0	58.0	57.6	
Adams Middle	1991	6-8	44.6	12.0	38.6	4.4	0.4	24.7	37.5	
Santa Monica High	1995	9-12	31.8	10.4	50.4	6.5	0.9	9.7	16.0	
ENTIRE DISTRICT	-	-	**27.2**	**8.4**	**58.2**	**5.5**	**0.7**	**13.5**	**21.90**	
LONG BEACH										
Henry	1989	K-5	58.9	10.6	25.1	4.4	1	45.6	67.9	
Lafayette	1998	K-3	72.2	19.5	2.5	2.5	12.6	55.0	90.8	
Webster	1995	K-5	52.1	32	2	1.3	12.6	34.4	90.7	
ENTIRE DISTRICT	-	-	**45.4**	**19.7**	**17.8**	**11.5**	**5.6**	**33.8**	**68.30**	
SADDLEBACK VALLEY										
Gates	1991	K-6	67.0	2.4	24.6	3.5	2.5	41.8	54.7	
Los Alisos Middle	1997	6-8	26.9	2.5	59.8	7.8	3.0	12.4	19.0	
Laguna Hills High	2000	9-10	15.4	1.7	66.7	13.5	3.0	7.7	7.3	
ENTIRE DISTRICT	-	-	**17.9**	**2.1**	**70.4**	**7.9**	**1.7**	**6.9**	**10.3**	
LOS ANGELES										
Grand View	1991	K-5	85.0	4.7	7.8	1.4	1.1	67.6	84.3	17.7
Limerick	1991	K-5	73.2	5.7	11.4	8.1	1.6	54.0	79.0	18.5
Weigand	1992	K-4	78.7	21.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.2	25.2	44.9
Ivanhoe	1998	K-3	30.6	7.5	41.4	14.1	6.4	19.2	25.2	12.6
Mark Twain Middle	1998	6-8	70.3	20.1	5.7	1.6	2.3	29.0	74.2	37.1
ENTIRE DISTRICT	-	-	**71.4**	**12.4**	**9.6**	**4.0**	**2.6**	**44.0**	**74.0**	**unavailable**
MONTEBELLO										
La Merced	1999	K-1	85.1	0.5	7.7	5.9	0.8	37.6	52.9	
Winter Gardens	2000	K	98.9	0	0.8	0	0.2	82.6	95.9	
Laguan Nueva	2000	K	97.3	0.1	2.4	0	0.2	60.7	87.5	
ENTIRE DISTRICT	-	-	**91.9**	**0.4**	**3.1**	**4.1**	**0.5**	**45.7**	**73.7**	
VENTURA										
Montalvo	2000	K	64.1	2.2	26.1	3.4	4.2	28.4	57.1	
ENTIRE DISTRICT	-	-	**40.8**	**2.0**	**55.1**	**2.0**	0.1	**12.9**	**30.5**	

Note: Demographic data are for 2000-01.
Mobility rates are only available as shown.

Sources: Los Angeles Unified School District
California Department of Education

Table 8.2. Percent of Students Scoring at or above the 50th Percentile on the Stanford 9 Achievement Test, 2001

MONTEBELLO	La Merced	Winter Gardens	Laguna Nueva	ENTIRE DISTRICT
Grade 3 Reading	39	16	17	**22**
Grade 5 Reading	0	0	9	**22**
Grade 3 Language	38	21	22	**27**
Grade 5 Language	0	0	26	**34**
Grade 3 Math	46	25	31	**41**
Grade 5 Math	0	0	18	**33**

VENTURA	Montalvo	ENTIRE DISTRICT
Grade 3 Reading	43	**61**
Grade 5 Reading	53	**60**
Grade 3 Language	31	**61**
Grade 5 Language	59	**63**
Grade 3 Math	54	**69**
Grade 5 Math	52	**67**

Source: California Department of Education
http://data1.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/

Table 8.3. Variables in the Nationwide School District Analysis (2)

	mean-all districts (N=2233)	mean-dists. w/ D-L programs (N=100)	Santa Monica	Long Beach	Los Angeles	Saddleback Valley	Montebello	Ventura	Chicago
LNschool population	8.55	10.03	9.38	11.51	13.74	10.40	10.67	9.98	13.35
LNspending on instruction	9.24	10.68	10.22	12.12	14.61	11.08	11.49	10.49	13.85
proportion of children in Spanish-speaking households	0.12	0.23	0.19	0.22	0.41	0.09	0.58	0.15	0.19
proportion of non-white, non-Hispanic children	0.10	0.15	0.11	0.26	0.37	0.08	0.06	0.05	0.37
proportion children in non-Spanish- or English-speaking households	0.07	0.07	•	0.15	0.08	•	0.06	0.04	0.05
proportion of families who rent rather than own	0.32	0.47	0.53	0.66	0.67	0.19	0.67	0.46	0.66
median income in children's households	$40,749	$34,390	$50,542	$30,285	27145	$64,484	$27,460	$44,244	$21,783
proportion of parents with a BA or higher degree	0.20	0.18	0.42	0.14	0.11	0.39	0.06	0.23	0.08
proportion of mothers not F/T employed	0.54	0.51	0.58	0.48	0.44	0.56	0.42	0.52	•
Hispanics' institutional resources (state-level)	1.11	2.10	2.57	2.57	2.57	2.57	2.57	2.57	0.07
Hispanic status composite** (metro area-level)	0.81	0.74	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.85	0.66
Bilingual Hispanic adults' mean SEI (metro area-level)	1.48	1.67	1.47	1.47	1.47	1.47	1.47	1.41	1.69
Official English law passed by referendum	0.24	0.50	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
proportion of GOP presidential votes high (1984 & 1992 avg.)	0.25	0.20	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
English Plus state law or resolution	0.04	0.07	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
anti-bilingual education law passed or under discussion, 2001	0.36	0.58	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
predicted value from Table 6.2, Model 6***	0.04	0.23	0.23	0.58	0.97	0.13	0.66	0.19	0.81

*Values missing in the 1990 NCES SDDB.
**This is a composite of Hispanics' mean education, income, and SEI relative to non-Hispanics'.
***Dependent variable: dual-language program in the district (0/1).

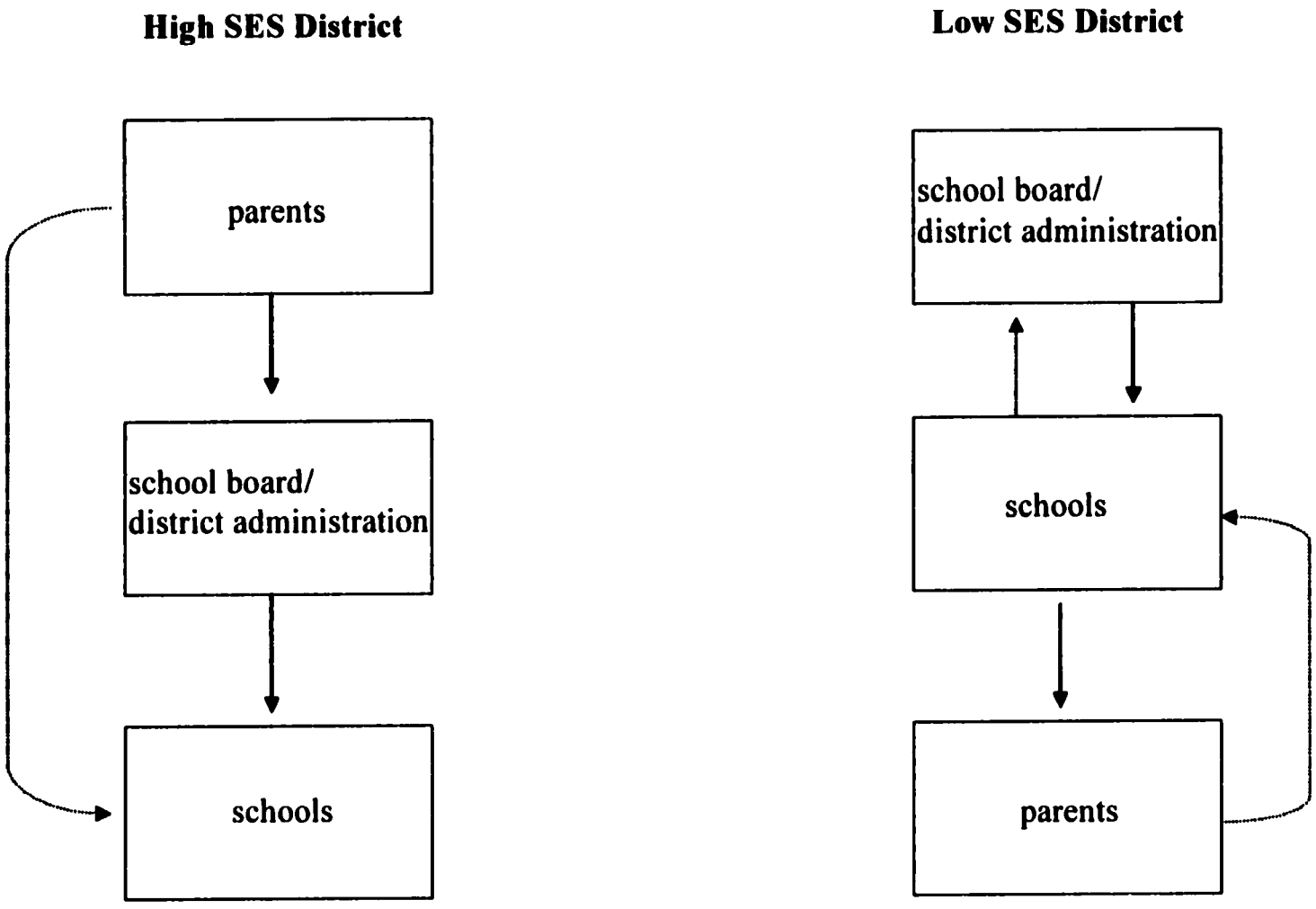

Figure 8.1. Dual-Language Program Initiation in High- and Low-SES Districts

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Language is a marker of cultural identity. Though cultural identities are susceptible to change (Brass 1991; Laitin 1998), every immigration country (with the possible exception of Canada) has managed to maintain the status quo of its dominant language. Whether or not the dominant language is 'official' in a legal sense or as a requirement for political membership, newcomers are expected to learn and use it. Given this background, the rise of Spanish as a second language in the U.S. is "a most unusual instance" of what Zollberg and Long (1999) call "broad-gauged boundary blurring" and I have referred to as an additive model of assimilation. The conversion of a monolingual culture into a bilingual one "would constitute a unique case of boundary shifting in the linguistic sphere" (p. 24).

This study has presented evidence that such a transition is occurring, but quite unevenly across areas of the country. It documents a particular aspect of "an overall reassertion of heritage and cultural distinctness" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001c:301). Whether, in the long term, this represents (as Portes and Rumbaut argue) a shift from American identity to ethnic identity or a broadening of the definition of American identity remains to be seen. It is likely that both claims are true, but the validity of each will vary regionally and temporally.

The analysis of bilingualism among Hispanic adults in the U.S. and that of dual-language programs have very little in common. Besides the presence of Spanish-speakers, no characteristics of an area's Hispanic population affect the initiation of a dual-language program. Influential Hispanics may support dual-language education, but they are not the ones demanding it. Though Latino educators are obviously prominent in planning and implementing school programs that promote Spanish maintenance, two-way immersion is not a 'Latino issue'. There is no evidence that Hispanic politicians or school administrators are propelling the dual-language movement. Further, education and involvement with their children's schooling is what differentiates the parents who actively seek and support dual language programs – not ethnicity.

It is highly unlikely that work stemming from the two pieces of this dissertation will be presented together in the future. Still, the unanticipated finding that almost nothing about the context within which U.S. Hispanics make linguistic choices influences the initiation of dual-language school programs contributes to a discussion of how ideas about national and ethnic identities can shift to accommodate extant circumstances. In the case of two-way immersion, *non-Hispanics are adapting*. Committing to dual-language education requires much more of English-speaking parents than of Spanish-speakers whose children will learn English anyway.

POSSIBLE EXTENSIONS OF THIS WORK (PART I): BILINGUALISM AMONG HISPANICS IN THE U.S.

Area-Specific Linguistic Change

Since a primary value of language is communicative, speaking a particular language is valuable to an individual only to the extent that others nearby speak the same language. Modeling individual language choice thus requires modeling dependence among individuals.[1] 'Tipping' and related critical mass models (Granovetter 1989; Schelling 1978) provide a useful theoretical frame for exploring the structure of preferences and the dynamics of language choice. It is implicit in tipping models that individuals have different preferences. But when enough people take the same action, their collective choice becomes part of the context within which others choose. This means that the payoff (benefits-costs) of a particular linguistic choice changes according to how many other people have already made that choice. In the case of Spanish maintenance, an individual or family might be more likely to want to maintain linguistic ties to their heritage if enough other Hispanics have made a similar choice, and this has been expressed through institutionalized education programs (mostly in public and private schools, but also via community organizations and churches). Such programs make it less costly for families to maintain Spanish alongside English.

Although most people base their language decisions – at least in part – on what those around them are doing, or what they expect others to do, the definition of a "critical mass" ('enough' others making a particular choice) depends on one's own motives and preferences (Schelling 1978:102-109). The important thing is not necessarily how many people do the same thing, but rather that expectations regarding this quantity of people are, in reality, matched or exceeded. For example, people who retain (or even learn) Spanish because their jobs requires it, or in order to communicate with relatives in

[1] I thank Kate Stovel for formulating this introduction to this discussion that follows.

