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A critical analysis of Michigan's bilingual education program policy and its implementation

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Michigan State University, 1991

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MICHIGAN'S BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

By

Laurencio Peña

A DISSERTATION

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1991

ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MICHIGAN'S BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

By

Laurencio Peña

This is a study of bilingual education program policy in the state of Michigan, based on 11 years of direct involvement in its planning, implementation, and evaluation. It provides a perspective of the behavioral and interpretive processes of the actions and actors involved in bilingual education policy formulation and implementation. In this analytical process, the study focuses on the education of Chicanos, and the degree to which bilingual education, as an equity program, serves to address their educational needs within a historically based social context which has segmented language minorities.

This study will show an "assimilation" mentality at work against Michigan's Chicanos. It poses the question, Why is it that bilingual education has not attained its intended purposes of addressing the educational needs of Chicanos in Michigan? This question will be addressed in terms of its policy formulation, its implementation, its funding/eligibility criteria, and its monitoring at the state and local levels.

The conclusion drawn from this study is that bilingual education program policy in the state of Michigan has fallen short of its intended mission; that it has challenged the conformist ethic in American culture, and that it has become a political telltale in the struggle for equal educational opportunity. What is evident in this analysis is how the educational intent of bilingual education is compromised, thereby rendering it as an ineffective program for Chicanos when it becomes entangled in the sociopolitical context of American society or, in this study's case, the state of Michigan and the city of Fennville.

The implication of the study is that education is primarily a political process rather than the neutral application of professional criteria to Michicanos.

The history of American education is marked

by attempts to grapple with our polyglot heritage.

D. Wolsk
UNESCO, 1974

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INTRODUCTION

Chicanos are one of Michigan's 75 different language groups. They are a minority of Mexican ancestry with a cultural and linguistic tradition different from the dominant society. Historically, Chicanos have disproportionately underachieved in their schooling. They have had no meaningful voice or persuasive influence in the decisions that affect their condition in Michigan, and they have been overrepresented in the state's prison system.

Can bilingual education improve the social conditions of Chicanos? Some argue that placing too much emphasis on education, in particular bilingual education, is unrealistic, because, despite 20 years of federal funding and 15 years of state funding, there exists little convincing evidence that bilingual education has facilitated the Chicano's educational, economic, and social integration into mainstream society. Monitoring of programs over the past several years does reveal that the state's bilingual programs are falling short of the "mission" that was envisioned for them. Nevertheless, bilingual education remains a major issue in the struggle for an equal educational opportunity for Chicanos. What is clear is that the success or failure of bilingual education may come

to determine whether other cultures, whose values and life-styles differ from those of the mainstream belief system regarding culture and language, will be fully integrated into American society.

In the following chapters, the terms Hispanic, Mexican American, Chicano, Michicano, and La Raza are used interchangeably as their educational neglect is historically evidenced to all speakers of Spanish. Several terms, however, are used synonymously. These are Michicano, Chicano, La Raza, and Mexican American; these refer to Americans of Mexican ancestry. At the inception of this study, it is necessary to provide a point of clarification regarding the term Chicano in relation to the term Hispanic.

Chicanos are subsumed under the rubric Hispanic. This study cites references on Hispanic education because the majority of professional research on the educational achievement of Chicanos, especially prior to the 1960s, is found under the heading "Hispanic." This follows the example established by the U.S. Census Bureau which designates Mexican Americans as part of the "Spanish origin" population.

Hispanics in the United States represent one North American country (Mexico), two island republics (Cuba, Santo Domingo), one U.S. island possession (Puerto Rico), six Central American countries (Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama), nine South American countries (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile), one European country (Spain), and

the Mexican American population in the following four regional concentrations other than the Southwest borderline: the upper Midwest, the Mountain West, the Pacific Northwest, and the South (McKee, 1985). Mexican Americans comprise the dominant Hispanic groups with 63%, followed by Puerto Ricans and Cubans (Study charts Hispanics' acquisition, 1988). For this reason, any general data on Hispanic educational achievement in the United States applies more to Chicanos than any other Spanish-speaking group.

From a sociocultural perspective, the term Chicano is a self-referent designation to which is attributed cultural and linguistic pride, identity, and solidarity. It became widely disseminated during the decade of the 1960s and has gained considerable acceptance in recent years among the educational community. The reason in part stems from the fact it has been chosen by members of the group itself. Etymologically, the following linguistic derivation is offered to provide a different theory to its derivation. The term Chicano is an apocope of the Spanish word "mexicano" with the first syllable being elided. The result is the word "Xicano" where the "X" etymologically inherited the pronunciation [z] or "ch" from archaic Spanish or Latin (Lopez Estrada, 1966). To illustrate, the Latin word "pax," which means peace, would be pronounced [pache]. The term Michicano refers to a Chicano with ties to the state of Michigan.

Organization of the Study

This study consists of six chapters intended to provide an analysis of bilingual education, an equity program designed to alleviate the educational underachievement of Michicanos. Chapter I provides a historical overview of early language minorities and their educational experience in the United States. The purpose is to show how schooling for early immigrants served to maintain the status quo, and also to show how this particular spirit of education eventually filtered down to today's institutions where it is still prevalent.

The early American educational experience encountered by immigrating language minorities prefaces the discussion of bilingual education in the 1980s. It attempts to demonstrate the importance of taking into consideration the social context in which bilingual education is being implemented for understanding its failure as an equity program for Michicanos. In general, this chapter discusses the xenophobia and attitudes which existed during the mid- and late 19th century against language minorities; it also covers why the American public and its social reformers were consumed with fear during the first half of the 20th century and how these attitudes translated into repression for Chicanos and other linguistic and cultural minorities on a national scale. By citing different legislation passed to subjugate language minorities, this chapter shows how attitudes of the dominant society affected policy-making towards more powerless minorities. Finally, the chapter demonstrates how this same equation of

attitudes and power is still trying to repress language minorities going into the 21st century.

Chapter II reviews the literature on bilingual education, since it is a major attempt to alleviate the Chicano's educational dilemma. Inherent in bilingual education is a tension between rectifying the Chicano's low educational achievement and the prevalence of an "assimilation" attitude in decision making. Therefore, bilingual education has been continually scrutinized by two somewhat conflicting objectives. Pro and con investigations regarding its advantages and disadvantages have been researched from various points of view, resulting in extensive literature on the matter.

Chapter II is intended to show how bilingualism has developed in the United States, how it is perceived by different segments of society, its pros and cons, and why it is a sound pedagogical practice for underachieving Chicanos. The discussion in this chapter results in a fundamental dilemma which this dissertation addresses--if bilingual education is intended to meet the needs of Chicanos and it is sound pedagogy, why hasn't it worked for Michicanos? This question is addressed in terms of the policy formulation process (Chapter III); the statewide implementation, monitoring, and determination of eligibility criteria (Chapter IV); and the link between program implementation and practice at the local level (Chapter V). In answering the question, the study generates a political theory of educational policy. It presents a political view of schooling for Michicanos and

links education at the state and local levels to the political process.

Throughout, we will see how, when put into the socio-political context of American society, specifically Michigan and Fennville, the intent of bilingual education is compromised, resulting in an ineffective program for Chicanos. This intent is compromised in policy formulation, policy implementation, and educational practice. That is, the "assimilation" mentality and the stratification of language minorities, which renders Chicanos powerless, also renders the program meaningless in terms of addressing the educational needs of Chicanos.

Statement of Problem

Research literature on the education of language minorities seems to support the A Nation at Risk (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 1) statement that "schools have lost sight of the purpose of schooling," in particular where minorities are concerned (Au & Jordan, 1981; McDermott & Aron, 1978; Mehan, 1982; Simich & McCreedy, 1987; Trueba, 1988). Herein lies part of the problem for the Chicano's educational dilemma--schools have been unsuccessful where language minorities are concerned because they have not altered significantly the relationship between educator and student and between school and minority community (Cummins, 1986). Moreover, schools have refused to accept any responsibility for their education failure and have attempted to blame

the linguistic ability of Chicanos or their cultural background as a whole (McDermott & Gospodinoff, 1981).

The single greatest problem facing the Hispanic community is undereducation. The New York Times (Hispanic growth up, 1988), reporting on Hispanic growth, quoted the U.S. Census Bureau's finding that 51% of Hispanic Americans have completed high school, as against 78% of the rest of the population. Only 10% have completed four years of college, as against 21% for non-Hispanic Americans.

Agenda (1988) corroborates these findings: only about half of Hispanic adults 25 years of age and over are high school graduates, compared to three quarters of Whites and more than three fifths of Blacks; only one in 12 Hispanics is a college graduate, compared to one in 9 Blacks, and one in 5 Whites. The Michigan Department of Education Hispanic Dropout Study (Flores, 1986) reported a 47% dropout rate of Hispanics in Michigan schools. The challenge is to structure educational reform so as to promote both equity and excellence for language minorities.

Educators have known for many years that language minority children have had difficulty succeeding academically in American schools. For example, Ogbu, in his book Minority Education and Caste (1978), provides data for comparing the achievement of Indians, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans in such vital subjects as reading and math. These groups are behind Anglo-Americans by more than one grade level at the sixth grade, and the gap between them widens in subsequent

years. Ogbu further states: "various studies since the early 1920s show that Mexican Americans score substantially lower than Anglo-Americans on IQ tests" (p. 218). The root causes for Mexican Americans' dilemma, according to Ogbu, are that schools are not organized to train caste-like minorities (powerless language and ethnic groups) to achieve equal social and occupational status with members of the dominant caste. Gross mechanisms, like poorly-funded bilingual programs and little staff, are deliberately employed by schools to keep Chicano education inferior.

In Michigan, statewide statistics regarding dropouts and achievement certainly are indicative of such. School statistics on Chicanos run parallel to national norms. The Michigan Department of Education has been monitoring the incidence of dropouts in grades 9 to 12 in the state's public schools since the 1962-63 school year. What becomes evident from this data is that the dropout rate among minorities, especially Hispanics, is significantly higher than for the overall student population.

In effect, since 1976-77, when the Michigan Department of Education began collecting dropout data by race/ethnicity, Hispanics have shown the highest dropout rate of all the racial/ethnic groups identified. From 1976-1980, Hispanics had a mean dropout rate of 11.64% at each grade level in grades 9-12; whereas the rate for Whites was 5.60%, and 6.42% for the entire student population. Assuming a constant factor at each of the four grade levels, those rates translate into

a combined total dropout rate of 46.56%, 22.40%, and 25.68%, respectively. Because the data used do not include students who might have dropped out before ninth grade, the actual percentage of Hispanic dropouts could be considerably higher than the estimated 47.0%

The clearest indication of the deficiencies of the school system in Michigan is reflected in the educational outcomes of Hispanic students.

> Statewide, 56% of the Hispanic students, in the fall of 1983, achieved minimum acceptable levels of performance (75% or more of the objectives) in the Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP) reading tests for grades 4, 7, 10, compared to 79% of all the students (including Hispanics) in the state, or a gap of 23 percentage points. Among the 6 high schools that participated in the study, acceptable minimum reading performance in the 10th grade, on the average, was 73% for all students and 63% for Hispanics. (Flores, 1986, p. 5).

As this indicates, the level of schooling among Chicanos in Michigan tends to be low. Thus, they find themselves at a considerable disadvantage in the larger American society, where a premium is placed on formal schooling and academic achievement.

Why is it that Chicanos lag in the acquisition of literacy? Why do they experience difficulties learning to read? What is the reason for their high dropout rate and low educational achievement?

Explaining Chicano educational underachievement in Michigan, as an outcome of systematic discrimination and Chicano powerlessness to hold the system accountable to meet the needs of their children, is the focus of this study.

Bilingual education was enacted to alleviate the educational underachievement of Chicanos in the state of Michigan; therefore, to understand the miseducation of Chicanos is to tell the story of the failure of bilingual education to serve the children and the community it was intended to benefit.

If bilingual education is a means of rectifying the educational underachievement of Michicanos, why is it not working? Bilingual education has not achieved the status of an equity program in Michigan because it is operating within the framework of a traditional mode of American education, that is, an "assimilation" mentality. As a program intended to treat linguistic and cultural diversity in the school setting, bilingual education challenges the "assimilation" concept of early American education whose sole purpose is to completely resocialize language minorities without regard to individual needs.

The inability of the Chicano community to understand the power relations at play in the process of institutionalizing bilingual education and to perceive it within a sociohistorical paradigm hinders its implementation. Moreover, the inherent existing segmentation created by those historical power relations further complicates any efforts to establish bilingual education as a viable equity program, in spite of the fact that the following chapter clearly indicates that bilingual education is a sound concept.

Limitations of This Study

In presenting a political theory of educational policy, this study has three limitations that should be noted. First, the focus is only on bilingual education policy as one aspect of a set of policies that affect equal access to education. This study recognizes that other factors impact on equal educational opportunities for Chicanos. The intent is not to explain all the factors which impact on their educational underachievement, but rather to create a scenario where the political dynamics are at work against language policy.

Second, the implementation dynamics are limited to the city of Fennville. No other school districts have been analyzed. Given that approximately 25% of the students in Fennville are Chicanos, and given that this study considers it a microcosm of a statewide system where bilingual education becomes entangled in a sociopolitical process, this study is confident that the implementation process can be generalized to most programs in the state and that the findings are those educational experiences of most Michicanos.

Finally, this study is limited to one individual's participatory interpretation. It is based largely on yearly reports, other primary and secondary documents, and innumerable technical assistance/monitoring visits to school districts statewide. The study's critical analysis is not based on statewide descriptive statistics; therefore, no inferential statistics can be assumed.

Methodology

This study is an attempt to treat the issue of bilingual education program policy implementation in the state of Michigan as an equity program for Chicanos. In the process, it focuses on the education of Chicanos, and the degree to which bilingual education serves to address their educational plight within a historically-based social context which has resulted in the stratification of language minorities. It is an attempt to disentangle bilingual education program policy by providing a participatory perspective of the behavioral and interpretive processes of the actions and actors involved in bilingual education policy formulation and implementation. This participatory perspective is based on 11 years of direct involvement in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of bilingual education in the state of Michigan.

This study is historical in nature. Existing historical records and information were collected from state agencies which were easily accessible to the writer, as a state employee. These records were combined with personal participatory experiences upon examination and analysis to formulate an interpretation and understanding of bilingual program implementation.

The participatory interpretation of bilingual program policy implementation is largely based on the numerous yearly reports written, the innumerable technical assistance visits to local school districts, and monitoring and compliance reports developed since the early inception of bilingual

education. In their totality, they provide a summary of events which complement the primary and secondary documents collected for analysis. Primary documents include: statutes, legislation, legislative analysis memoranda, hearing transcripts, committee reports, research reports, correspondence, minutes of committee meetings, and newspaper articles. Secondary documents consist of: newspaper reports from dailies across the state, information bulletins from legislative and organizational groups, scholarly articles, and prior histories.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE MINORITIES AND EDUCATION

Throughout its history, the United States has had oppressed minorities who were discriminated against because of language, culture, and, at times, religion. Waves of immigrants in America have been chronicled since 1607 (McKee, 1985). Each wave brought with them their own language and customs; each presented a new challenge to the development of a national social identity. To consider language minorities in the backdrop of a developing American society is to learn something important about our country, that is, that newcomers to America were not as welcomed as purported by the inscription on the Statue of Liberty:

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning
> to breathe free
> The wretched refuse of your
> teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-
> tost to me,
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door!
> Emma Lazarus, 1903

It is also to learn that schooling for immigrants was not the noble cause that most Americans perceive it to be today, that it had adverse effects on language minority students, and that it played a relatively insignificant role in their lives

before 1920 (Castell, Luke, & MacLennan, 1986); and that early American educational institutions were unwilling to deal with cultural diversity as an asset because it was perceived as a threat to the formation of a national identity and a national society.

Immigrant Experience in Early Education

Since the 1830s and 1840s, when public education was organized, America has had to concern itself with the education of immigrants. From the mid-19th century to the beginning of the 20th, increasing numbers of immigrants came from Italy, central Europe (Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians), and Russia (Glazer & Moynihan, 1964). Unlike earlier white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant settlers, these new groups were viewed as a threat to what was considered, at that time, the traditional American life style. These later immigrants came from rural areas and spoke unfamiliar languages; moreover, they were from other than protestant religious backgrounds, and had different values (New Voices, 1988). New Englanders of the latter 19th century worried about the influx of immigrants. They saw

> Catholic immigrants as unwashed, ignorant, ill-mannered, and even criminal . . . These strangers were unaware of the ideas and beliefs essential to good conduct in politics and social life (Cohen, 1984, pp. 254).

The second wave of immigrants, or those arriving after 1880, represented a major turning point in the history of American immigration because, in terms of language, religion,

and customs, these new immigrants were even more alien to American values than those of the first wave who arrived between 1830-1880. The second wave of immigrants aroused a nativism which had been unprecedented at that time because of their development of ethnic enclaves, adherence to their life-styles, and maintenance of their language, culture, and religion. This different immigrant fanned the flames of native Americans' baser emotions. No longer was discrimination directed toward just a different life-style, but toward culture, language, religion, and poverty status (Tesconi, 1975). A hierarchy of superiority and inferiority of races became more evident. What followed was a series of actions, de jure and de facto, intended to diminish the flow of immigrants to America, which served to further stratify language minority groups.

In the mid-19th century during the height of immigration into the United States, New England conservatives worried about the influx of newcomers.

> These reformers believed that immigrants could corrupt the body politic, that their political expressions would be ill informed and unrestrained, that they would give their votes to whoever appealed to their baser instincts or interests (Cohen, 1984, p. 255).

In order to cope with the "immigrant problem," common schools were established for "commoners" for the state's own protection. Schools for the mid-19th century were not noble efforts to provide a hope of equal political participation; rather,

they were of a very particular spirit; that is, it was comprised of compulsory education for:

> resocilalizing the strangers; literally to remake their minds, manners, and morals. In the view of 19th century reformers, the early common school was an instrument the state created for its own specific function--that of maintaining the status quo which perpetuated an agenda of inequality (Harris, 1982, p. 8).

The essence of common schools was the deliberate effort to create in the young, malleable minds of a nation's common attitudes, loyalties, and values, and to do so under central direction by the state. In this agenda, "moral education" and the shaping of a shared national identity were of considerably more importance than teaching basic academic skills. Nineteenth century reformers were concerned about the increasing diversity of American society, especially as more and more groups began to impact upon the political life of the time. The common school was the vehicle for molding America's new citizenry with the enlightened and tolerant attitudes held by the reformers themselves (Glenn, 1988).

During the Centennial Era of the 1870s, laws to limit official use of language to English began to appear. These laws not only impacted on second-generation immigrants who were non-English speaking, but also on native-born Black Americans. The language restrictive laws led to adoption of literacy requirements in the Black Codes which prevented Blacks from voting (Michigan Civil Rights Commission [MI C.R. Commission], 1989).

Systemic Restrictions Against Immigrants

Because of existing fears and emotions, early language minorities not only suffered institutional discrimination, but open hostility. Violence was perpetrated against Italians during the decade of the 1890s, when at least 11 immigrants were lynched (LaGumina & Cavaioli, 1976). Jew immigrants were cheated in employment; as a result, they formed protective associations (Chiswick & Sullivan, 1983). Chinese and Japanese Americans were subject to employment discrimination and school segregation and were restricted from owning land (Parmet, 1981).

In 1882, the United State Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which suspended immigration of Chinese-born laborers and barred foreign-born Chinese from obtaining citizenship status (Bennett, 1963). At the beginning of the 20th century, there was no indication that these sentiments were to decrease. On the contrary, anti-ethnic movements and organizations developed, not only to subjugate minorities, but to pressure for restricting immigration of new ethnic groups.