Mexico, probably will not be concerned about how many others in the community are doing the same thing. But those whose primary reason for bilingualism is a desire to maintain a Hispanic identity and an active appreciation for Hispanic cultures will care a lot. Here the question is whether enough people choose bilingualism to create the critical mass that will cause those 'on the fence' to join in.

A main point of Schelling's (1978) discussion of critical mass models is that different preference structures (aggregations of individual preferences) matter in terms of macro-level outcomes. Within the framework of Schelling's theoretical work, it is not necessary or relevant to explain where these distributions come from, or why they are different across time or place. In studying Spanish-English bilingualism in the United States, however, these factors are crucial. Since people make language choices within a particular context (such as described in chapter four), contextual changes will alter the way the cumulative distribution of preferences looks and, of course, the level of bilingualism that we actually observe. It could be fruitful to track the ways in which the context for language choice in a given place changes over time. It could also be interesting to develop and experiment with computational models of linguistic tipping (from English monolingualism to Spanish-English bilingualism, or vice versa) under various simulated conditions.

Future research could augment and test the macro-level model presented in chapter four by identifying metro areas in which the proportion of bilingual Hispanics is substantially lower or higher than the model predicts. For example, Figure 9.1 plots the

1990 levels of bilingualism and the difference between predicted[2] and actual bilingualism for MSA/PMSAs where this difference is positive. Will the 2000 Census reveal increased bilingualism in these places? If so, how will this alter the context within which people make linguistic choices?

Spanish Retention vs. Spanish Acquisition

In places where bilingualism among native-born Hispanic adults increases between 1990 and 2000, it would be useful to know how the increase came about. Census data do not allow researchers to distinguish between second and higher generation Hispanics in the U.S., or between Spanish *retention* among those for whom it is the mother tongue and Spanish *acquisition*. Smaller, more detailed studies such as the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (Princeton University Center for Migration and Development 2002), will be useful in assessing Spanish retention and usage among the second generation, especially as data about the language choices of adult children of immigrants becomes available.

Further, it is impossible, using Census data, to identify people who know Spanish well but do not regularly use it at home, or to assess the past or present prevalence of bilingual households in which children are taught Spanish and English simultaneously. Respondents are not asked which languages they know, and cannot report speaking two languages at home; they must pick only one. These are other areas in which survey data that include more language questions would be very useful.

Spanish Monolinguals

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[2] from Table 4.2, Model 4

The analysis in chapter four excludes Spanish-speakers that do not speak English well because there is overwhelming evidence that, in the U.S., Spanish monolingualism is not a stable linguistic situation. This research focuses on why people who are fluent in English actively maintain Spanish rather than on why or how Spanish monolinguals learn (or do not learn) English. Yet individual or intergenerational linguistic change involves – for Hispanic immigrants or U.S. natives who grew up in Spanish-speaking communities – a process of adapting to one's current circumstances.[3] This has not been adequately explored within the contextual parameters I have identified. Table 9.1 shows that, although the vast majority of U.S.-born and 1.5 generation Latinos claim to speak English very well, some do not. Given that the numbers in the table derive from a 1 percent sample of the population, the actual numbers – while proportionally small – are substantial. The circumstances of this Spanish monolingual group merit more academic attention.

POSSIBLE EXTENSIONS OF THIS WORK (PART II): DUAL-LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Two-Way Immersion and Social Change

Tollefson (1991) views language planning institutions (such as schools) as "inseparable from the political economy." Language-teaching policy is "one mechanism by which the interests of the dominant sociopolitical groups are maintained [or] the seeds of transformation are developed." (p. 32). School language policies constrain or increase individuals' possible choices about which language(s) their children will speak and

[3] I thank Charlie Hirschman for encouraging me to explore this topic.

become literate in. Dual-language education could be a "seed of transformation" in that it expands the choice set.

English-speakers' demand and support for two-way immersion programs is, at least in part, a response to Latinos' growing numbers and the increasing importance of Spanish in economic and political spheres. Yet from a linguist's perspective, "the brutal fact is that most 'big' language speakers in most societies remain unconvinced of either the immediate need or the philosophical desirability of officially-supported cultural and linguistic programmes for their small-language neighbours" (Edward1994:195). Two points arise in response: First, dual-language programs are not just for Spanish-speakers and/or Hispanics. Second, as the narratives in chapters seven and eight document, dual-language parents (*especially* the English-speakers) do not consider Spanish to be a 'small language'. The growth of two-way immersion corresponds to a change in the degree to which non-Hispanic Americans value Spanish.

Dual-language programs are on the rise, even in places where anti-bilingual education and official English legislation is in place. To the extent that the public is able to differentiate two-way immersion from transitional bilingual or other programs designed to serve LEP children,[4] the dual-language option is not politically contentious. The Southern California narratives provide several examples of educators who saw Proposition 227 as an opportunity to promote bilingualism for everyone rather than to

[4] It should be noted that many parents and voters do not know what two-way immersion is. This is not surprising given that the programs are still relatively rare, and most of their growth is quite recent.

teach English only. If anything, negative public discourse about bilingual education is contributing to the spread of dual-language programs.[5]

How much and how quickly dual-language programs will spread is a topic worthy of continued inquiry. Besides program growth and diffusion, and outcomes for the students involved; research should focus on the social impact of two-way immersion programs in the communities where they are located. Dual-language educators often point out that what they are doing goes beyond language in a communicative sense in that it promotes cross-cultural communication and respect. At the same time they are enhancing the position of Spanish within a larger socioeconomic context. To the extent that dual-language programs and persons educated in them succeed at "contesting the legitimacy of monolingualism in Standard English as the unquestioned norm in mainstream U.S. schools," these programs could also enhance the value of Spanish-English bilingualism in comparison to English monolingualism (Freeman (1998:11). As the narratives in chapters seven and eight illustrate, some educators and parents are already convinced that the value of bilingualism is rising. For them two-way immersion is a proactive response to demographic and economic realities, not an effort to promote social change. But the potential for social change exists, in the form of a shift in what it means – linguistically – to be American and/or to assimilate into American society.

Backlash Against Bilingualism

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[5] Another example: Several years ago an anti-bilingual education measure being considered in Virginia threatened to end two-way immersion by mandating that English be the only language of instruction in elementary school. Parents of dual-language students strongly and visibly protested. Their actions resulted in a change in the wording of the proposed law, as well as increased demand for two-way immersion (Myers 2001).

It is quite possible, if not outright predictable, that the growth of two-way immersion will fuel opposition from official English supporters and others who feel culturally or economically threatened by an increase in bilingualism among Americans. So, while this study documents a framework within which more and more Americans could retain or obtain bilingualism, it also introduces the prospect that efforts to maintain an English monolingual status quo will increase. This poses another potential research topic.

For Educators: Learning from Others' Experiences

The primary goal of my quantitative and qualitative research about dual-language programs was to understand the circumstances and motives that have led to their establishment. Chapters seven and eight contain more information than I was able to analyze within the parameters of my research question. This information could be valuable to policy-oriented researchers. The interview transcripts, narratives, and analyses thereof would be most useful as dual-language education resources as part of a larger database on the topic, such as that maintained by the Center for Applied Linguistics.[6]

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The immigration of Spanish-speakers to the U.S. continues, with high support from elected officials whose constituents believe that immigrant labor is essential to the economy. In what Portes and Rumbaut (2001b) call "the best of circumstances," the children of immigrant workers will become Americans while maintaining a transnational

[6] Sharing the interviews would require permission from the interviewees.

identity of which fluent bilingualism and biliteracy is a part. But, the ideologies that are most prevalent among the English-dominant population could imperil the future of the new second generation by "perpetuating the condition of the existing minority underclass" rather than adapting to the current situation. Portes and Rumbaut's study highlights a need for the Anglo majority to realize "where its real self-interests lie in the long run, and thus build a constituency for an alternate set of policies" (p. 286).

This dissertation has examined what "the best of circumstances" for Spanish-English bilingualism are, and when and where they are most likely to exist. It has also documented a relatively small but serious effort to promote bilingualism among children from Spanish- *and* English-speaking backgrounds. To the extent that two-way immersion continues and grows, it will increase bilingualism in the next generation of adults.

This project has raised more questions than it has offered answers to, thus beginning the process of defining an ongoing research agenda. It is hoped that extensions of this work will contribute to the literatures on contemporary immigrant assimilation and language politics by continuing to define the context(s) within which speaking Spanish in addition to English has become – or could become – a viable part of American identity.

Table 9.1. Language Usage Among Native-Born/1.5 Generation Hispanic Adults in the U.S., 1990*

		Language Spoken at Home		
		English	Spanish	Total
English	Speaks only English	16,904		
Ability	Speaks very well		23,308	40,212
	Speaks well		5,585	
	Does not speak well		1,793	
	No English		405	
Total		16,904	31,091	47,995

*Source: 1990 1% PUMS

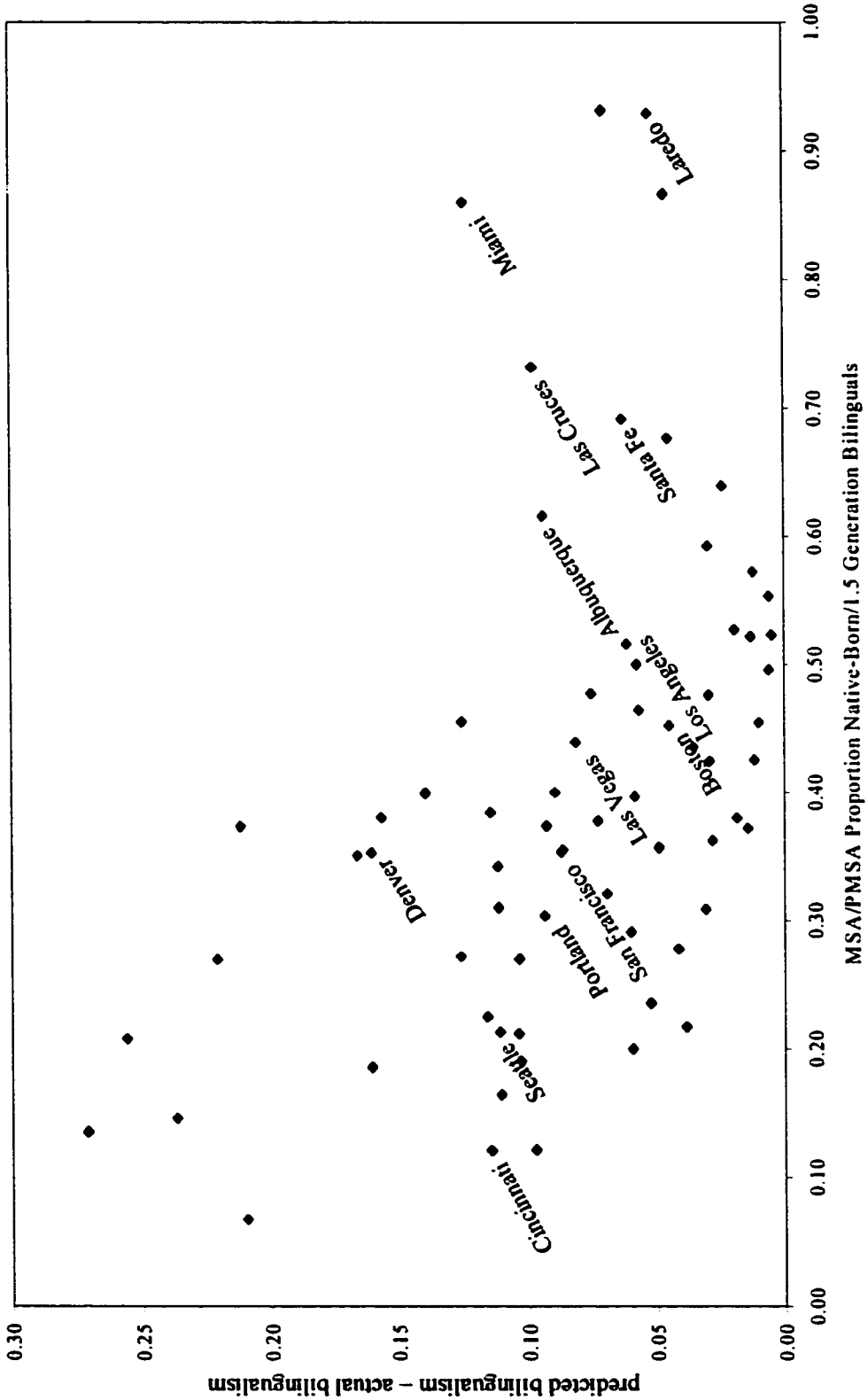

Figure 9.1. MSA/PMSAs Where Predicted Bilingualism > Actual Bilingualism, 1990

Predictions derived from Table 4.2, Model 4.

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Appendix 1. Examples of an Official English Law and an English Plus Resolution

CALIFORNIA OFFICIAL ENGLISH LAW (1986)

Article III, Section 6, California Constitution

Section 1. (a) Purpose: English is the common language of the people of the United States of America and the State of California. This section is intended to preserve, protect and strengthen the English language, and not to supersede any of the rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution.

(b) English as the Official language of California. English is the official language of the State of California.

(c) Enforcement. The Legislature shall enforce this section by appropriate legislation. The Legislature and officials of the State of California shall take all steps necessary to insure that the role of English as the common language of the State of California is preserved and enhanced. The Legislature shall make no law which diminishes or ignores the role of English as the common language of the State of California.

(d) Personal Right of Action and Jurisdiction of Courts. Any person who is a resident of or doing business in the Sate of California shall have standing to sue the State of California to enforce this section, and the Courts of record of the State of California shall have jurisdiction to hear cases brought to enforce this section. The Legislature may provide reasonable and appropriate limitations on the time and manner of suits brought under this section.