Organizations which grew around the beginning of the 20th century to lobby to restrict ethnic minorities' immigration were the American Protective Association, the Immigration Restriction League, and the New England Brahmins. The efforts of these groups influenced the passage of such restrictive immigration legislation and treaties as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This Act was the first federal attempt to limit immigration by nationality (Bennett, 1963). The Gentlemen's

Agreement of 1908 limited Japanese immigration; the Immigration Act of 1917 excluded Asians and required literacy (McKee, 1985); and the National Origins Act of 1924 established quotas for each country outside of the Western Hemisphere. It was particularly prejudiced against eastern and southern Europeans (Bennett, 1963). Cubberly, a noted educator in the early 20th century, classified them in his book, An Introduction to the Study of Education (1925), as "illiterate," docile," lacking in "self-reliance" and "initiative," and presenting problems of "proper housing and living, moral, and sanitary conditions, honest and decent government and proper education" (p. 24-25).

During the 1920s, the infamous Ku Klux Klan openly perpetuated hostility toward ethnic groups (Appel, 1982). The activities of this extremist organization during the early part of the 20th century not only shed light on the darker side of the historical development of America as a nation, but clearly attested to the "de facto" efforts to subjugate minority groups.

The advocates of restrictions viewed unabridged immigration as a major disrupter of the status quo. They based their argument on the fear of papal conquest and pseudo-scientific evidence which classified foreigners as genetically and intellectually inferior. They warned that too many aliens would lead to the mongrelization of the American race and the decline of American society from the ranks of great civilizations (Ziegler, 1953; Jones, 1960).

The conservative view towards language minorities was a need for the total cleansing of diversity attributes to become an acceptable American. The xenophobia and attitudes generated by World War I continued through the 1920s. Americans were concerned and afraid that its basic institutions would be threatened and endangered; hence, language minorities became targets for repression. In Michigan, Chicanos of the times also became a target for much of this negativism because they represented an unfamiliar populace, a different culture.

As the "new kid on the block," they fell into the perennial pattern of "focus" for all sorts of social and educational discriminatory practices. According to García (1979), critics of the Mexican influx complained that they were an inassimilable group and that they generally refused to become citizens. Nativist attitudes which had arisen toward immigrants and which had revived fundamentalism and the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan had found fertile ground in the newly arriving Chicano population in Michigan (García, 1979).

Identified as outcasts in a new land, many immigrants endured the hardships of institutional racism. Sentiments against Germans, Asians, and southern and eastern Europeans peaked during World War I and the decade after the war. In 1917, the United States Congress stopped Asian immigration. Literacy requirements were added to limit the entrance of southern and eastern Europeans (MI C.R. Commission, 1989). In the late 1920s, the Sacco-Venzetti trial exemplified the sentiments against Italians. In 1919, the state of Nebraska

enacted a criminal statute barring individuals and schools from giving instruction in a language other than English (Lyons, 1988).

The Anglo Conformity Movement and anti-German sentiment led to adoption of English-Only laws in Nebraska and other states. Twenty states enacted laws to bar the teaching of German in schools. Rhetoric around this movement was similar to that of the 1880s related to primacy (MI C.R. Commission, 1989).

Despite discriminatory actions, there were attempts by certain language groups to maintain their native language. Some early language minorities sought to meet their own educational needs by establishing their own native language schools for their children because of "de jure" discrimination against them (Isser, 1985). Glazer and Moynihan (1964) state that "Eastern European Jews showed almost from the beginning of their arrival in this country a passion for education that was unique in American history," and that they established their own Jewish schools to "inoculate the next generation with the belief that is considered necessary to keep alive a level of Jewish self-consciousness that will hold the line against assimilation (p. 155)." Similarly, the Chinese and Japanese set up afternoon schools to teach the native language and heritage of their native countries to their children (Frank, 1983).

Although immigrant groups attempted to establish native language schools for their children, the great majority of

them who were in schools received no special consideration despite their difficulty in the English language. Many schools enrolling immigrants in the 1900s suffered the same present-day symptoms attributed to language minorities in the 1980s, that is, high dropout rates, low academic achievement, frequent grade repetition (Ogbu, 1978).

The "New" Immigrant

In the early 20th century, as today, the student's inability to understand the language of instruction was recognized as the chief cause of poor school performance (Greer, 1970); language minorities are still victims of educational practices which fail to capitalize on their innate capabilities, that is, language and culture (McDermott & Aron, 1978; Erikson, 1979; Mehan, 1983; Florio-Ruane, 1987).

Although the height of immigration has long since passed, it is a well-established fact that, going into the 21st century, there is still an influx of new immigrants which is changing the face of America, and Hispanics account for the greater proportion. According to Briggs and Tienda (1986), the number of foreign-born Americans has increased sharply in the decade of the 1980s after declining (each decade) since 1920. From 1970 to 1980, the Hispanic population grew from 5.5 million to 14.6 million (Hispanic Policy Development Project, 1984).

Evidence of the new influx of immigrants, the largest since the turn of the century, is covered by Time (July 8,

1985). What becomes salient upon reading this issue is the changing face of America.

> The enormous migration is rapidly and permanently changing the face of America. It is altering its racial makeup, its landscapes and cityscapes, . . . its entire perception of itself and its way of life (Time, July 8, 1985, pp. 26-27).

After a lull of about 40 years, recent immigrants are once again a visible presence. This reality also resurrects biased attitudes against minorities which existed in the early years of immigration. For example, during World War II sentiments against Japanese citizens led to their camp internment while at the same time Mexican Americans were repatriated with Mexico. These same attitudes eventually permeated into today's educational and social scenes. For example, in White v. Regester, (1973), the Court pointed to a variety of denials to Hispanics when it stated that:

> a cultural incompatibility conjoined with the poll tax and the most restrictive voter registration procedures in the Nation have operated to effectively deny Mexican Americans access to the political process in Texas even longer than Blacks were formally denied access by the white primacy. (MI C.R. Commission, 1989, p. 7)

In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court found that instruction only in English deprived some students of understanding of subject matter and equal opportunity in the Lau case.

The recent English Only movement, with its roots in the Centennial Era of the 1870s, is again an assault on the basic rights of language minority people. According to Blonston (1987, March 1), the English Only movement has its roots in racism. It is an organization which advocates an end to

bilingual education funds and making the English language the official language of the United States via a constitutional amendment. While the intents of this organization may seem noble to the average American, since everyone recognizes the primacy of English in our society, the ethnocentric views of U.S. English's cofounder and former chairman, John Tanton, were brought to light by the National Association for Bilingual Education (1988). The article uncovered a 1986 memo (see Appendix A) in which Tanton expressed worry that low White birthrates and high Hispanic birthrates would endanger American society.

What is salient in the U.S. English Only movement is that it exemplifies the fear and xenophobia prevalent in those American citizens who are disturbed about the multicultural nature of contemporary American society. The Time article gives a glimpse of the true intentions of the U.S. English Only movement: to use the "officialness" of English to limit the rights and privileges of other bilingual Americans. As recently as the 1988 national presidential election, 16 states had enacted English Only amendments to their state constitutions (Kalamazoo Gazette, December 5, 1988). While much of the nation has perceived these laws as relatively harmless in the past, there is a growing sense that there is more to this legislation than just promoting English. Racist comments are surfacing which make it clear some backers of English-Only laws are more worried about keeping down certain segments of the population than they are about lifting up language skills.

Lyons (1988), in writing about the English Only movement, states that he is "startled by the vigor with which some of the proponents of the English Language Amendment pressed the equation--language and (American) loyalty" (p. 9).

Immigration continues to be a major source for increasing the size of American language minority communities. On October 3, 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed The Immigration Act of 1965. Since then, there has been a striking increase in the number of immigrants from Latin America (New Voices, 1988)). For this reason, it is worthwhile to focus on Hispanics as representative of language minorities whose status in American society will have serious implications for the development of a national social identity.

According to Population Trends and Public Policy (1988), a "net figure of over 2 million Hispanic immigrants entered between 1980 and 1988" (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988, pp. 3-4). The U. S. Census Bureau reports that the Hispanic population in March 1987 totaled about 22.2 million. The Hispanic population for the United States has increased by more than one third since the 1980 census, growing nearly five times faster than the rest of the population (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988). It is worthwhile to note that this growth does not include the number of illegal immigrants from Latin American countries. The Ford Foundation publication, Hispanics: Challenges and Opportunities (1984), states that about 500,000 undocumented immigrants are added to the Hispanic population every year. They remain the youngest and fastest growing

major U.S. population. Their median age is 25.1 years, compared to 32.6 years for the non-Hispanic population. The social and educational implications of this statistic are dramatic. It means that Hispanics will continue their growth patterns because they are at the peak of child-bearing age, while non-Hispanics are beyond it. This translates into an equally dramatic educational challenge for our society--to design curricular programs to meet Hispanic's cultural and linguistic needs to counter their low educational achievement in order to prepare them to become contributing participants of American society.

The National Council for La Raza Agenda (Summer, 1988) indicates that Hispanics are becoming an increasingly important segment of the U.S. population and work force, and their economic status and progress will help determine future U.S. productivity and competitiveness in the world marketplace. Unfortunately, however, inadequate preparation will hinder their constructive contribution to American society if drastic changes do not occur to better prepare them. Hispanics account for more than one of every seven families living below the poverty level, more than one of every five illiterate adults, and one in every four adults with less than a fifth-grade education (Agenda, 1988).

Educational Neglect of Hispanics

Education for language minorities in the United States has not been successful, as indicated by the previous documen-

tation; there is an innate contradiction in the educational process that has had adverse effects. D. H. Lawrence asserts, according to Harris (1982), that education means leading out the individual nature in each person to its true fullness. This stems from the Latin definition of the infinitive "educere," which means "to lead out" (Gove, 1986). For language minorities, education has not "led them out" to their true fullness; rather, it has "left them out" of the educational process.

For John Dewey, the educational process of "leading out the individual nature in each person to its true fullness: results in personal growth--mental, moral and spiritual" (Smith, 1980, p. 149). The reward of this, supposedly, is the opening of occupational rewards and upward mobility. The paradox for language minorities is that they are still inculcated with the idea that to succeed they must acculturate to the majority culture, which begins by accommodating themselves into a public school curriculum "that is antagonistic" (Hodgkinson, 1962, p. 132). Clearly, as regards minorities, our educational system does not accommodate language minorities.

Our country's educational system is more poignantly described by the Open letter to the American People: A Nation at Risk (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983):

> Our Nation is at risk. Our society and its educational institutions seem to have lost sight of the basic purposes of schooling, . . . we must dedicate

> ourselves to the reform of our educational system for the benefit of all--(including) minorities (p.1)

To deny Hispanics the skills, literacy, and training essential for the 21st century is to disenfranchise them from the material rewards that accompany competent performance and also from the chance to participate fully in our society. An equal educational opportunity is essential to a free, democratic society, especially in a country that is culturally pluralistic as ours and prides itself on individual freedom.

> Part of what is at risk is the promise first made on this continent: all, regardless of race . . . are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 4)

That public education continued to neglect the educational needs for preparing language minorities for their place in society is evident in that it was not until 1968 that the U.S. Congress enacted the Bilingual Education Act, "an impetus toward greater equalization, democratization, and participation through education" (Carnoy, 1983, p. 401). The declaration of policy of this Act states:

> In recognition of the special educational needs of the large number of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet these special educational needs. For the purpose of this title, "children of limited English-speaking ability" means children who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English (P.L. 909-247, Title VII, Sec. 702, 81 Stat. 816).

In spite of this Act and a multitude of demonstration programs throughout the nation for language minorities in the succeeding 20 years, education continues to "fail" students who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English.

The "socialization" goals of education reformers of the 19th century caused political and social conflict (Frank, 1983). It is a controversy which continues to haunt public education. Today, as in the past, the imposition of this "assimilationist" mentality continues to be experienced as oppressive by language minority groups who have, by virtue of their culture, a different view of reality. The "assimilation" mentality is defined as a cultural exclusionary/cultural deficit model of education which is bent on changing the student to fit the system rather than vice versa; this makes it procrustean. Going into the 21st century, the conflict continues. The common school agenda still shapes discussions of education in the United States. Its enduring presence can be seen and felt in the reactions of conservative educators and the populace at large against bilingual education and similar educational options for language minorities.

To date, educational institutions have been trying to socialize language minorities as if they were a pathological case instead of teaching them the literacy skills necessary to become a contributing participant of society. Harris (1982), quoting Gintis and Kandal, states that:

> The function of education is conservative, being directed toward integrating new generations into the prevailing culture and providing knowledge and skills geared toward ensuring social stability and perpetuation of the status quo (p. 8).

Harris further describes the educational process in this manner: "Schooling has much to do with socialization and the production of socialized beings, but very little to do with education or the production of educated people (p. 9)."

Cohen (1984) states that:

> We view our schools with a split vision--sometimes celebrating their commonness as an egalitarian achievement and sometimes worrying about their commonness as an unfortunate consequence of equality (p. 253).

On the one hand, the very term "common school" was noble and was a hope of equal political participation in an unequal society. But America's vision of the common school was also shaped by another view; that is, as assimilationist in nature for the state's own protection against language minorities.

It is the former, ennobling, equalizing view of the common school which was intended to be implemented by P.A. 294 of 1974 in the state of Michigan as a means of addressing the needs of Chicanos; however, it was the latter, assimilationist view which resulted and permeates the educational process, as indicated by the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AS A MEANS OF ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF CHICANOS

The previous chapter established the fact that education for language minorities since the turn of the 20th century did not fulfill its binding function of incorporating them into the American mold for becoming part of a national identity. Instead, language minorities remained powerless and segmented by common schools. This early educational schooling process has filtered down to today's schools and has had a detrimental effect on Chicano educational attainment.

A major attempt to address the Chicano's low educational achievement was bilingual education. The massive school failure of Chicanos reported prior to 1965 was one of the principal factors which convinced authorities to acknowledge the existence of bilingualism in the United States and eventually to legislate into effect bilingual education programs (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975; Frank, 1983). Ralph Yarborough, a United States Senator from Texas whose constituency was comprised of Mexican Americans, is most credited for initiating the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the Title VII amendment to the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (E.S.E.A.), which provided the first federal funds for bilingual education (Spolsky, 1975).

The study that most eloquently expressed the Chicano's educational dilemma is the Mexican American Study conducted by the United States Civil Rights Commission over a two-year period, 1972-74. Even though this study is almost 25 years old, the findings are still relevant because the same conditions presently persist.

During the 1960s, while the national dropout rate of Mexican Americans persisted, the prospects for their social advancement were doubly limited because of race and language. At this same time, the civil rights movement offered language minorities encouragement to challenge the "assimilation" mentality which had existed in the American educational system for decades. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination based on race, creed, religion, and national origin, provided the impetus for language minority communities to demand equal treatment if their sons and daughters could not understand the school's language of instruction. Their clamor for an equal educational opportunity spawned the recognition of a national dilemma which encompassed one third of a nation (ACE/ECS Report, May 1988).

Bilingual Education for Michicanos

Recognizing the educational dilemma of Michicanos, the state of Michigan moved to "provide bilingual programs for limited English speaking ability students in order to ensure that they received an equal educational opportunity" (HB 4750, 1974).

Since the early 1900s, when Mexicans and Mexican Americans began to arrive in Michigan, it has been established that they have been the objects of repression (García, 1979). As one result, today's Michicanos find themselves markedly behind in the area of education (Flores, 1986). To address this concern, the Legislature of the state of Michigan enacted P.A. 294 in 1974 and amended it in 1976. This law is known today as the Bilingual Education Act of 1976 and is defined as: ". . . the use of two languages, one of which is English, as a media of instruction for speaking, reading, writing, or comprehension" (p. 2). Although this mandate, at first glance, may appear to be an equalizing effort of educational reform, this study, being influenced by McDermott and Aron (1978), sees this type of effort by people who have access to political and economic resources as a means to limit that access to themselves. As P.A. 294 of 1974 began to unfold, the opposition to this equity program became evident. As a result, policymakers became mired in its controversy while the perennial myths and misconceptions regarding language and culture complicated, rather than dispelled, the notion that bilingual education works.

Based on these perceptions, one can assume that semblances of early American educational attitudes are still present in today's educational process. Moreover, it can further be assumed that it has filtered down to individual states and that it is alive and well in Michigan's school districts. Michigan's bilingual education program can be viewed as a

systematic, transitory process for socializing the student within a period of three years. In this type of schooling, teachers, in general, act as agents of socialization in that they fail to educate in the sense of going beyond socialization to bring out and develop the full capabilities of the students' personal, cognitive, and intellectual development as supported by the Michigan Department of Education (Common Goals of Michigan Education, 1972). Instead, according to the Procedures for the Identification of Students Eligible for Bilingual Education Funding (1979) rules, the program's purpose is to teach oral English and Reading to students of limited English-speaking ability for transferring them into English as soon as possible. There is no intent to capitalize on the student's background. The great majority of bilingual education programs in Michigan for Chicanos, because they are ineffective, can be characterized as a form of cultural and psychological isolation which prevents them from obtaining the experience, knowledge, and skills required for active participation in school activities that are the basis for cognitive development and academic success. The tragic result is that bilingual education is not meeting the needs of Chicanos in the state of Michigan, much less alleviating their educational dilemma. This truism is in spite of the fact that bilingual education does work, as supported by the review of the literature.

The Bilingual Education Controversy

Why is it that bilingual education has not attained its intended purpose of addressing the educational needs of Chicanos in Michigan? This is the dilemma which this study intends to address. This chapter intends to show that the concept of bilingual education is sound pedagogy by reviewing related research. The issue of why bilingual education hasn't worked will be addressed in terms of:

- the policy formulation in Chapter III
- the implementation, funding/eligibility criteria, and monitoring in Chapter IV
- the link between implementation and practice at the local level in Chapter V.

Upon reading this study, what should become apparent is how the educational intent of bilingual education is compromised, thereby rendering it an ineffective program for Chicanos when it becomes entangled in the sociopolitical context of American society, specifically the state of Michigan and the city of Fennville. The study will show the "common school mentality" at work against Michigan's language minorities, and how their stratification renders Chicanos powerless to effectuate meaningful program changes for addressing their own educational needs. The failure of bilingual education will be linked to a political theory of educational policy.

It is apparent that providing instruction to language minorities in a language other than English has stirred

controversy. In the book American Education and the European Immigrant, Berrol (1982) cites one of many reasons for supporting assimilatory schooling:

> They needed to know the language in which economic affairs were conducted and they required an understanding of the political framework of the nation to which they had come. (p. 31)

As stated in Chapter I, early education reformers supported the acculturation of language minorities through the establishment of the common school.

Modern day opponents of bilingual education argue that the maintenance of language and culture are private matters which should be enhanced at home, a position for which there is a strong precedent in early immigrant education in America (Plotnicov, 1983). Opponents further argue that bilingual education is a threat to the American way of life (Casanova, 1988), that it fosters political divisiveness and anti-American sentiments. And, they contend that, historically, bilingual education has never been necessary for the educational achievement of language minorities, nor is it today. These opponents challenge the effectiveness of bilingual education (Epstein, 1977). The simplest and most compelling argument against bilingual education is that it is an economic burden to schools and that they lack the human resources, that is, teachers fluent in the many different languages to implement the program (Glazer, 1980).

Teachers and administrators of monolingual schools have also expressed misgivings about bilingual education on the

basis that if language minority students lack English language skills, then they require English instruction. These educators often tend to see instruction in the student's first language as undermining their efforts to teach them English. These beliefs about the negative effect of bilingualism are based on misconceptions regarding the central role of the student's first language in their educational development and the specific ways in which bilingual education affects this development. There exists extensive recent research from throughout the world which clearly shows that maintaining and developing the student's first language through its use as a medium of instruction has no negative effects on the development of English (Annamalai, 1980; Tosi, 1984; Wolfgang, 1975). In many cases, bilingual instruction has very positive effects on other academic skills besides developing English skills (Cummins, 1986; Piper, 1986). In spite of these research findings which support bilingual education, there still exist misconceptions by monolingual educators. Some of these are:

1. English cannot be mastered as long as language minorities retain their first language (National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, 1982).
2. Using English and the home language for instruction causes academic retardation (Saunders, 1982).
3. The home-school language switch (linguistic mismatch) impedes literacy (Cummins,1986).