Section 2. Severability: If any provision of this section, or the application of any such provision to any person or circumstance, shall be held invalid, the remainder of this section to the extent it can be given effect shall not be affected thereby, and to this end the provisions of this section are severable.

OREGON ENGLISH PLUS RESOLUTION

Senate Joint Resolution 16 (1989)

WHEREAS the diverse ethnic and linguistic communities have contributed to the social and economic prosperity of Oregon; and

WHEREAS it is the welcomed responsibility and opportunity of Oregon to respect and facilitate the efforts of all cultural, ethnic and linguistic segments of the population to become full participants in our community; and

WHEREAS Oregon's economic well-being depends heavily on foreign trade and international exchange and one out of five jobs is directly linked to foreign trade and

international exchange; and

WHEREAS we wish to protect and promote the multilingual nature of communication that currently exists in Oregon and to build trust and understanding; and

WHEREAS English is already the predominant language of Oregon and legislation imposing English as the official language of Oregon impairs our pluralistic ideals; and

WHEREAS our federal courts have recognized that English-only rules can have an adverse impact on protected groups and constitutes discrimination; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

That the use of diverse languages in business, government and private affairs, and the presence of diverse cultures is welcomed, encouraged, and protected in Oregon.

Sources: Crawford 2000; Tatalovich 1995

Appendix 2. Pearson Correlations for Chapter 4 Variables

Metro-Areas (N=137)

	NP.BIL	LNHISP	P.FBH	ACL	CA	BINCCOMP	BLSEICOM	HISSTAT	POLIT	GOPHI
NP.BIL	1.00	0.69 ***	0.10	0.62 ***	-0.04	0.11	0.62 ***	-0.50 ***	0.54 ***	0.03
proportion native-born Hispanics who are bilingual										
LNHISP	0.69 ***	1.00	-0.08	0.73 ***	0.38 ***	0.02	0.42 ***	-0.66 ***	0.71 ***	-0.15
LN proportion Hispanic										
P.FBH	0.10	-0.08	1.00	0.06	0.08	-0.08	0.16	-0.06	-0.32 ***	0.12
proportion Hispanic adults who are foreign born										
ACL	0.62 ***	0.73 ***	0.06	1.00	0.19 *	0.11	0.63 ***	-0.50 ***	0.51 ***	-0.18 *
Absolute Clustering index for Hispanics										
CA	-0.04	0.38 ***	0.08	0.19 *	1.00	-0.10	-0.13	-0.25 **	0.18 *	-0.12
California										
BINCCOMP	0.11	0.02	-0.08	0.11	-0.10	1.00	0.32 ***	-0.09	0.04	0.17
bilinguals' income:English monolinguals' income										
BLSEICOM	0.62 ***	0.42 ***	0.16	0.64 ***	-0.12	0.32 ***	1.00	-0.25 **	0.26 **	0.04
bilinguals' SEI:English monolinguals' SEI										
HISSTAT	-0.50 ***	-0.66 ***	-0.06	-0.51 ***	-0.24 **	-0.09	-0.25 **	1.00	-0.37 ***	-0.03
Hispanic status composite										
POLIT	0.54 ***	0.71 ***	-0.32 ***	0.51 ***	0.18 *	0.04	0.26 **	-0.37 ***	1.00	0.09
Hispanics' political influence										
GOPHI	0.03	-0.15	-0.03	0.18*	-0.12	0.17	-0.04	0.03	0.09	1.00
GOP votes in highest third of range										
OEREF	0.08	0.35 ***	0.12	0.11	0.61 ***	-0.08	-0.04	-0.01	0.24 **	0.04
Official English law passed via referendum										

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed tests)

continued on the following page

Appendix 2 (cont'd.). Pearson Correlations for Chapter 4 Variables

Native-born Hispanics (N=40,212)

	BILING	SPNBDENG	AGE	SEX	EDUC	MEX	PR	CUBAN	LNHISP	P.FBH	CA	BLSEICOM
BILING	1.00	0.22 ***	0.09 ***	-0.03 ***	-0.13 ***	0.07 ***	0.08 ***	0.02 ***	0.22 ***	-0.01 ***	-0.14 ***	0.22 ***
Spanish-English bilingual												
SPNBDENG	0.22 ***	1.00	-0.11 ***	0.01	-0.09 ***	0.01	0.03 ***	0.03 ***	0.11 ***	0.08 ***	-0.02 ***	0.13 ***
Spanish monolingual in household												
AGE	0.09 ***	-0.11 ***	1.00	-0.02 ***	-0.14 ***	0.07 ***	-0.13 ***	-0.06 ***	0.03 ***	-0.09 ***	0.06 ***	-0.06 ***
SEX	-0.03 ***	0.01	-0.02 ***	1.00	0.02 ***	0.00	0.00	0.00 ***	-0.01	0.01	0.01 **	-0.01
EDUC	-0.13 ***	-0.09 ***	-0.14 ***	0.02 ***	1.00	-0.10 ***	0.01	0.09 ***	-0.05 ***	0.05 ***	0.02 ***	0.01
Educational attainment, 1990												
MEX	0.07 ***	0.01	0.07 ***	0.00	-0.10 ***	1.00	-0.55 ***	-0.23 ***	0.24 ***	-0.26 ***	0.22 ***	-0.02 ***
Mexican												
PR	0.08 ***	0.03 ***	-0.13 ***	0.00	0.01	-0.55 ***	1.00	-0.06 ***	-0.17 ***	0.33 ***	-0.22 ***	0.05 ***
Puerto Rican												
CUBAN	0.02 ***	0.01 ***	-0.06 ***	0.00	0.09 ***	-0.23 ***	-0.05 ***	1.00	-0.03 ***	0.16 ***	-0.08 ***	0.14 ***
LNHISP	0.220 ***	0.11 ***	0.030 ***	-0.01	-0.050 ***	0.24 ***	-0.17 ***	-0.03 ***	1.00	0.01	0.25 ***	0.42 ***
LN proportion Hispanic												
P.FBH	-0.01	0.08 ***	-0.09 ***	0.01	0.05 ***	-0.26 ***	0.33 ***	0.16 ***	0.01	1.00	0.32 ***	0.11 ***
proportion Hispanic adults who are foreign born												
CA	-0.14 ***	-0.02 ***	0.06 ***	0.01	0.02 ***	0.22 ***	-0.22 ***	-0.08 ***	0.25	0.32 ***	1.00	-0.26 ***
California												
BLSEICOM	0.22 ***	0.13 ***	-0.06 ***	-0.01	0.01	-0.02 ***	0.05 ***	0.14 ***	0.42 ***	0.11 ***	-0.26 ***	1.00
bilinguals' SEI:English monolinguals' SEI												
POLIT	0.15 ***	0.01	0.07 ***	0.00	-0.04 ***	0.26 ***	-0.30 ***	-0.09 ***	0.60 ***	-0.48 ***	-0.06 ***	0.14 ***
Hispanics' political influence												

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed tests)

continued on the following page

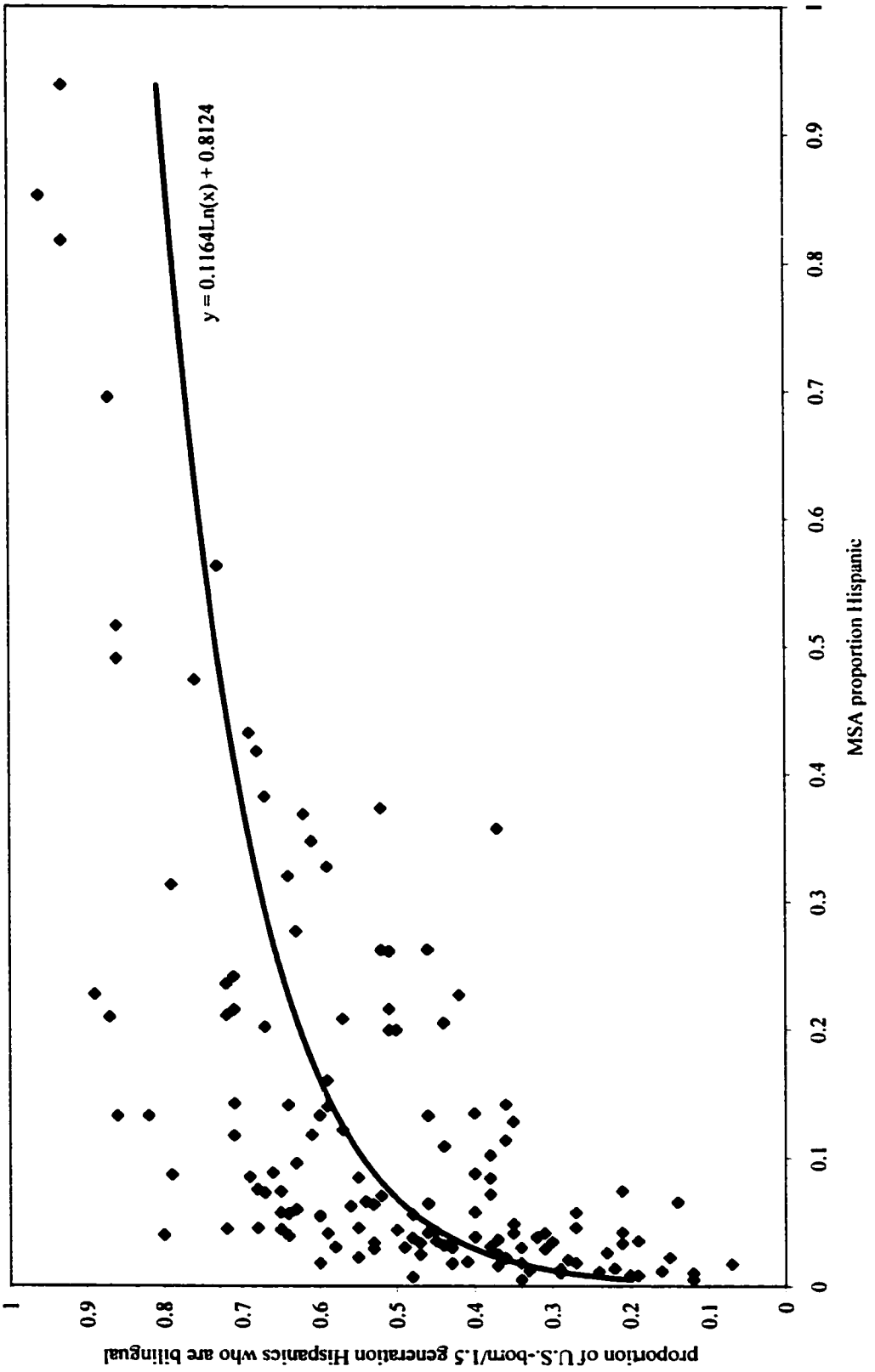
Appendix 2 (cont'd.). Pearson Correlations for Chapter 4 Variables

Foreign-born Hispanics (N=24,290)

	BILING	EOINHOUS	YRSUSA	AGE	SEX	EDUC	MEX	PR	CUBAN	LNHISP	P.FBH
BILING	1.000	-0.431 ***	0.018 **	-0.095 ***	-0.006	0.116 ***	-0.009	0.036 ***	0.023 ***	0.026 ***	0.064 ***
EOINHOUS English monolingual (other than self) in household	-0.431 ***	1.000	-0.032 ***	0.008	-0.163 ***	-0.031 ***	0.020 **	-0.039 ***	-0.040 ***	-0.046 ***	-0.079 ***
YRSUSA Years in the United States	0.018 **	-0.032 ***	1.000	0.420 ***	-0.066 ***	0.133 ***	-0.101 ***	0.153 ***	0.191 ***	-0.014 *	0.033 ***
AGE Age	-0.095 ***	0.008	0.420 ***	1.000	-0.056 ***	-0.066 ***	-0.159 ***	0.121 ***	0.083 ***	-0.040 ***	0.047 ***
SEX Sex	-0.006 **	-0.163 ***	-0.066 ***	-0.056 ***	1.000	-0.017 **	0.047 ***	-0.034 ***	0.005	-0.005	-0.012
EDUC Educational attainment, 1990	0.116 ***	-0.031 ***	0.133 ***	-0.066 ***	-0.017 **	1.000	-0.276 ***	-0.008	0.167 ***	-0.119 ***	0.060 ***
MEX Mexican	-0.009	0.020 **	-0.101 ***	-0.159 ***	0.047 ***	-0.276 ***	1.000	-0.386 ***	-0.282 ***	0.228 ***	-0.417 ***
PR Puerto Rican	0.036 ***	-0.039 ***	0.153 ***	0.121 ***	-0.034 ***	-0.008	-0.386 ***	1.000	-0.173 ***	-0.238 ***	0.134 ***
CUBAN	0.023 ***	-0.040 ***	0.191 ***	0.083 ***	0.005	0.167 ***	-0.282 ***	-0.173 ***	1.000	0.115 ***	0.309 ***
LNHISP LN proportion Hispanic	0.026 ***	-0.046 ***	-0.014 *	-0.040 ***	-0.005	-0.119 ***	0.228 ***	-0.238 ***	0.115 ***	1.000	0.204 ***
P.FBH proportion Hispanic adults who are foreign born	0.064 ***	-0.079 ***	0.033 ***	0.047 ***	-0.012	0.060 ***	-0.417 ***	0.134 ***	0.309 ***	0.204 ***	1.000
POLIT Hispanics' political influence	-0.008	0.004	-0.067 ***	-0.082 ***	0.009	-0.113 ***	0.448 ***	-0.316 ***	-0.087 ***	0.573 ***	-0.436 ***
BLSEICOM bilinguals' SEI-English monolinguals' SEI	0.039 ***	-0.061 ***	0.065 ***	0.060 ***	-0.030 ***	0.073 ***	-0.210 ***	-0.033 ***	0.422 ***	0.454 ***	0.416 ***