4. Bilingual programs isolate non-English-speaking children from the rest of the students (Hakuta & Gould, 1987).
5. Spanish, in bilingual programs, carries a psychosocial stigma which causes confusion (Hakuta & Gould, 1987).

Bilingual Education Research

To dispel these myths, following are several recent, carefully controlled evaluations on bilingualism and Chicanos, and bilingual education conducted in monolingual school environments.

1. Southwest Education Development Laboratory Study, Austin, Texas. To gather information to assist policymakers, curriculum designers, and classroom teachers in planning and delivering language and reading instruction, a study was conducted by Betty Mace-Matluck from 1978-1984. The 6-year longitudinal investigation, which tracked approximately 250 Spanish-speaking children from low-income families and taught by more than 200 teachers in 20 schools in five Texas school districts from kindergarten through second and third grades, reported that, among other positive findings related to valid language assessment and reading acquisition, it was found that English language development was not hindered at all. This research study refutes the common misconception that English cannot be mastered when language minorities retain their first language. Hudelson's (1988) study of native language literacy

in the education of language minority children similarly refutes this myth.

2. Susan R. Goldman's Study (1983) on Applying First Language Skills to Second Language Comprehension. In this study, the degree to which knowledge available in the student's first language is used in understanding second language input, and the relationship between knowledge uses in two languages as the student becomes bilingual are considered. The subjects were bilingual children in kindergarten through fifth grade with English or Spanish as a first language. The results indicated that knowledge used to guide story comprehension in the first language is also used to guide it in the second language. This finding reinforces the instructional practice of using the primary language as the language of instruction while English is introduced as a second language. Another similar study which shows that bilingual education in English and the home language works is Hoover's (1984) Cantonese Site Analytic Study. Both of these research studies refute the myth that using English and the home language for instruction impede academic achievement.

3. Project P.R.O.B.E. During the 1979-80 school year, Project Primary Reading Objectives for Bilingual Education (P.R.O.B.E.) was involved in improving the rate of reading growth and cognitive development of 4- and 5-year-olds in the Bronx, New York. In bilingual classes that were conducted primarily in Spanish, the 153 program participants received instruction that emphasized oral language readiness for

reading, among other aspects. The final Title VII evaluation report found that the program exceeded the expected level of achievement and that it created a stimulating and effective learning environment. This study refutes the myth that reading is impeded by Spanish. Franklin's (1985) study of literacy in bilingual classrooms also shows similar patterns of findings which support reading in the first language.

4. Quintero's (1987) Preschool Literacy Study. This study investigated the literacy development of bilingual children as they interacted in the social context of their preschool classrooms. Subjects were 12 native Spanish-speaking preschoolers. It was hypothesized that what bilingual children bring to the classroom in terms of experience, values, language, culture, and personality, affected the social context of the classroom and, in turn, affected the developmental process of the children's literacy acquisition. Because literacy was being investigated as a holistic process consisting of many components and many different behaviors, ethnographic techniques were used to observe and analyze the children's interaction for approximately 100 hours in a 5-month period. Results indicated that the children overwhelmingly displayed extrovert characteristics, as opposed to introvertness, which were displayed in the playground. Among the conclusions based on the results are that cultural traits and customs do not necessarily affect self-concept and that they can have a positive effect on the learning environment. Other research projects, such as the Legarreta ESL/Bilingual

Comparison Study (1979) and Tucker's (1987) well-known St. Lambert Experience (1972-74), refute the myth that bilingual education programs tend to alienate language minority students from the English-dominant school population.

Cazden (1984), in describing seven "effective" bilingual education programs, reports outside experts and bilingual teachers alike agree that the use of information from the limited-English-proficient student's home culture can promote engagement in instructional tasks and contribute to a feeling of trust between children and their teachers. She reports three ways in which home and community culture are incorporated into classroom life:

a. Cultural referents in both verbal and nonverbal forms to communicate instructional and institutional demands

b. Instruction is organized to build upon rules of discourse from the home culture

c. Values and norms of the home culture are respected equally with those of the school (p. 21)

Walsh's (1984) study on the construction of meaning in a second language analyzed the sociocultural and psychological processes involved in the Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican child's construction of abstract meaning in the English language and examined how these processes related to the child's native language reality. Results demonstrated that the influence of native language meaning is especially strong with regard to culturally salient words and occurs regardless of levels of English proficiency. These findings suggest that

both social context and culture play a dominant role in language acquisition. In spite of the fact that the following similar studies show that speaking English and thinking in English are not equitable, schools continue to ignore the factors of culture and social context in the education of Chicanos.

According to Strick (1980), learners of a second language organize and interpret their experiences in the second language world in terms of categories derived from their native language and culture, together with perception of linguistic and cultural phenomena in the second language environment. According to Walsh (1984), these categories then form the meaning behind English words which result in semantic misunderstandings because limited-English-proficient students interpret English word meanings differently than the monolingual English speaker. While they may be able to converse orally in English, the cultural frame of reference may be totally divergent. This situation is referred to as "cultural mismatch" between home and school (Cummins, 1984; Mehan, 1982).

The notion of mismatch also becomes a salient issue in Michael's (1986) ethnographic study on oral preparation for literacy with first graders. Her careful description of a highly collaborative classroom activity between students and teacher uncovered systematic communicative mismatches that resulted in unsuccessful collaboration and misassessment of children's ability. The mismatch problem revolved around

topic-centered and topic-associated narrative styles, ethnically different discourse styles which create interactional constraints in the classroom, thereby making learning more difficult. For the purposes of this study, it is this cultural mismatch theory which has been used to explain the apparent poor self-concept and academic failure of Chicanos.

Cognitive psychologists' cross-cultural research suggests a significant relationship between culture and the development of intellectual abilities (Boggs, 1985; Cole, 1985; Fisher & Bullock, 1984). Interestingly, Rosenthal and Ginsburg (1981) conclude that social and economic status had a great effect on educational achievement which, in actuality, may be greater than the influence of language and cultural background. Nonetheless, cognitive psychological research provides educators one clear message: it is important not to be culture bound in the ways we assess students' capabilities to think and learn. How can educators know which aspects of culture make a difference in learning? The following studies of school-based efforts provide useful clues.

Ethnographer's research on home/school relationships suggest a significant linkage between the student's home culture and the development of intellectual abilities (Mehan, 1982; Peshkin, 1982). In particular, Shultz, Florio, and Erikson's (1982) study on aspects of the cultural organization of social relationships in communication at home and in school reports important implications for teachers concerned with the structuring of school environment for learning. Their

research found that quality schooling seemed to be related directly to the school's recognition that it is not the sole educative force in a child's life; that acknowledgment of the non-school culture amounts to a willingness for educators to think in terms of different "kinds of competence."

Another educational study which found that the student's background is indispensable for learning is the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), a research and development project located at Honolulu, Hawaii. In this project, a team of teachers, psychologists, anthropologists, and linguists had discovering better ways to teach reading to Hawaiian children as one of its primary goals. At a school comprised of urban Hawaiian children, most of them from families on welfare who resided in public housing projects and who typically experienced the greatest difficulties in school, the multidisciplinary team set out to identify a combination of teaching practices and classroom organization that would both engage these children in their own learning and boost their achievement. This in-depth study revealed that reading lessons were successful because, through their resemblance to a major speech event in Hawaiian culture, talk story, they capitalize on the preexisting cognitive and linguistic abilities of the children (Calfee, Cazden, Duran, & Griffin, 1981). This KEEP study, as well as those ethnographic and cognitive psychological studies mentioned, should suggest that school districts do not have the luxury of ignoring the Chicano student's language and culture altogether and categorizing them by their back-

ground (Carrasco, 1984). Instead, educators should utilize "home developed literacy" to teach Chicanos, not only reading, as in the KEEP study, but also writing as these two early education skills form the basis for language minorities' development of literacy and, subsequently, educational achievement.

The educational system's failure to educate Chicano limited-English-speaking-ability students is due to its failure to recognize and capitalize on the connection between their early experiences and learning (Farr & Daniels, 1986; Simich & McCreedy, 1987; Wertsch, 1985). Of greater damaging impact to the Chicano student was that they most probably were placed in a basal reading program where they were expected to begin to read and write in English long before they had experienced and solidified the prerequisite language skills of listening and speaking. Mace-Matluck (1983) focuses on the interface of reading and writing. These are the third and fourth language skills needed to conceptualize. She classified these basic steps accordingly:

LISTENING->SPEAKING->READING->WRITING

The concepts of "listening" and "speaking" have to be mastered before immersing the child in "reading," and the previous three have to be accomplished prior to the Chicano student's immersion in writing. This logical pattern has not been the Chicano's educational experience as far as literacy is concerned.

Many Chicano LEP students enter school at the age of 6 years with a complete language communication system in Spanish. The first two basic language skills of "listening" and "speaking" have been firmly developed in Spanish; nevertheless, except for a few bilingual programs, no meaningful effort has been noted to capitalize on their home language. Schematically, the dilemma of LEP Chicano students' place in reading and writing in the early stage of schooling is based on Table 1. The tragic outcome of not providing bilingual education for Chicano LEP students in the early years of schooling is that they fall seriously behind in all phases of the curriculum. This loss in knowledge of subject matter is seldom made up by the time the student gets to high school. Thus, the LEP student, unable to attain scholastically in comparison with his Anglo peer, has a high dropout statistic.

Bilingual education can be defined by a multitude of variables, such as usage of first and second language; scope and sequence of instruction; relative emphasis on the first language, personnel, community involvement, etc. These variations tend to classify bilingual education into one of three categories: maintenance, transition, or immersion. Implied in each of these three categories is that language and culture play a significant role. To the extent that bilingual program implementors tap on the language and culture of the students directly determines the success of the program and the educational achievement of the student (Escobedo, 1984; Iwamura, 1982; Moll & Díaz, 1988).

Table 1

Oral-Aural Language Experience Continuum

	English Dominant Child	Spanish Dominant Child	Chicano LEP Child
Listening ↓	Birth to approximately 3 years of age hears English	Birth to approximately 3 years of age hears Spanish	Birth to approximately 3 years of age hears both Spanish and English
Speaking ↓	3-6 years of age speaks English	3-6 years of age speaks Spanish	3-6 years of age speaks any combination of more English than Spanish or vice versa
Reading ↓	Is placed in reading program in English with fully developed listening and speaking skills; thus experiences measures of success	Is placed in reading program in English with NO developed skills in English language listening and speaking skills. Leads to frustration, lags behind.	Is placed in reading program where there is a cultural mismatch between home/school and teacher/student. Results in communicative mismatch + misassessment.
Writing	Is provided writing with fully developed prerequisite skills of listening, speaking, and reading.	Is placed in writing with NO developed continuum of oral-aural language skills. The result is "self-fulfilling prophesy."	Is placed in writing with a weakly developed continuum of oral-aural language skills. The result is underachievement.

Summary

While not new, the debate about whether schools should attune instruction to the student's language and cultural background has never been more critical. Demographic trends clearly show that the cultural makeup of our schools has undergone a radical transformation. Hodgkinson (1987), in his report to the Michigan State Board of Education entitled, "The State and Its Educational System," states that 24% of the state's school-age population are minorities. To meet the educational needs of language minorities, the state of Michigan enacted a language policy in the midst of its national controversy. Nonetheless, research literature indicates that bilingual education is a much-needed program. Research clearly shows that language and culture have to become an integral part of the learning process if schools expect to affect positively minorities' school achievement.

Tucker, Executive Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. and co-researcher of the Canadian bilingual educational longitudinal study, states: "I have argued and believe strongly that there are personal, social, and economic benefits that would accrue to all of us with the development of a language-competent American society" (1987, p. 361).

The bilingual education issue is both complex and controversial. Differences exist conceptually, as well as with respect to the means and ends of the program. Should the program be for all or just language minorities? Should it be

maintenance-oriented for cultivating a multilingual society or transition-oriented for transferring the student into English as quickly as possible? If the goal is the former, then the concept and means is clearly bilingual education. If the goal is the latter, however, the program is not bilingual, but assimlatory. To date no language policy exists, either nationally or in the state of Michigan, which takes a definite position on the matter of bilingual education. It is within this vague, non-committal posture that it becomes compromised, thereby rendering it as an ineffective program for Chicanos when it becomes entangled in the politics of language minorities.

It was in the absence of an institutional commitment to an educational language policy that, in 1989, the ethnocentrist organization known as U.S. English, Inc. found it accommodating to assail the basic rights of language minorities in the state of Michigan. Dr. Josué González states that the U.S. English movement's histrionics should remind us that the battle for equity in education is far from over (N.A.B.E. NEWS, 1987). This battle suggests political involvement on the part of Michicanos as the debate on bilingual education does not occur in the schools but in the political arena because it "is no longer regarded strictly as an educational measure but also as a strategy for realizing the social, political, and economic aspirations of Hispanic peoples" (Pifer, 1979, p. 5). Political involvement also presupposes the ability to interact in a sociocultural

ambience where language policy is formulated and is generally regarded as off-limits to Michicanos.

Recognizing that the political arena is a microcosm of the larger society and that political relations reflect this majority/minority interaction, the following chapter, in dealing with the formulation of bilingual program policy, illustrates how it was compromised in the early stages and later saved from the grips of an ultra-conservative reform organization by language minority intervention.

CHAPTER III

THE FORMULATION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM POLICY

The Bilingual Education Law of the state of Michigan, P. A. 294 (1974), marked a new direction for education in general and a new outlook toward speakers of other languages. Previously in Michigan education, bilingual education had been excluded as an instructional vehicle, and language minorities repressed. The industrial state of Michigan was no exception to the strains of xenophobia nor to the "Americanization" campaigns which swept our nation during the early 20th century. In 1915, for example, the National Americanization Committee launched an "English First" project in Detroit, with the cooperation of the local Board of Commerce. Industrial employers like Henry Ford made attendance at these Americanization classes mandatory for speakers of other languages (Crawford, 1989). Chapter I of this study delves more extensively into the assimilatory process of language minorities in America. It is interesting to note that, in this process, bilingual education was viewed as a detriment (Liebman, 1982).

Prior to 1974, the state of Michigan had no official language policy. The idea of teaching Michigan's children in

other languages was an affront to long-established traditions. Yesterday's immigrants allegedly prospered without bilingual education. Early language minorities either assimilated quickly to advance socially and economically or suffered a process of hardships that affected their children and their children's children. For these obdurate, obstinate classes of people, a sink-or-swim mode of education was the norm. The human tragedy was that far too many language minorities "sank" in proportion to those who learned how to "swim." A case in point is the Michicanos who, as a language group, demonstrate all the symptoms of an educationally neglected minority, or a minority group which "sank" as a result of de facto and de jure socialization policies and practices.

Chicanos in Michigan

Chicanos in Michigan during the first half of the 20th century were no exception to other prevailing attitudes of the times. In the decade of the 1920s, for example, they were the object of repressive attitudes caused, in part, by the xenophobia which resulted after the war, the Red Scare of 1919-1920, and the enactment of restrictive laws of 1921 and 1924. These restrictive laws forced employers in the Midwest, who were hard pressed in finding a new source of cheap labor, to tap the rich labor pool of Mexico and the Southwest (Corwin, 1974; Weeks & Spielberg-Benitez, 1979). Consequently, the first Chicanos in the state of Michigan often found themselves segregated, relegated to living in substandard

houses, and generally undergoing all the hardships of discrimination; nevertheless, they managed to establish roots and eke out a living in what was to become an adopted state.

In spite of these and other human travails, the numbers of Michicanos continued to grow throughout the 1920s. The exact number is difficult to ascertain throughout the whole state; nevertheless, "the 1930 census listed 13,336 Mexicans, a number that varies with the ebb and rise of employment" (Michigan Writer's Project, 1941, p. 111). This growth was caused in large part because the Mexican population provided much of the needed unskilled labor in the industrial and agricultural sectors of Michigan. Many Michicanos are descendants from braceros who arrived from Texas or immigrated from Mexico. The bracero program was established in agreement with Mexico during World War I to supplant the dwindling American labor force (Gamboa, 1990). To date, La Raza continues to be the principal source of cheap agricultural labor in Michigan even though, as a whole, the Michicano's attachment to agriculture is minimal. In 1988, for example, approximately 45,000 families were counted by the Office of Migrant Services, Michigan Department of Social Services, as having been socially served in Michigan (Michigan Agricultural Statistics, 1988). In this same year, 50,473 migrant workers 18 years of age and older were counted by a Michigan Economics for Human Development (MEHD) intake report, according to its Director, Manual García (personal communication, June 1, 1988).

García (1979) states that the large number of Chicanos who began to "settle out" in Michigan during the 1950s proved to unsettle native Michiganians. At the end of crop harvests, an increasing number of migrants became Michicanos instead of migrating back to the Southwest. As a consequence, they began to establish permanent residences in the same areas where they previously sought seasonal farm work. This "settling out" process was, in large measure, due to an increase of agricultural mechanization and the decline in farm labor demand. An additional inducement was higher wages in the industrial sector (Weeks & Spielberg-Benítez, 1979). The new Chicano citizens of Michigan settled in such communities as Lansing, Detroit, Pontiac, Saginaw, Muskegon, Imlay City, Flint, Port Huron, Monroe, and Grand Rapids, among other cities. Today, communities such as Holland, Adrian, and Fennville, for example, can boast of a Chicano community population of more than 25%.

Xenophobic sentiments began to appear as communities dealt with the problems encountered and engendered by Chicanos dropping out of the migrant stream. The following oral account by Señor José Lozano (personal communication, March 6, 1989), who arrived in Lansing, Michigan in 1936, exemplified the reception accorded to migrant families:

> Como migrantes no teníamos iglesia pá cuando a uno se le ofrecía cosa espiritual. Ibamos a bautizar a una de mis hijas a la catedral. El monseñor, en paz descanse, despues de decirle lo que queríamos, nos rayó el disco. Nos dijo que éramos una bola de ateos, abarcando a todos los mejicanos, porque no íbamos a la misa los domingos. Mi compadre le

> reclamó que pá nosotros como migrantes no había descanso--que trabajábamos duro hasta en los domingos. No nos bautizó a mi hija, y nos fuímos a sto. Tomás donde nos recibieron muy bien.

Eventually, Chicanos resorted to founding mutual aid societies and establishing their own churches to meet their physical and spiritual needs. According to Haney (1979), who reported on Chicano agency activity, mutual aid societies were established to deal with the discrimination, prejudice, and segregation practiced against them. It is worthwhile to note that the decade of the 1950s revealed widespread exploitation and suffering on the part of migrants and their families (Commission on Migratory Labor, 1951).

In the decade of the 1960s, one finds that the conditions for Chicano migrants had not improved to any drastic extent. A film documentary entitled "Harvest of Shame" (Murrow, 1963) attested to this fact. Moreover, a 1986 CBS News follow-up on the same documentary (MEMO, 1963) found little or no change in the living or working conditions. State reports produced by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission by the authority of P.A. 368 of 1978, as amended, further underscore the wage, health, working, and educational conditions of Chicano migrants (MI C.R. Commission, 1968).

Bilingual Education Program Policy for Michicanos

As regards the educational needs of the "settle out" Chicanos in Michigan, in 1966 the United States Congress created the Migrant Education Program in order to meet their special educational needs nationwide (Gayeff, 1986). For the

state of Michigan, this enactment could not have been more timely because 83,696 migrants were working the fields of Michigan in the following year (Garcia, 1979). The Michigan Department of Education, through its Migrant Education Office, has been responsible for serving Chicano migrants in the state since 1968, to alleviate their educational condition brought about by language and cultural needs.

Since the early 1900s when Mexicans and Mexican Americans began to arrive in Michigan, it has been established that they have been the objects of repression. As one result, today's Michicanos find themselves markedly behind in the area of education (Flores, 1986). To address this concern, the state of Michigan began to consider policies related to language minorities in the early 1970s. Recognizing the educational needs of children of limited-English-speaking ability in 1971, the Michigan Department of Education approved a document entitled, "The Common Goals of Michigan Education." This declaration stated, in part:

> Michigan education must recognize and respect the needs for special academic and administrative measures in schools serving students whose native tongue is one other than English. These students should be encouraged and assisted to develop their skills in their native language while they are acquiring proficiency in English . . . Bilingual programs should be provided in order that students may develop their bilingual skills and enhance their educational experience rather than be forced into the position of a disadvantaged student. (p. 5)

In the same year, the Michigan legislature, with the support of the State Board of Education, for the first time moved to

enact House Bill (H.B.) 4462, a bilingual education measure for language minorities. This bill died in committee. Michigan's first effort to mandate equity services to its language minority population had failed.