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed tests)

Appendix 3: Proportion Hispanic and Proportion Bilingual



Appendix 4. Educational Attainment and Bilingualism among Native-Born and 1.5 Generation Hispanics, 1990

educational attainment	**mean bilingualism**	**% of cases**	**cumulative %**
No school completed	0.606	0.97	0.97
Nursery school	1.000	0.01	0.98
Kindergarten	0.495	0.02	1.01
1st-4th grade	0.832	1.06	2.06
5th-8th grade	0.784	5.27	7.34
9th grade	0.723	3.70	11.04
10th grade	0.629	5.33	16.37
11th grade	0.609	7.03	23.40
12th grade, no diploma	0.606	5.93	29.33
High school graduate or GED	0.558	30.25	59.59
Some college, no degree	0.525	24.02	83.60
Associate degree, occupational program	0.555	3.09	86.69
Associate degree, academic program	0.566	3.10	89.79
Bachelor's degeee	0.493	7.20	96.99
Some graduate school	0.507	2.07	99.06
Master's degree	0.472	0.72	99.78
Doctorate	0.504	0.22	100.00
Total	0.575	100	100.00

SUMMARY

educational attainment	**mean bilingualism**	**% of cases**
Less than High School	0.70	29
High School only, or some college (no Bachelor's degree)	0.55	60
Bachelor's and higher	0.49	10

continued on the following page

Appendix 4 (cont'd.). Educational Attainment and Bilingualism among Native-Born and 1.5 Generation Hispanics, 1990

Educational attainment	MSA/PMSA proportion bilingual (quartiles)	Bilingual		Total	Proportion bilingual	Difference between quartile 4 and quartile 1
		no	yes			
Less than High School	1	1377	1084	2461	0.44	
	2	1454	2130	3584	0.59	
	3	740	2084	2824	0.74	
	4	651	3112	3763	0.83	0.39
High School only, or some college (no Bachelor's degree)	1	4092	2047	6139	0.33	
	2	4066	3538	7604	0.47	
	3	2063	3030	5093	0.59	
	4	1624	5580	7204	0.77	0.44
Bachelor's and higher	1	804	376	1180	0.32	
	2	678	490	1168	0.42	
	3	383	412	795	0.52	
	4	356	899	1255	0.72	0.40
Graduate degree (subset of previous category)	1	220	119	339	0.35	
	2	201	161	362	0.44	
	3	109	111	220	0.50	
	4	121	256	377	0.68	0.33

Appendix 5. Pearson Correlations for Chapter 6 Variables

School Districts (N=1233)	LNKIDS		LNSPEND		SPANISH		POTHRK		POLANG		RENTERS		CHHINC		PARHED		MOMHOME		POLIT		SEICOMP		BLSEICOM		OEREF		GOPHI		EPSL		ANTIBE	
LNKIDS LN school population	1.00		0.94	***	0.12	***	0.33	***	0.10	***	0.33	***	-0.13	***	0.00		-0.15	***	0.12	***	-0.04		0.00		0.19	***	0.02		0.00		0.04	*
LNSPEND LN proportion hispanic	0.94	***	1.00		0.09	***	0.32	***	0.20	***	0.28	***	0.00		0.11	***	-0.07	**	0.08	***	-0.04	*	0.02		0.13	***	-0.02		0.00		0.12	***
SPANISH proportion children in Spanish-speaking households	0.12	***	0.09	***	1.00		-0.08	***	-0.12	***	0.37	***	-0.37	***	-0.32	***	-0.33	***	0.52	***	-0.27	***	0.42	***	0.32	***	0.00		-0.04		0.20	***
POTHRK proportion non-white, non-Hispanic children	0.33	***	0.32	***	-0.08	***	1.00		0.13	***	0.43	***	-0.23	***	-0.09	***	-0.20	***	-0.09	***	0.07	***	-0.08	***	-0.04		0.01		-0.09	***	-0.10	***
POLANG proportion children in non-Spanish- or English-speaking households	0.10	***	0.20	***	-0.12	***	0.13	***	1.00		0.06	**	0.45	***	0.41	***	0.18	***	-0.01		-0.17	***	-0.07	**	0.17	***	-0.18	***	-0.03		0.28	***
RENTERS proportion of families that rent rather than own	0.33	***	0.28	***	0.37	***	0.43	***	0.06	**	1.00		-0.53	***	-0.54	***	-0.28	***	0.17	***	-0.08	***	-0.03		0.30	***	0.00		0.04		0.16	***
CHHINC median income of children' households	-0.13	***	0.00		-0.37	***	-0.23	***	0.45	***	-0.53	***	1.00		0.82	***	0.41	***	-0.09	***	-0.10	***	-0.10	***	-0.01		-0.12	***	-0.08	***	0.17	***
PARHED proportion parents with BA degree or higher	0.00		0.11	***	-0.32	***	-0.09	***	0.41	***	-0.34	***	0.82	***	1.00		0.33	***	-0.06	**	-0.07	**	-0.05	*	-0.03		-0.08	***	-0.03		0.10	***
MOMHOME proportion of mothers not IN employed	-0.15	***	-0.07	**	-0.33	***	-0.20	***	0.18	***	-0.28	***	0.41	***	0.33	***	1.00		-0.29	***	-0.01		-0.08	***	-0.13	***	-0.19	***	0.01		0.10	***
POLIT Hispanic political influence	0.12	***	0.08	***	0.52	***	-0.09	***	-0.01		0.17	***	-0.09	***	-0.06	**	-0.29	***	1.00		-0.37	***	0.19	***	0.46	***	0.05	*	-0.12	***	0.33	***
SEICOMP Hispanic mean SEI non-Hispanic mean SEI	-0.04		-0.04	*	-0.27	***	0.07	***	-0.17	***	-0.08	***	-0.10	***	-0.07	**	-0.01		-0.37	***	1.00		-0.15	***	-0.24	***	0.08	***	0.05	*	-0.27	***
BLSEICOM bilingual Hispanic SEI English monolingual Hispanic SEI	0.00		0.02		0.42	***	-0.08	***	-0.07	**	-0.03		-0.10	***	-0.05	*	-0.08	***	0.19	***	-0.15	***	1.00		-0.11	***	-0.04		-0.05	**	-0.08	***
OEREF Official English law passed via referendum	0.19	***	0.13	***	0.32	***	-0.04		0.17	***	0.30	***	-0.01		-0.03		-0.13	***	0.46	***	-0.24	***	-0.11	***	1.00		-0.01		-0.11	***	0.69	***
GOPHI GOP votes in highest third of range	0.02		-0.02		0.00		0.01		-0.18	***	0.00		-0.12	***	-0.08	***	-0.19	***	0.05	*	0.08	***	-0.04		-0.01		1.00		-0.12		-0.10	***
EPSL English Plus state law or resolution	0.00		0.00		-0.04		-0.09	***	-0.03		0.04		-0.08	***	-0.03		0.01		-0.12	***	0.05	*	-0.05	**	-0.11	***	-0.12	***	1.00		-0.15	***
ANTIBE anti-bilingual education law passed or under discussion, 2001	0.04	*	0.12	***	0.20	***	-0.10	***	0.28	***	0.16	***	0.17	***	0.10		0.10	***	0.33	***	-0.27	***	-0.08	***	0.69	***	-0.10	***	-0.15	***	1.00	

* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001 (two-tailed tests)

Appendix 6. Dual-Language Pedagogy – An Example from CPS

Chicago Public Schools

Dual Language Program
Principal and Coordinator Meeting

February 9th 2001
DePaul University

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT FOR DUAL LANGUAGE IMPLEMENTATION

AND

LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION, LITERACY, AND CONTENT AREA INSTRUCTION

Sonia W. Soltero, PhD
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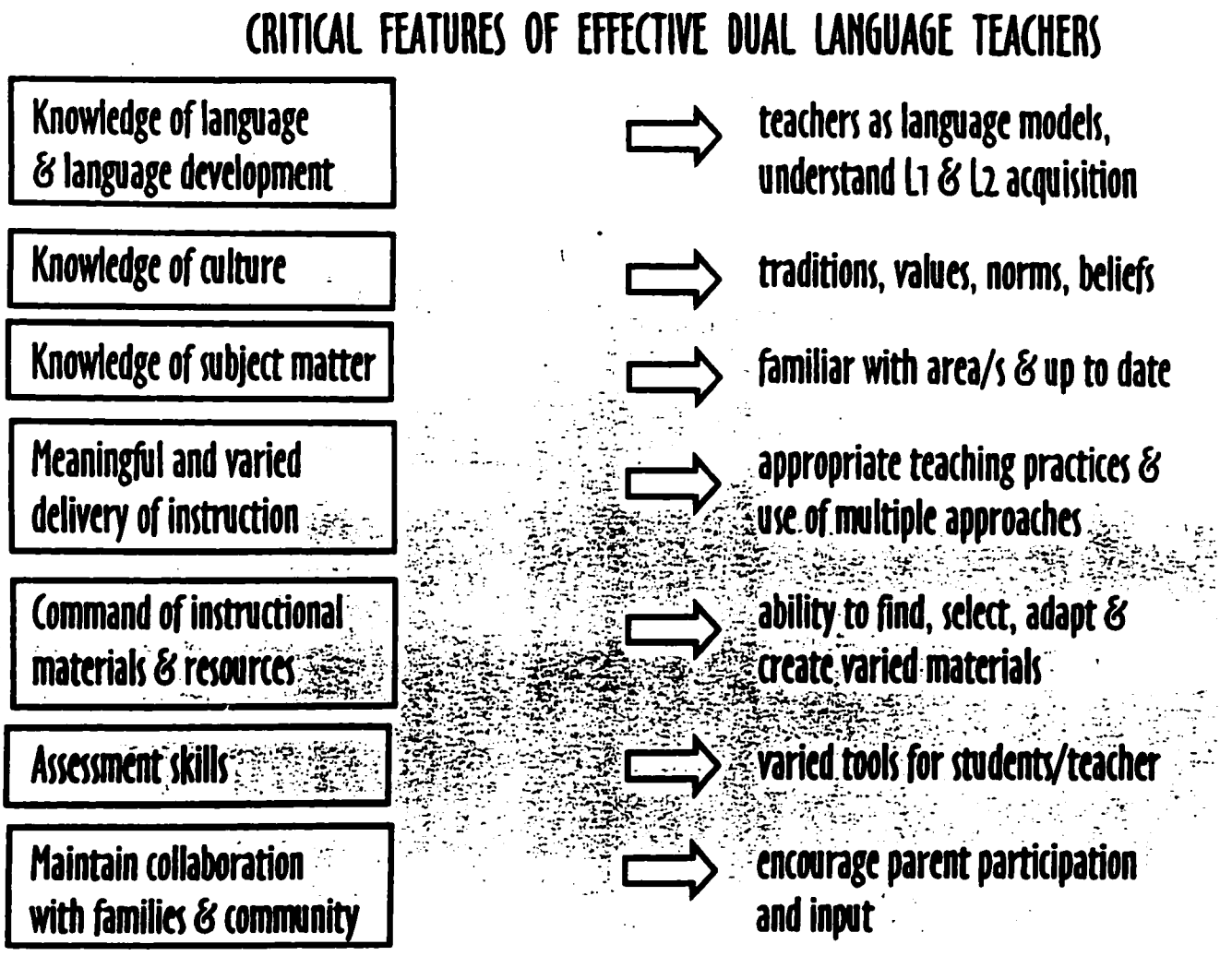
CRITICAL FEATURES OF EFFECTIVE DUAL LANGUAGEPROGRAMS

✓ Parent Involvement	→ information, communication, collaboration, decision-making
✓ High Standards	→ first and second language, academic, social
✓ Strong Leadership	→ knowledgeable, committed advocate, supporter
✓ Developmental	→ instructional practices, materials, sequential planning, long-term
✓ Student-Centered	→ accommodates and understands student differences (age, language, cultural, gender..)
✓ Language is Integrated	→ using language for learning vs. learning language
✓ Reflective Teachers	→ uses formal and informal assessment to reevaluate and reflect
✓ Integrated With Other Programs	→ coordinated, compatible, integrated
✓ Additive Bilingualism	→ meaningful, desirable and beneficial

Adapted from Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan (2000)


CRITICAL FEATURES OF EFFECTIVE DUAL LANGUAGE TEACHERS
Knowledge of language & language development
teachers as language models, understand L1 & L2 acquisition
Knowledge of culture
traditions, values, norms, beliefs
Knowledge of subject matter
familiar with area/s & up to date
Meaningful and varied delivery of instruction
appropriate teaching practices & use of multiple approaches
Command of instructional materials & resources
ability to find, select, adapt & create varied materials
Assessment skills
varied tools for students/teacher
Maintain collaboration with families & community
encourage parent participation and input

Language Distribution Issues in K-2 Dual Language Classrooms

Sonia Soltero, PhD 2001

Literacy

- ✓ formal literacy instruction is in the student's native language in self contained settings, the teacher instructs both language groups in equal amounts of time
- ✓ informal exposure to second language literacy is done through classroom print environment and shared reading and interactive writing activities
- ✓ balanced bilingual students can participate in both languages in the formal literacy instruction

Content Areas

- ✓ Math, social studies, science, art, music, and physical education are taught in both languages in equal amounts of time
- ✓ instruction is not repeated in both languages, the content is covered in a spiral sequential manner in both languages