This chapter generates a theory of educational policy-making that will be applied to Michicano educational under-achievement. First, the chapter examines the formulation of bilingual education policy in the state of Michigan by tracing its development in the early 1970s. The intent is to demonstrate how and why a policy deemed a sound pedagogical response to the call for an equal educational opportunity is compromised in the political process. The chapter ends 15 years later when a national ethnocentrist organization proposes to delimit the existing language policy. Two separate political events related to language policy and which transpired in a span of about 15 years will be examined. The differential input and impact which Chicanos had on both events within the political arena will be emphasized. The intent is to demonstrate the lack of political clout, unification, and movement toward political sophistication of Michicanos before and after the 1976 implementation of bilingual eduction program policy and how Chicanos have impacted policy formulation since then. The political focus suggests that Chicano input is important in determining educational policy.

A Compromised Language Policy

Chicanos were unable to impact the passage of bilingual education in 1971. What had lacked in this first effort to legislate language policy were negotiations between mainstream politicians and Michicanos. They were unable to impact the formulation process because in the early 1970s bilingual education, as a fledgling program, did not have the following who acknowledged it as a standard-bearer for Chicano educational reform. From another perspective, in the early 1970s there was a dearth of research literature on Chicanos and bilingual education to provide Michicano leaders the knowledge or educational evidence for acknowledging the program as an equity measure.

A second effort to formulate bilingual education policy was made on May 14, 1973. This time, Representative Daisy Elliott, a legislator from Detroit, with the assistance of the Detroit Task Force on Bilingual-Bicultural Education, co-chaired by Jorge Lambrinos and Raquel Moreno, introduced H.B. 4750 to the Michigan Legislature. Nineteen months later, in October of 1974, Governor Milliken signed P.A. 294 into law. Inasmuch as the Chicanos from Detroit were able to influence the formulation of policy, their effect was confined to rallying community support and serving as an advisory group to their district representative.

The Detroit Task Force had not demonstrated the requisites of a successful interest group as its participation did not directly impact bilingual policy formulation. Represen-

tative Elliott's role as a key interventionist was indicative that Chicanos were still dependent upon mainstream politicians to pass H.B. 4750. Based on this fact, one can editorialize that this powerless/patron relationship may have placed Representative Elliott in the dominant position of compromising the original language policy for its enactment. Chicanos had no options to negotiate on the formulation of the 1973 language policy.

The pre-enactment track record of H.B. 4750 alludes to the internal dynamics to which this language policy was submitted. As will be demonstrated, it was in this process that bilingual education was compromised to the detriment of Michigan's language minorities. For a period of one year and seven months, the proposed bilingual education bill was submitted to nine hearings in the House and Senate, where it underwent no less than four significant substitute language revisions. Following is the progressive pre-enactment history of H.B. 4750 in House and Senate committee hearings:

Date	Submitted to	Announcement	Result
05/14/73	Introduced in the House	HJ 52 pg. 1100	Referred to Committee on Education
03/28/74	House Committee on Education	HJ 45	Referred to 2nd reading with language changes
04/04/74	House Committee on Education	HJ 49 pg.1018	Referred to Committee on Appropriations

Date	Submitted to	Announcement	Result
07/12/74	House Committee on Appropriations	HJ 102 pg.2617	2nd & 3rd reading with language substitute
07/13/74	Introduced to Senate	SJ 99 pg. 1607	Referred to Senate Committee on Education
09/24/74	Senate Committee on Education	SJ 103 pg. 1702	General orders with substitute language
09/25/74	Senate Committee on Education	SJ 104 pg. 1731	3rd reading with language substitute
09/25/74	Senate Committee on Education	SJ 105 pg. 1746	Passed, to take immediate effect (i.e.)
09/26/74	House Committee on Education	HJ 110 pg. 2893	Senate substitute concurred in i.e., ordered enrolled
10/08/74	Governor	HJ 111 pg. 2990	Presented to Governor
10/17/74	Governor	HJ 2967	Signed into law

Chicano input into the formulation of the 1973 language policy, even though better organized than the previous effort 2 years earlier, was still dominated by the hierarchical structure of power in the legislative process; specifically, effective political behavior, compromise, and protocol. As Michicanos were in the "cocoon" stage of political development to be able to effectively articulate minority concerns, the extent of their involvement into the policy formulation process was through their Detroit representative, Daisy

Elliott, who played a key role for the enactment of P.A. 294 of 1974.

The state of Michigan's Bilingual Education Act of 1974 provided for the establishment, implementation, and funding of programs in bilingual education in the public schools of the state of Michigan, and the certification of teachers under these programs. The Act further provided for the creation of a parental advisory committee at the local district level, as well as research and evaluation and curriculum development, among other provisions. These provisions of P.A. 294 were only part of the policy language which remained from the original document supported by the Detroit Task Force Coalition (Appendix B.) These provisions are the result of a compromised bill. What was not included in P.A. 294 of 1974 were some key language sections intended to provide extra, much-needed educational services to Chicanos.

One such recommendation which was compromised was section 7 of the Detroit Task Force Coalition language policy:

> Section 7 - A school board may establish on a full or part-time basis pre-school or summer-school programs in bilingual education for children of limited English-speaking ability or join with other local school districts in establishing such pre-school or summer programs. Pre-school or summer programs in bilingual education shall not substitute for programs in bilingual education required to be provided during the regular school year. (p. 8)

Other provisions of a Chicano language policy which were compromised in the legislative process will be demonstrated in Chapter IV's implementation process.

Michigan was the second state in the nation, after Massachusetts, which had formulated bilingual education policy in 1974. It was a new educational approach intended to respond to the language-related educational needs of the state's Chicanos. They were the singular language minority whose needs were responsible for initiating bilingual education policy. In the first year of implementation (1975-76), only two language groups, Hispanics and Vietnamese, were served bilingually. By far the greater majority were Hispanics (Bilingual Education Report, 1976-79).

The Symbolic Meaning of Bilingual Education

Bilingual education, because of its symbolic importance for addressing a variety of social concerns for language minorities, was already one of the most controversial and politicized programs to emerge from this era at the national level. Therefore, when state policy was being formulated in the early 1970s, inherent in its development was the controversy it had created. One reason for the controversy of bilingual education was the articulation of the program as being part of the broader social concerns of Hispanics, who, as a separate constituency, lacked the regular political channels to realize their interests in the policy arena (Navarro, 1985).

The Bilingual Act of 1974 marked a new outlook toward Michigan's language minority students; that is, Michicanos, who were the singular proponents most responsible for bringing

attention to its needs. It meant an equal educational opportunity and the threshold to social and economic equality by engaging into an educational mode intended to break the cycle of educational underachievement. The long established linguistic assimilation "chains" had been cracked by P.A. 294, but not broken.

Fifteen years of hindsight had demonstrated that bilingual education in Michigan had not achieved its intended purpose. In the decade of the 1980s, the educational underachievement of Chicanos still persisted (Flores, 1986). Instead of raising achievement levels of students, bilingual education aroused passions about issues of political power, social status, and educational myths. At the very inception of P.A. 294 of 1974, bilingual education appeared to contradict the majority culture's assumption about the melting pot or, more accurately, about the conformist ethic in American culture (Cummins, 1988). Halfway through its first year of implementation, many individuals and community groups throughout the state were expressing to the legislature their dissatisfaction over the substantial disregard of the law by local school districts and the Department of Education (Special Study Committee on Bilingual Education, House Concurrent Resolution 487, 1976).

The implementation failure of bilingual education policy brings attention to the formulation of an education policy for language minorities processed without political interaction with those it was supposed to impact the most. The result was

an ineffective legislative mandate which was formulated to placate the Detroit Task Force Coalition; it was a symbolic, politically-expedient gesture which merited high marks as a manipulative tactic but poor marks in good pedagogy.

The Implementation Failure of Bilingual Education

The Bilingual Education Act of 1974 did not embody a strong commitment to its implementation. When this language policy was to go into effect in the 1975-76 school year, there was a paucity, if not total absence, of the major requisites for effective programming; that is, properly trained teachers, knowledgeable administrators, model curricula, instructional materials, and public support. Neither were there teacher training institutions producing endorsed bilingual teachers. An office at the State level to provide the much-needed leadership was also unavailable.

Since the enactment of the Bilingual Education Act of 1974, it was destined to fail because of the lack of state school aid. This was a major obstacle to its effective implementation as determined by H.R. 487 of 1976. In the process of the formulation of language policy, there had been no articulation between majority legislators and those the policy was supposed to impact. Halfway into the 1974-76 school year, the impact of a compromised language policy became clear. School districts serving language minorities disregarded the law. The Department of Education's commitment towards implementing bilingual education was also questioned.

These complaints, coupled with the Department's failure to respond to implementation questions raised by Michicano communities via some legislators regarding the complaints, prompted the introduction of House Concurrent Resolution 487.

The resolution, introduced by Representative David C. Hollister (D-Lansing), created a Special Study Committee on Bilingual Education. In April 1976, the resolution was adopted and the Committee was directed to look into the initial implementation process of P.A. 294.

The first task of the Study Committee for analyzing the implementation of the Bilingual Education Act was to review and discuss a series of concerns representing the views of the Chicano language community at large, as funneled through the Department of Education to Dr. Gumercindo Salas, a Chicano State Board Member, and through State Representative David Hollister. With these two individuals within the infra-structure of the policy formulation process, Michicanos were beginning to make inroads into the political machinery which had maintained them outside its arena. As a result of the Chicano community's concern, Representative David Hollister, who represented a large segment of Lansing's North Side Chicano voters, sponsored H.B. 5955 on February 4, 1976. This bill amended P.A. 294, which changed it in a more meaningful way for language minorities. The new Hollister bill became known as P.A. 294 of 1976. As a consequence of Representative Hollister's intervention, he became known as the "father of bilingual education in Michigan."