Language distribution in self-contained classrooms

- ✓ teacher alternates instructing the two language groups by time on the same day
- ✓ teacher alternates instructing the two language groups by day
- ✓ teacher alternates instructing the two language groups with the teacher assistant or trained parent by day or week

Language distribution in team-teaching classrooms

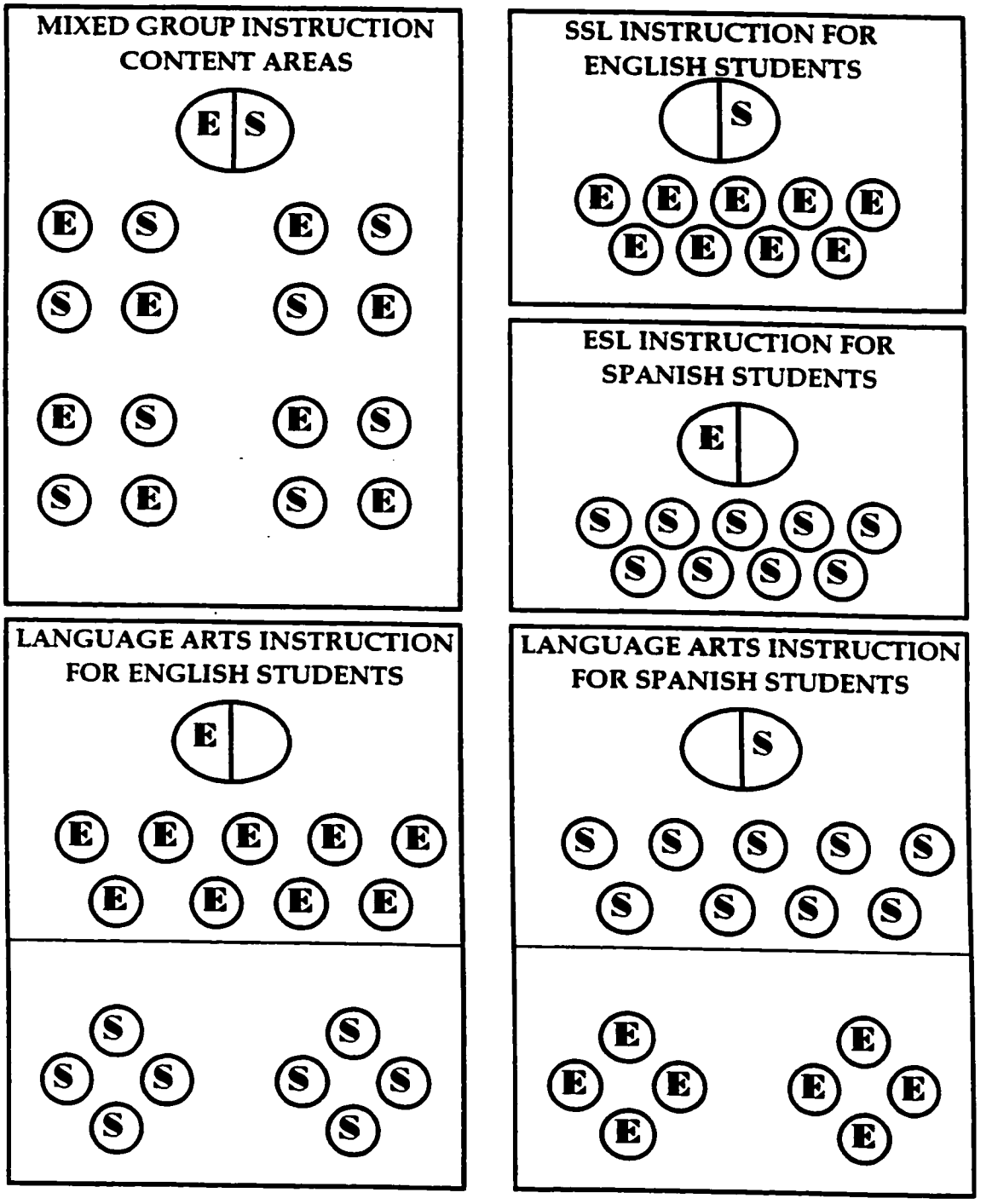
- ✓ each teacher instructs each language group according to the teacher's assigned language for literacy and ESL/SSL (homogenous language groups), and content areas (heterogeneous language groups)

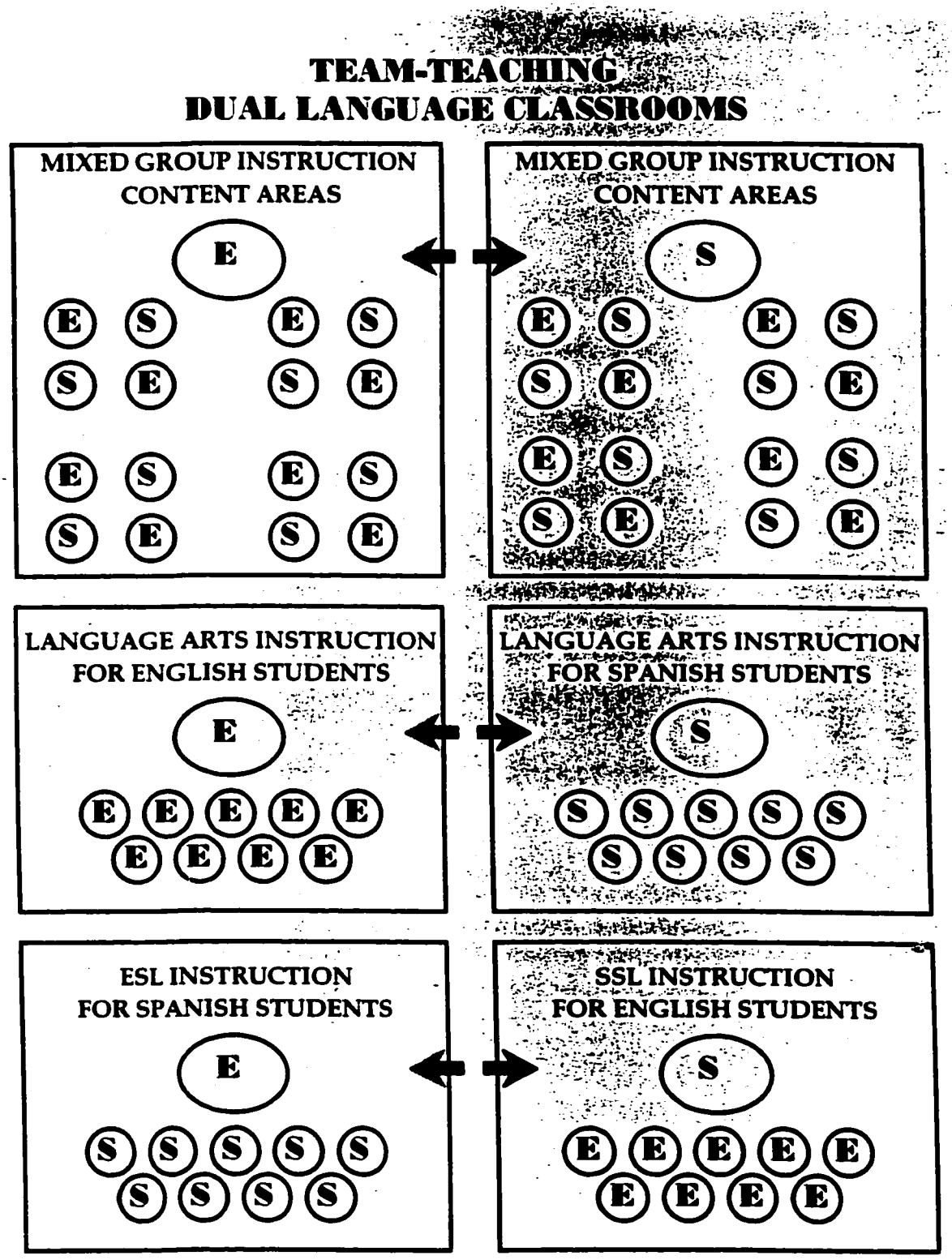
Key issues in language distribution

- ✓ in 50-50 programs both languages must be used for instruction and interaction at least 50% of the time during the week
- ✓ in 80-20 programs the target language must be used for instruction and interaction at least 80% of the time during the week in K and 1st grade, adding more time in English in 2nd grade
- ✓ content areas should not be taught in only one language
- ✓ both languages should be accorded the same status in the classroom/s and school environment

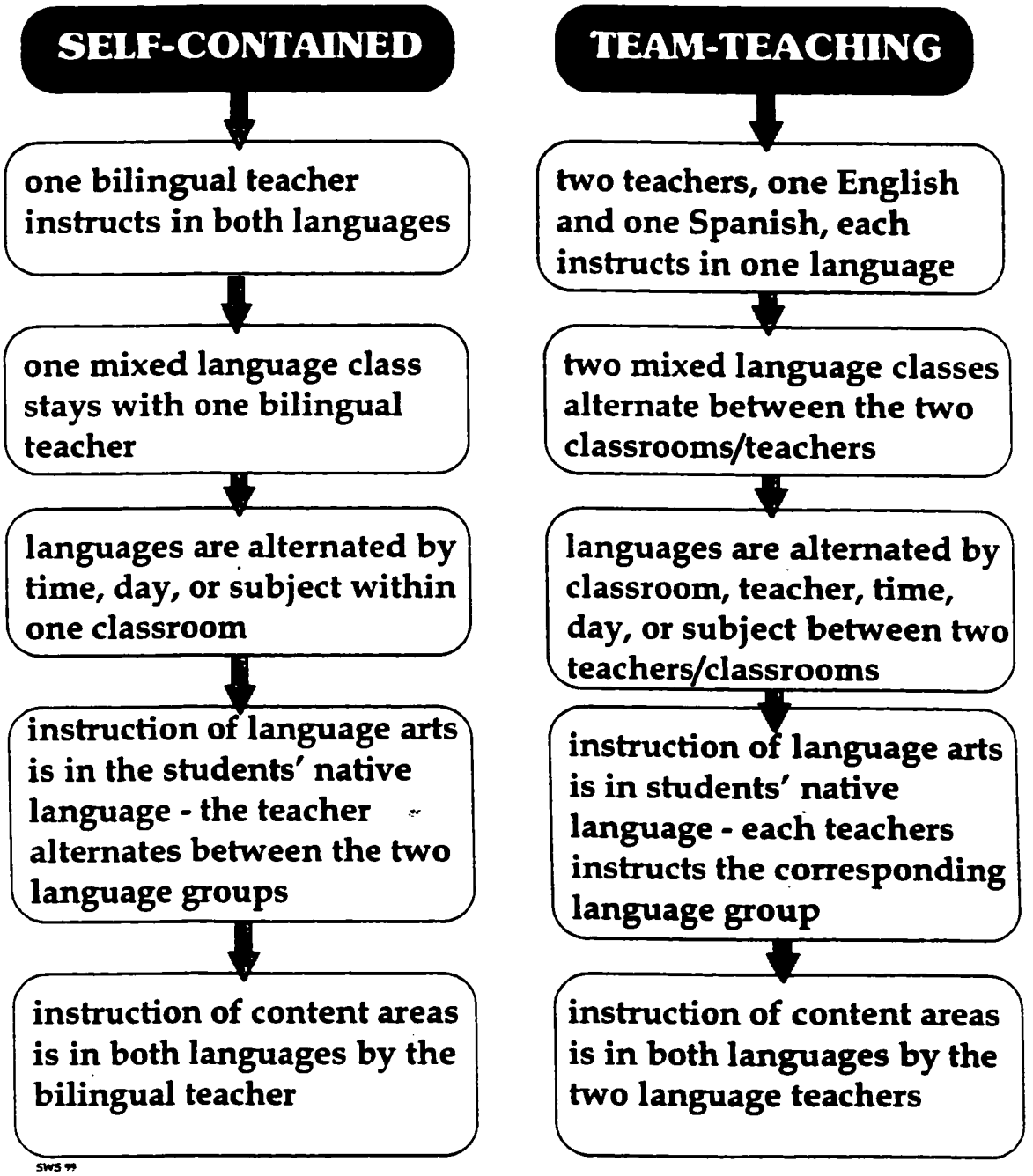
_____ TEACHER NAME _____ HOMEROOM #	**SPANISH STUDENTS** (STUDENTS WHO ARE CATEGORY 1, 2, 3 OR DOING READING IN SPANISH)	**ENGLISH STUDENTS** (STUDENTS WHO ARE DOING READING IN ENGLISH)
NUMBER OF MINUTES PER WEEK SPENT IN **ENGLISH** (INCLUDING PREPS AND TRANSITION TIMES)	_____ MINUTES	_____ MINUTES
NUMBER OF MINUTES PER WEEK SPENT IN **SPANISH** (INCLUDING PREPS AND TRANSITION TIMES)	_____ MINUTES	_____ MINUTES

A SELF-CONTAINED DUAL LANGUAGE CLASSROOM




TEAM-TEACHING
DUAL LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS
MIXED GROUP INSTRUCTION
CONTENT AREAS
E
MIXED GROUP INSTRUCTION
CONTENT AREAS
S
LANGUAGE ARTS INSTRUCTION
FOR ENGLISH STUDENTS
E
LANGUAGE ARTS INSTRUCTION
FOR SPANISH STUDENTS
S
ESL INSTRUCTION
FOR SPANISH STUDENTS
E
SSL INSTRUCTION
FOR ENGLISH STUDENTS
S

SELF-CONTAINED VS. TEAM-TEACHING IN DUAL LANGUAGE



SUGGESTIONS & IDEAS FOR SELF-CONTAINED DUAL LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS

- TRAIN AN EFFICIENT BILINGUAL TEACHER AIDE TO ASSIST WITH THE LANGUAGE ARTS AND THE ESL/SSL INSTRUCTION

- RECRUIT AND TRAIN PARENT VOLUNTEERS TO WORK WITH SMALL GROUPS OR INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

- PLAN WITH OTHER GRADE LEVEL TEACHERS WHETHER THEY ARE TEAM-TEACHING OR NON-DUAL LANGUAGE TEACHERS

- ACQUIRE AN EXTENSIVE COLLECTION OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS AND OTHER MATERIALS IN BOTH LANGUAGES

- WHILE INSTRUCTING ONE LANGUAGE ARTS GROUP, HAVE THE OTHER LANGUAGE GROUP IN THE LISTENING CENTER, WRITING JOURNALS, READING, AT THE COMPUTER, IN PAIRS OR TEAMS WORKING ON A PROJECT... DOING ACTIVITIES IN THEIR NATIVE LANGUAGE. AVOID BORING AND/OR BUSY WORK.

- WHILE INSTRUCTING THE MIXED LANGUAGE GROUP USE HANDS-ON, VISUALS, MANIPULATIVES, CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, BIG BOOKS, GAMES, DRAMA, COOPERATIVE LEARNING, MOVEMENT... TO MOTIVATE AND KEEP THE STUDENTS WITH LIMITED SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY INTERESTED. AVOID DIRECT INSTRUCTION, LECTURE AND WORKSHEETS.

SWS 99

SUGGESTIONS & IDEAS FOR TEAM-TEACHING DUAL LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS

- PLAN WEEKLY WITH THE TEAM PARTNER FOR CONTENT AREA AND ESL/SSL INSTRUCTIONAL LESSONS.
- COORDINATE CONTENT AREA AND ESL/SSL INSTRUCTION AND ACTIVITIES FOR THEY MUST BE DONE AT THE SAME TIME.
- COORDINATE WITH THE PARTNER THE COLLECTION AND ACQUISITION OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS AND OTHER MATERIALS IN BOTH LANGUAGES.
- SHARE WITH THE PARTNER ABOUT EACH OTHERS' LANGUAGE ARTS INSTRUCTION AND ACTIVITIES.
- WHILE INSTRUCTING THE MIXED LANGUAGE GROUP USE HANDS-ON, VISUALS, MANIPULATIVES, CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, BIG BOOKS, GAMES, DRAMA, COOPERATIVE LEARNING, MOVEMENT... TO MOTIVATE AND KEEP THE STUDENTS WITH LIMITED SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY INTERESTED. AVOID DIRECT INSTRUCTION, LECTURE AND WORKSHEETS.
- COORDINATE AND IMPLEMENT THE SAME ASSESSMENTS WITH THE PARTNER
- FILL OUT THE REPORT CARD WITH THE PARTNER
- HAVE PARENT MEETINGS WITH THE PARTNER

Chicago Public Schools

Dual Language Sample Schedule

FIRST GRADE SELF CONTAINED

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wedn.	Thursday	Friday
9:00-9:20	**OPENING ACTIVITIES**: calendar, attendance, lunch count, announcements, journal etc. ***In English***				
9:20-10:20	**LANGUAGE ARTS**: shared reading in whole group, reading and writing skills, phonics, etc. ***(alternating English and Spanish groups each day or week with the teacher aide)***				
10:20-11:00	**PREPS:** such as music, P.E., art, library, science, computers, etc. ***In English***				
11:00-11:30	**MATH:** centers or whole group with manipulatives ***In Spanish***				
11:30-12:00	**ESL/SSL:** through music, rhymes & poems, games, drama, children's literature, etc.				
12:00-12:30	**LUNCH** →				
12:30-1:10	**SOCIAL STUDIES:** centers or whole group with manipulatives and children's literature ***In Spanish***				
1:10-1:50	**SCIENCE:** centers or whole group with manipulatives and children's literature ***In Spanish***				
1:50-2:15	**OUTSIDE PLAY OR FREE READING/WRITING**				
2:15-2:30	**Read and prepare for dismissal**			***In Spanish***	

50-50 MODEL

Chicago Public Schools

Dual Language Sample Schedule

FIRST GRADE TEAM TEACHING

Note: alternate every other Friday with partner's mixed group

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wedn.	Thursday	Friday
9:00-9:20	**OPENING ACTIVITIES** → *homeroom - mixed group*				
9:20-10:20	**LANGUAGE ARTS** → *English speaking students to English teacher* *Spanish speaking students to Spanish teacher*				
10:20-11:00	**PREPS** → *homeroom - mixed group*				
11:00-11:30	**FREE CHOICE PLAY OR OUTSIDE PLAY** → *homeroom mixed group*	*partner room mixed group*	*homeroom mixed group*	*partner room mixed group*	*homeroom mixed group*
11:30-12:00	**ESL/SSL** *English speaking students to Spanish teacher* → *Spanish speaking students to English teacher*				
12:00-12:30	**LUNCH** →				
12:30-1:10	**MATH** *homeroom mixed group*	*partner room mixed group*	*homeroom mixed group*	*partner room mixed group*	*homeroom mixed group*
1:10-1:50	**SOCIAL STUDIES** → *homeroom mixed group*	*partner room mixed group*	*homeroom mixed group*	*partner room mixed group*	*homeroom mixed group*
1:50-2:15	**SCIENCE** *homeroom mixed group* →	*partner room mixed group*	*homeroom mixed group*	*partner room mixed group*	*homeroom mixed group*
2:15-2:30	**Read and prepare for dismissal** homeroom →				

Chicago Public Schools

50-50 MODEL

Dual Language Sample Schedule

FIRST GRADE SELF CONTAINED

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wedn.	Thursday	Friday
9:00-9:20	**OPENING ACTIVITIES**: calendar, attendance, lunch count, announcements, journal etc. ***(alternating English and Spanish each day)***				
9:20-10:20	**LANGUAGE ARTS**: shared reading in whole group, reading and writing skills, phonics, etc. ***(alternating English and Spanish each day or week with the teacher aide)***				
10:20-11:00	**PREPS:** such as music, P.E., art, library, science, computers, etc. ***(alternating English and Spanish each day)***				
11:00-11:30	**MATH:** centers or whole group with manipulatives ***(alternating English and Spanish each day)***				
11:30-12:00	**ESL/SSL:** through music, rhymes & poems, games, drama, children's literature, etc.				
12:00-12:30	**LUNCH** →				
12:30-1:10	**SOCIAL STUDIES:** centers or whole group with manipulatives and children's literature ***(alternating English and Spanish each day)***				
1:10-1:50	**SCIENCE:** centers or whole group with manipulatives and children's literature ***(alternating English and Spanish each day)***				
1:50-2:15	**OUTSIDE PLAY OR FREE READING/WRITING**				
2:15-2:30	**Read and prepare for dismissal** →				

Appendix 7. Implementation of '90/10' Immersion – An Example from LAUSD

DUAL-LANGUAGE PROGRAM

"THE PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE OF ALL STUDENTS"

Los Angeles Unified School District
Division of Instructional Services
Language Acquisition and Bilingual Development Branch
Dual-Language Program
1320 West Third Street. Room 131
Los Angeles. California 90017

PROGRAM GOALS

PURPOSE OF PROGRAM

Developmental Bilingual Education Programs are designed to serve speakers of other languages and English speakers within the same classroom. The students are purposely mixed in the same educational environment to provide communicative and academic language development through an interactive and cross-cultural setting. Generally, students begin the program in kindergarten and remain in the program throughout their school experience. There are no exit criteria. LEP students do not leave the program upon redesignation. (*LAUSD Master Plan for English Learners* , 1996)

The dual language program is designed to develop bilingual, biliterate students. This design has shown the best academic results in studies throughout the United States. (*LAUSD Master Plan for English Learners* , 1996)

It is the interest of dual language programs to provide the best education possible to their students. All students have the right to an educational program that allows them to achieve at their highest academic potential.

PROGRAM GOALS

- To develop high levels of communicative and academic second language proficiency
- To maintain and develop primary language skills
- To develop average to superior progress in all curricular areas
- To develop understanding, positive attitudes and acceptance of one-self as well as the diversity of languages and cultures represented in the community

PROGRAM DESIGN

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE PROGRAM

The following factors will promote high levels of first and second language competencies, academic achievement, high self-esteem, and positive cross-cultural attitudes for all students:

1. Duration and Implementation of Program

The program treatment is designed for a long term period of five to seven years in the elementary grades. Second language learning is a gradual process. It takes many years to develop strong academic and social foundations in the second language.

The goal is for speakers of other languages to become proficient in English through the development of literacy in the native tongue. Students will continue to receive instruction in both languages through the elementary grades without abandoning their primary language. English speakers will also continue the development of both languages without exiting from the program.

The District commitment is to continue the recruitment of new kindergarten students, and the continued implementation of the program through the elementary grades and middle and high school. Program implementation begins in kindergarten and first grade. The student enrollment is based on a voluntary basis. "This two-way design has been implemented with success using Title VII funding in a number of schools in LAUSD. However, additional funding is not required and the program design may be implemented in any school community with a commitment to the belief that all students should have the opportunity to learn a second language." (LAUSD *Master Plan for English Learners* , 1996)

2. Classroom Composition

The program maintains an environment of linguistic equity to promote interactions among native and non-native English speakers. The classroom composition consists of near equal numbers of students in the following categories: 1) 50% speakers of other languages, limited-English-proficient (LEP) students; 2) 50% English speakers, [English Only and fluent-English-speakers (FEP)] students of various racial ethnic backgrounds. However, due to yearly attrition of students in the program, recommendations for kindergarten enrollment is 40% speakers of

other languages and 60% English speakers. BCC/BCLAD teachers are required to teach in the primary language. (LAUSD *Master Plan for English Learners* , 1996)

LATE ENROLLEES TO PROGRAM:

Enrollment of LEP and FEP students beyond kindergarten or first grade is only recommended if there is no other option for participation in a full bilingual program at the school. Immersion teachers must make special provisions for instruction to meet the needs of these students. English speakers (EO) with bilingual proficiency wishing to enroll in the immersion program will be assessed in both languages and evaluated on an individual basis for program placement.

3. Language of Instruction

The program design allows for the separation of language delivery during the instructional day, during which time lessons are conducted in either Spanish or English, according to the Program Design Matrix. Students receive instruction from teachers with native or native-like proficiency.

4. Ratio of English and Spanish Language Instruction

Research findings for language minority students indicate that speakers of other languages with greater amount of native language instruction achieve at higher academic levels in both languages than students with lesser amounts of primary language instruction. English and native language assessments indicate performance above other LEP students in early exit programs.

Studies show that majority language students with extensive exposure to the target language attain high levels of second language proficiency, maintain their English abilities, and perform at or above grade level in assessments of English and target language achievement. The following matrix shows the ratios for language instruction:

INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES

I. COMMUNICATION-BASED INSTRUCTION

- Teaching and learning *in* the language rather than *about* the language
- Emphasizing sheltered language instruction
- Separating languages for instruction
- Focusing attention on content-based instruction
- Engaging or practicing communication
- Corresponding with characteristics of primary language acquisition
- Providing a variety of hands-on experiences
- Learning through Natural Language Approach
- Providing predictability in instructional routines and lessons
- Allowing students to respond in their native language, while acquiring listening and speaking skills in the second language ("silent period")

II. WHOLE LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

- Learning based on authentic use of language for genuine purposes and needs
- Allowing receptive control to precede production control of language
- Developing conceptual interpretations of written language through social contexts
- Learning conventions of reading and writing through meaningful contexts
- Involving students in various components of whole language

- Reading Aloud	- Interactive Journals	- Sustained Silent Reading
- Shared Reading	- Collaborative Stories	- Thematic Instruction
- Guided Reading	- Child Authored Books	- Literature Studies
- Process Writing	- Independent Reading	- Class Authored Books

III. INTERACTIVE PARTICIPATION

TEACHER-STUDENT INTERACTION

- Modeling by teacher (indirect error correction)
- Utilizing sheltered language approaches
- Incorporating reciprocal interactive strategies (negotiation of meaning)
- Utilizing higher order thinking and questioning skills
- Interacting equitably with all students

PEER INTERACTION

- Incorporating cooperative learning strategies (heterogeneous grouping)
- Developing positive cross-cultural attitudes
- Providing equal status in the classroom
- Negotiation of meaning

DUAL LANGUAGE SPANISH IMMERSION PROGRAM MATRIX

Grade	Students	Time	Spanish Instruction Subject Areas	Time	English Instruction Subject Areas
KDG	LEP/FEP/EO	90%	Language Arts Mathematics Social Studies Science/Health Physical Education Music/Art	10%	Oral Language Development *Literacy Events
1ST	LEP/FEP/EO	90%	Language Arts Mathematics Social Studies Science/Health Physical Education Music/Art	10%	Oral Language Development *Literacy Events
2ND	LEP/FEP/EO	80% Second Semester 75%	Language Arts Mathematics Social Studies Science/Health Physical Education Music/Art	20% Second Semester 25%	Oral Language Development *Literacy Events Language Experience
3RD	LEP/FEP/EO	75% Second Semester 60%	Language Arts Mathematics Social Studies Science/Health Physical Education Music/Art	25% Second Semester 40%	Language Arts (Reading and Writing) Begin Formal Writing in English Journals Predictable Books/Literature
4TH 5TH	LEP/FEP/EO	50%	**Language Arts	50%	**Language Arts

Language of subject matter determined by available resources and student proficiency:
Social Studies
Science/Health
Mathematics
Music/Art/P.E.

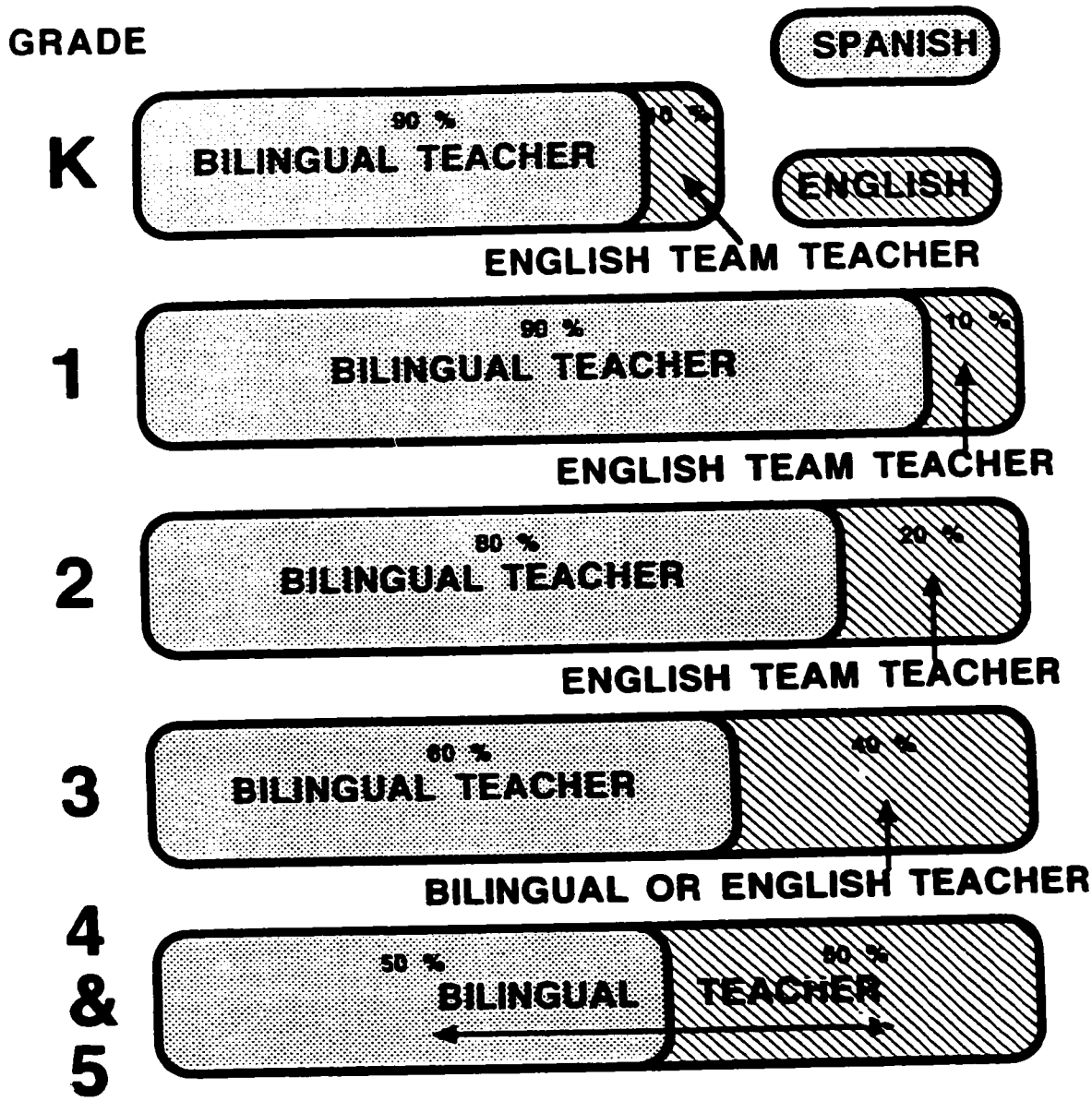
Modifications may be made by local decision team

Self-Contained

* Appropriate to language level and consistent with Spanish literacy units already introduced -refer to handbook for specific information "English Language Development"

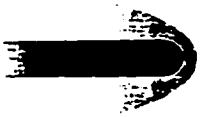
** Interdisciplinary studies approach in Spanish and English Language Arts

DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAM
SPANISH IMMERSION
90/10 Model



Appendix 8. Explaining Proposition 227 to Parents – An Example from LAUSD

Proposition 227 and the Educational Options for Parents of Limited-English-Proficient Students (LEP)



Los Angeles Unified School District

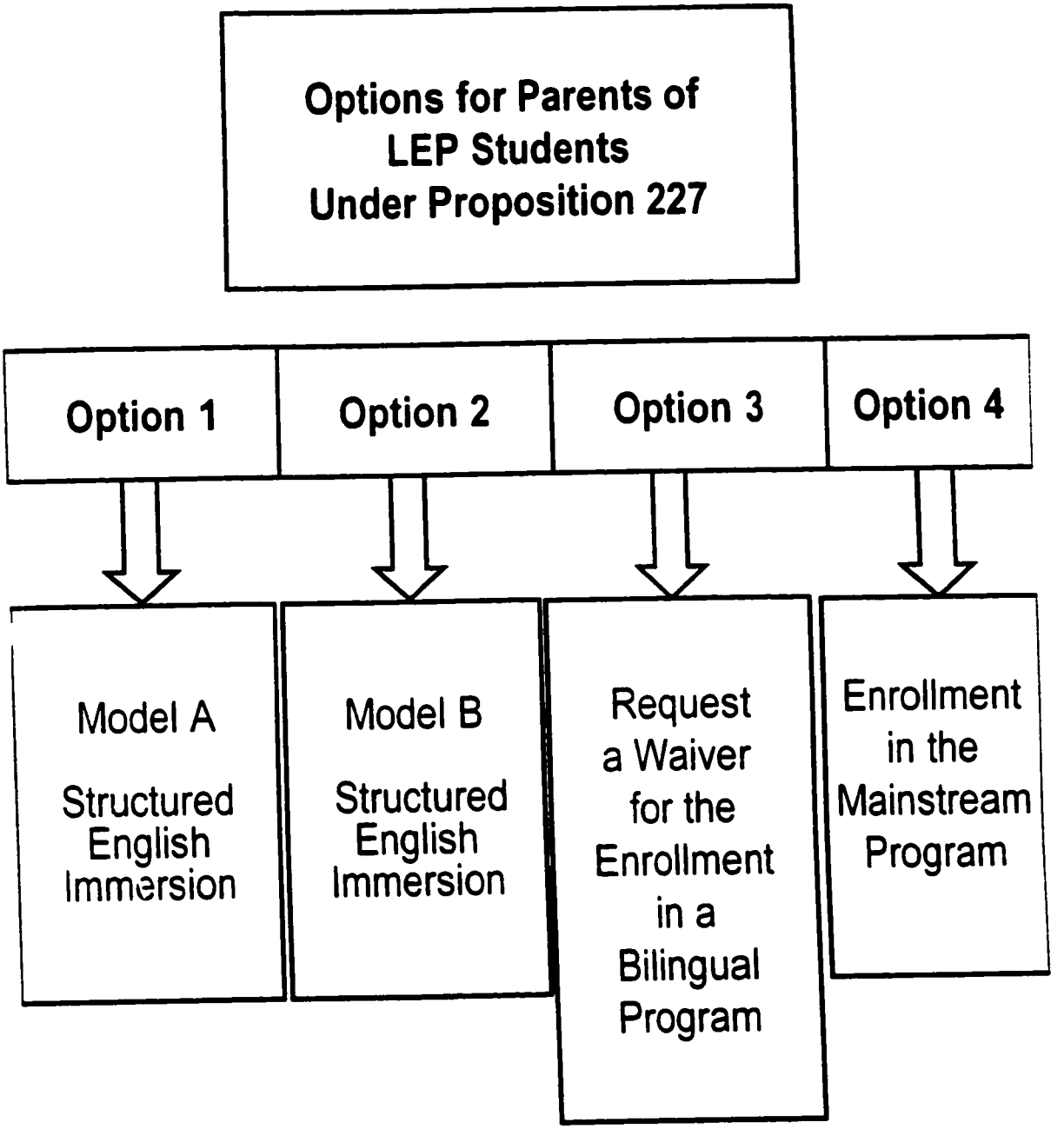
Language Acquisition Branch

Proposition 227

- Law approved on June 2, 1998.
- It requires that school districts in California offer structured English immersion to limited-English-proficient students
- Structured English immersion
  - Language acquisition process in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with the curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning the language.

The Los Angeles Unified School District

- To comply with the mandates of Proposition 227, the Los Angeles Unified School District offers three possible choices to parents of limited-English-proficient students (LEP):
  - Enrollment in structured English immersion (two models)
  - Enrollment in a bilingual program (requesting a parental exception permit)
  - Enrollment in a mainstream program

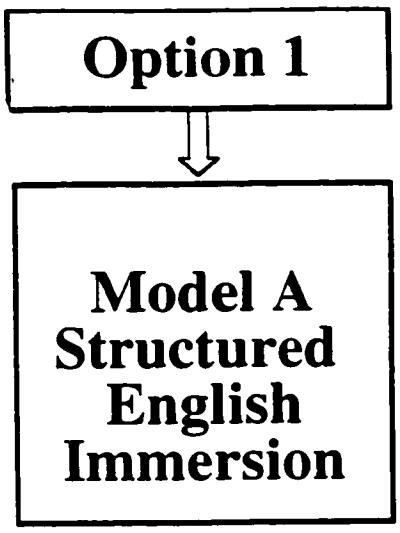

Options for Parents of
LEP Students
Under Proposition 227
Option 1
Option 2
Option 3
Option 4
Model A
Structured
English
Immersion
Model B
Structured
English
Immersion
Request
a Waiver
for the
Enrollment
in a
Bilingual
Program
Enrollment
in the
Mainstream
Program

Information that Parents Must Receive:

- A description of structured English immersion Models A and B.
- Information about all the options in the District, including :
  - Requesting a waiver for enrollment in a bilingual program
  - Enrollment in a mainstream program
- Upon request, schools must schedule individual informational parent conferences.

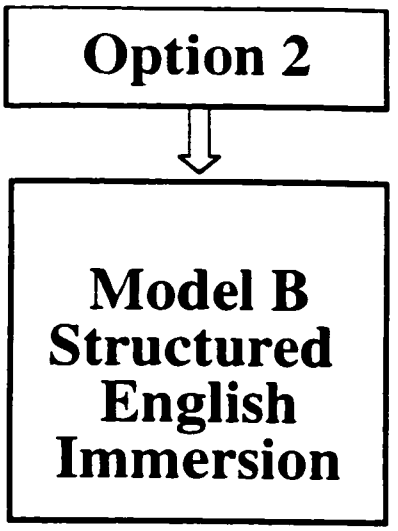
STRUCTURED ENGLISH IMMERSION

MODEL A	MODEL B
• Language of instruction: — English	• Language of instruction: — Primarily English
• Language Arts (reading and writing) — In English	• Language Arts (reading and writing) — Primarily in English
• Academic classes: — Using special methods in English with support of the home language used by a paraprofessional to provide clarification	• Academic classes: — Using special methods in English combined with the home language used by the teacher to develop academic concepts
• Teachers qualified to teach using special methods in English	• Teachers qualified to teach using special methods in English and in the primary language



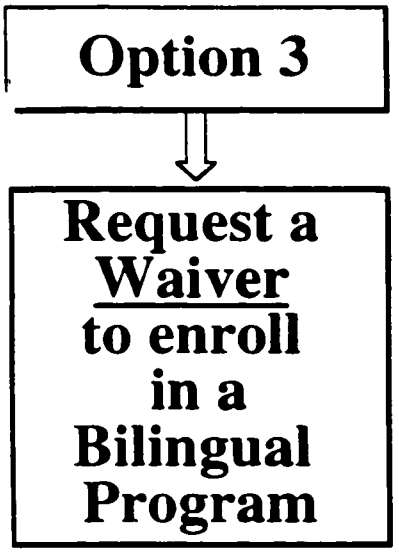
Option 1 Model A offers:

- English as the language of instruction
- English Language Arts taught daily
- Academic classes taught:
  - Using special methods in English (homework is in English)
  - The primary language is used by a paraprofessional for clarification
- Teachers qualified to teach using special methods in English



Option 2 Model B offers:

- Instruction primarily in English
- English Language Arts taught primarily in English
- Academic classes using special methods in English in combination with the primary language used by the teacher to develop concepts
- Teachers qualified to teach using special methods in English and the primary language of the students



Option 3 To Request a Waiver

- A parental exception waiver is a permit to transfer a LEP student from an English immersion program (Model A or B) to a Master Plan bilingual program:
  - Basic Program (transition program)
  - Dual-Language Program (maintenance program)
- Waivers must be requested in person every year

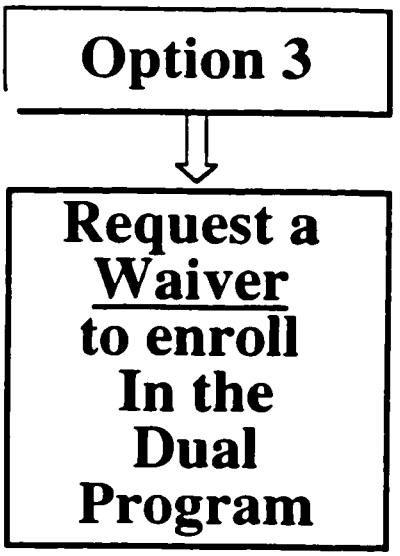
Option 3

⇩

Request a Waiver to enroll In a Bilingual Program

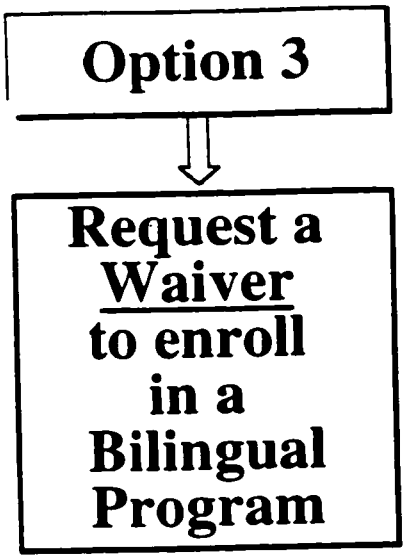
The Basic Bilingual Program offers:

- Three main goals:
  - Develop academic English
  - Provide access to the core curriculum
  - Promote positive self esteem
- Daily teaching and learning of academic English
- Language Arts (reading and writing) in the home language first and then in English
- Academic subjects taught:
  - First, in the home language while the student learns English
  - Then, using special methods in English and home language support
  - Finally, in mainstream English



The Dual-Language Program offers:

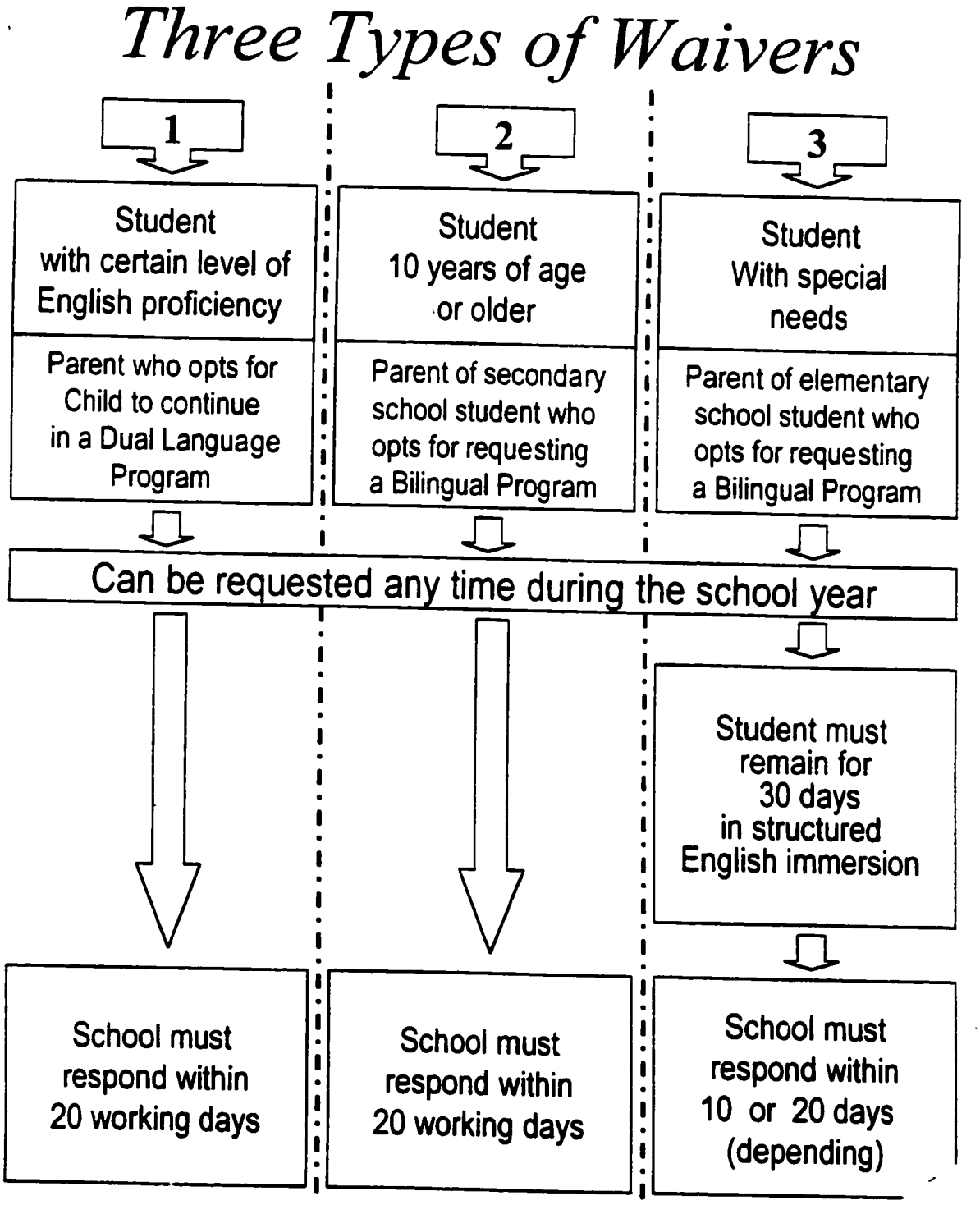
- Academic instruction in two languages
- The development of biliteracy and bilingualism
- Participation of LEP and English-speaking students
- Initial placement in kindergarten or first grade
- Program available in a limited number of schools

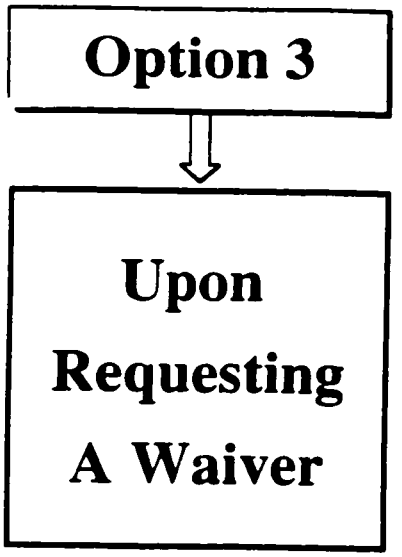


Types of Waivers

Circumstances for parental exception waivers:

1. The student already possesses certain proficiency in English
2. The student is ten (10) years of age or older
3. The student is determined to have special physical, emotional, psychological, or educational needs (not to be confused with special education needs)


Three Types of Waivers
1
2
3
Student with certain level of English proficiency
Parent who opts for Child to continue in a Dual Language Program
Student 10 years of age or older
Parent of secondary school student who opts for requesting a Bilingual Program
Student With special needs
Parent of elementary school student who opts for requesting a Bilingual Program
Can be requested any time during the school year
Student must remain for 30 days in structured English immersion
School must respond within 20 working days
School must respond within 20 working days
School must respond within 10 or 20 days (depending)



Waivers

- Waivers shall be granted unless the school administration determines that the alternative program requested would not be beneficial for the student.

- When a waiver is denied, parents must be informed in writing of the reasons for denial and advised of appeal procedures.

Option 3

Waiver and the Appeal Process

The Appeal Process

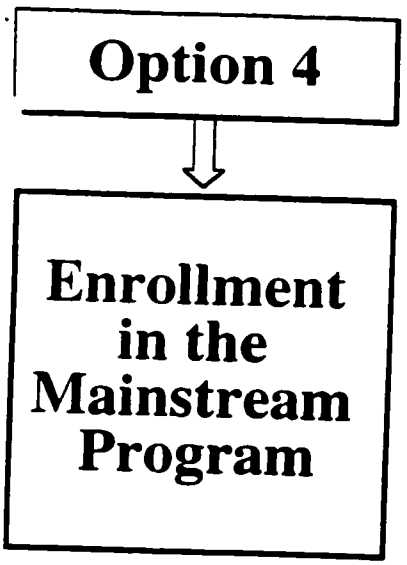
1st Step: Appeal to → The School Principal

If it is not resolved, and you wish to continue:

2nd Step: Appeal to → The Cluster Administrator

If it is not resolved, and you wish to continue:

3rd and last Step: Appeal to → The Assistant Superintendent of Instruction



Option 4 The Mainstream Program

- A parent or guardian may request his or her child to be moved into an English language mainstream classroom, designed for fluent-English-proficient students, at any time, including during the school year.
- This is the program for native English speakers or fluent English speakers who are bilingual.

Curriculum Vita
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EDUCATION

Current Doctoral program in sociology, University of Washington
Committee: Edgar Kiser (Chair), Margaret Levi, Charles Hirschman, Avery M. (Pete) Guest, Katherine Stovel
Title: Spanish for Americans? The Politics of Bilingualism in the United States
Expected Ph.D. completion: July 2002

1998 Master of Arts degree in sociology, University of Washington
Committee: Paul Burstein (Chair), Charles Hirschman.
Title: "Immigration and the Structure of Demand: Do Immigrants Alter the Labor Market Composition of U.S. Cities?"

1996 Bachelor of Arts degree in sociology, University of Washington

AREAS OF INTEREST AND RESEARCH

Political Sociology, Social Theory, International Migration, Quantitative and Comparative Methods

AWARDS AND HONORS

2000-01 Shanahan Fellowship - Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology, University of Washington.

2000 Graduate Student Paper Prize – Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, University of Washington.

2000 Distinguished Graduate Student Award - Department of Sociology, University of Washington.

2000 Dissertation Grant ($20,000) - American Education Research Association (sponsored jointly by NSF, NCES, and OERI).

1999 Award for an Outstanding M.A. Thesis - Department of Sociology, University of Washington.

1999 Graduate Research Grant ($2000) – Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, University of Washington.

1997 Award for Excellence as a Teaching Assistant - Department of Sociology, University of Washington.

1996 Howard B. Woolston Award for Academic Excellence - Department of Sociology, University of Washington.

PUBLICATIONS

Burstein, Paul and April Linton. "The Impact of Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy: Some Recent Evidence and Theoretical Concerns." Forthcoming in *Social Forces*.

Kiser, Edgar and April Linton 2001. "Determinants of the Growth of the State: War and Taxation in Early Modern France and England." *Social Forces* 80(2): 411-448.

Linton, April. 2002. "Immigration and the Structure of Demand: Do Immigrants Alter the Labor Market Composition of U.S. Cities?" *International Migration Review* 36(1): 58-80.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Kiser, Edgar and April Linton. "State-Making and Revolt in Early Modern France." Conditionally accepted by *American Sociological Review*, July 2002.

Levi, Margaret and April Linton. "Fair Trade: A Cup at a Time?"

Linton, April. "Spanish for Americans? Contexts for Bilingualism in the U.S."

Linton, April. "Learning in Two Languages: Spanish-English Immersion in U.S. Public Schools."

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Linton, April. "Spanish for Americans? Contexts for Bilingualism in the U.S." Presented at the meetings of the Society for the Advancement of Socioeconomics, June 29, 2002.

Levi, Margaret and April Linton. "Fair Trade: A Cup at a Time?" Presented at the meetings of the International Studies Association, March 26, 2002.

Linton, April. "Spanish for Americans? A Threshold Model of Bilingualism among Hispanics in the U.S." Presented at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, August 21, 2001.

Eaton, April Linton. "Spanish for Americans? The Dual-Language Alternative in U.S. Public Schools." Presented at the meetings of the Population Association of America, March 26, 2000.

Eaton, April Linton. "Immigration and the Structure of Demand: Do Immigrants Alter the Labor Market Composition of U.S. Cities?" Presented at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, August 8, 1999.

Kiser, Edgar and April Linton Eaton. "State-Making and Revolt in Early Modern France." Presented at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, August 7, 1999.

Eaton, April Linton. "The New Institutionalism in Migration Studies." Presented at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, August 24, 1998.

Kiser, Edgar and April Linton Eaton. "Causes and Consequences of the Growth of the State: War, Revolt and Taxation in Early Modern France." Presented at the meetings of the International Sociological Association, July 30. 1998.

Burstein, Paul, April Linton Eaton, and Adria Scharf. "Why do Interest Groups and Social Movement Organizations have so Little Impact of Public Policy?" Presented at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, August 9, 1997.

RESEARCH ASSISTANTSHIPS

Current Project Coordinator and Grant Writer for the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, University of Washington.

2000-01 Assistant Coordinator of the Center for the Study of Ethnic Conflict and Conflict Resolution, University of Washington. Directors: Daniel Chirot and Resat Kasaba, Jackson School for International Studies.

1998-2000 Data Manager and Analyst on the project "Choosing Your Alma Mater: A Discreet Choice Model of High School Selection." Director: Paul LePore, Department of Sociology, University of Washington. Support through grants from the National Academy of Education's Spencer Foundation and the University of Washington Royalty Research Fund.

1998 Library Researcher for the Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, University of Pennsylvania. Annotated bibliography: <http://www.psych.upenn.edu/sacsec>

1998 Field Researcher on the project "Organizing Religious Work." Director: Nancy Ammerman, Hartford Seminary.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2000-01 Instructor. "Evolution and Revolution: An Introduction to Comparative Social Change" (Sociology 112).

1996-98 Teaching Assistant. Courses/Professors: "Introduction to Deviance"/George Bridges, "Society and Politics"/Paul Burstein, "Evolution and Revolution"/Charles Hirschman, Juvenile Delinquency"/Joseph Weis.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Sociological Association (since 1997)
Population Association of America (since 1998)
International Studies Association (since 2001)
Pacific Sociological Association (since 1997)
American Education Research Association (since 1999)

SERVICE

2001-02 Graduate Representative, Graduate Program Committee, Department of Sociology, University of Washington.

1999-2000 Graduate Representative, Faculty Search Committees, Department of Sociology, University of Washington.

1996-98 Senator, Graduate and Professional Student Senate, University of Washington

1991-97 English as a Second Language Tutor and Classroom Assistant, Basic Studies Division, Seattle Central Community College, Seattle, WA.

LANGUAGE QUALIFICATIONS

Fluency in German, intermediate proficiency in French and Spanish.

REFERENCES

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