This study asserts that bilingual education is an appropriate response to addressing the educational needs of Chicanos. Yet, it is rendered ineffective when it becomes entangled in the sociopolitical context of American society. Such was the case in the initial formulation of bilingual education program policy. This study, in focusing on the formulation of policy in the state of Michigan, assumes that the legislative arena is a microcosm of American society. Therefore, the formulation of bilingual education program policy which began and died in 1971 and filed again in 1973 was a reflection of an expected relationship between the political power brokers and the powerless, that is, language minorities.

Culture translates into specific values and goals which guide collectivities in their daily occupations within social institutions. Actions, decisions, and attitudes all reflect specific cultural transmissions which are rooted in a resilient, collective, and enduring larger culture (Trueba, 1988). The "assimilation" mentality towards language minorities by society at large, as stated in Chapter I, historically prevented the adaptation and integration of Chicanos into the political system. In Michigan, this attitude translates into an unequal, disproportionate power relation to which Chicanos have had to adapt in order to participate in the policy formulation process. This power relation is best exemplified in the policy formulation process of bilingual education

beginning in the early 1970s, and again in averting an organized attempt to delimit the program policy in 1989.

Chicano Impact in Policy Formulation

What becomes apparent in the dynamics of bilingual education policy formulation is the almost nil involvement of Chicanos in the early 1970s and an assumed sophistication by averting a nationally-organized attempt to negatively impact existing language policy 15 years later.

In 1973, Chicanos were limited to the political periphery of policy formulation to the extent that they only interacted with their legislative representative as an advisory group when bilingual education policy was first formulated. They did not enter into the realm of true political interaction. Furthermore, the limited input into the notion of policy-making was transformed to conform to the knowledge, behaviors, and interpretive processes of the dominant culture's politicians. It is at this stage of the formulation process that bilingual education program policy begins to be compromised due to the lack of support within the political machinery.

The involvement of the singular Detroit Coalition can be viewed as a means to placate the Chicano community whose involvement served to legitimate the policy-making process. The Coalition, because of a lack of a power relationship with the political machinery, did not significantly impact the bilingual education policy formulation process, but rather was prostituted by it. This issue of political manipulation, at

the very inception of bilingual education policy formulation, points to a greater problem in the sociopolitical scheme of effectuating meaningful change for Chicanos; that is, the need to conform to the knowledge, behaviors, and interpretive processes of the dominant members of the policy formulation process.

Fifteen years after the implementation of P.A. 294 in 1976, Chicanos in the state of Michigan had gained a refined sophistication in the political arena. This was most evident when bilingual education, as a threshold symbol for Chicano social mobility, was threatened by an ultraconservative reformist organization in 1989.

In the absence of an institutional commitment to an educational language policy, the ethnocentrist, right-winged U.S. English movement launched an effort to assail the basic rights of Michigan's language minorities. Legislation to impose English as the official language in Michigan had been introduced in previous legislation prior to the 1989-90 sessions. These proposals were predicated on a perceived need to protect the primacy of English and limit use of state resources (bilingual education) for assimilating new language minorities (Michigan Department of Civil Rights Memorandum, April 18, 1989).

As the U.S. English movement gained national attention and support, it became apparent that there were ulterior motives behind the all-American theme of promoting the acquisition of English skills. This movement was more

concerned about subjugating language minorities than upgrading their language skills. Two Michigan individuals, Dr. John Tanton of Petosky and U.S. Representative William Broomfield of the Metropolitan Detroit area, were the prime movers of the U.S. English movement at the national and state levels.

Sixteen states had legislated English Only policies as recently as 1988 (English only, 1988). The state of Michigan was no exception to an organized effort by the U.S. English movement reformers to alter existing bilingual education policy. The last attempt to impose English as the official language in Michigan was in the 1989-90 legislative session. It was an attempt to delimit an already compromised program in the political arena where, 14 years earlier, Chicanos had been limited in impacting the formulation of bilingual education program policy due to the lack of political channels to realize their interests in the political arena. While the political action of the Detroit Task Force Coalition may have been limited to external or peripheral contacts in the early 1970s, Chicanos were successful in averting the U.S. English movement's attempt to impose ethnocentrist legislation in 1989 by coalescing to protect hard-earned educational and social gains.

Chicanos, in a little more than a decade, had come to recognize the symbolic importance which bilingual education represented, that is, the threshold for upward social mobility. They had also gained positions within the state structure and had become refined in the political interactive skills

needed to adapt to a new role in the policy-making process. John Roy Castillo (Memo, April 18, 1989), for example, as the Director of the State Department of Civil Rights, issued and widely distributed his office's position on U.S. English:

> We do not find that there is a need for the English language or Official English amendments. Further, we foresee several dangers in adoption. Application of legal restrictions to a single language threatens government programs aimed at assisting literacy and participation in the daily life of our society. The threat that the effect will be "English Only" is real. (p. 2)

Similarly, state offices which had been created since the initial implementation of bilingual education program policy in 1974 and which were administered by Chicanos rallied to defend language minority rights. The Office of Spanish Speaking Affairs, the Bilingual Education Office, and the Hispanic Education Office worked to repel the U.S. English movement's threat. In one particular case in 1988, Raul Yzaguirre, President of National Council of La Raza, was invited to debate a representative of the U.S. English movement. The debate, which was held at the Lansing Hilton, was to provide participants information for impacting the formulation of ethnocentrist legislation via community information. This is another mode of putting into practice the political interactive skills required to challenge detrimental policies.

The threat to bilingual education had facilitated the unification of the Chicano educational infrastructure within state government which coalesced with other statewide interest

groups to avert its demise. Bilingual education had become a symbol of Chicano aspirations in Michigan society.

According to Navarro (1984), political anthropologist Abner Cohen defines symbols as "Objects, acts, concepts or linguistic formations that stand ambiguously for a multitude of disparate meanings, evoke sentiments and emotions, and impel men to action" (p. 201). Bilingual education in Michigan had, in fact, become an important symbol of political identification. It was the singular legislative policy which gave Chicanos an aspiration for becoming contributing participants in American society via education. The significance of this symbol was enhanced by the U.S. English movement's threat to repeal the mandate.

The U.S. English movement had served the purpose of unifying Chicanos. The defeat of English Only legislation in the political arena attests to the need to acknowledge that the survival of bilingual education in the state of Michigan ultimately depends on the political skills of language minorities and their ability and willingness to absorb the "sociocultural knowledge" necessary to be able to negotiate and interact in the political ambience. Chicanos in the late 1980s clearly demonstrated political sophistication in impacting policy formulation in comparison to the early 1970s.

Summary

This chapter has sketched the formulation of bilingual education program policy by focusing first on the pervading

national assimilatory process which filtered down to early Michigan Chicanos. By showing that during the first half of the 20th century they were no exception to the "assimilation" mentality of the times, this study points out that Chicanos were repressed. As such, they suffered the same consequences as early American immigrants. One result was that Chicanos lagged markedly behind in the area of education.

As the Chicano population grew and the need became more pronounced, the need for language policy formulation arose. The problem was that Michicanos in the early 1970s lacked the sociocultural knowledge to interact in the political environment. The result was the formulation of bilingual education policy which was compromised due to the lack of Chicano political input. This study asserts that the compromise was an intent to "water down" needed language services by the majority culture because of the perception that the program is an appropriate response for upward mobility of language minorities. While on the one hand Chicanos were rejected in the sense that the original intents of bilingual education were not realized, they did manage to develop a symbolic significance on the concept which served to gradually, over a period of 15 years, integrate them into the political process through the politicization of bilingual education.

This chapter's political focus predicted that the ability of Chicanos to gain access to policy-making positions is important in determining educational policy. To demonstrate, this chapter treated the Chicano's growth in political

sophistication 15 years after the first intent to formulate language policy. What becomes salient is their ability to impact policy formulation by acknowledging the symbolic meaning of bilingual education and by conforming to the knowledge, behaviors, and interpretive processes of dominant members of the policy formulation process. The defeat of discriminatory legislation against language minorities in 1989 was the indicator that Michicanos had attained the political skills needed to participate successfully in policy formulation.

CHAPTER IV

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THREE DIMENSIONS OF MICHIGAN'S BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Bilingual education program policy was formulated at the macro level for implementation at the micro level. Who holds bilingual education decision-making process positions in both of these levels is important to ensure that language policies are not compromised. As indicated in the previous chapter, the compromises inherent in Michigan's bilingual education program policy formulation were a function of the political process, as was its implementation. This implementation process is the focus of this chapter.

Chapters I and III have been historical in nature. They have demonstrated that language policies have been a function of power relations between majority and minority cultures. Chapter II is apolitical. It justifies bilingual education as a response to the Michicanos' educational underachievement. In spite of this, Chapter IV intends to show that the concept failed as an equity program. To demonstrate, the implementation, eligibility/funding, and monitoring/evaluation outcomes are analyzed.

What becomes apparent in the analysis of three dimensions of bilingual education is that the program policy didn't

contain the necessary pedagogical provisions for a good program; that the policy was compromised early in the political legislative process; and that Chicanos were not a part of this process.

This chapter makes reference to the unifying factor of bilingual education as a symbol for Chicanos' political identification and educational attainment.

The eligibility/funding section clearly shows a lack of economic commitment to bilingual education, while the monitoring/evaluation section highlights its failure. In its overall analysis, this chapter demonstrates that the "assimilation" mentality prevails in Michigan's language policy implementation process.

State educational agencies have an unequivocal responsibility to insure that local school agencies do not violate the civil and constitutional rights of their students. Michigan's effort toward ensuring students from language backgrounds other than English an equal educational opportunity came in the form of P.A. 294, enacted in October of 1974. This was the state of Michigan's action to rectify language differences of students with either limited English- or no English-speaking ability so that they would have equal access to educational opportunities as provided to all students. It was enacted to comply with the January 1974 United States Supreme Court decision Lau vs. Nichols which ruled that the failure of the San Francisco school district to provide linguistically comprehensible instruction for its non-English-

speaking Chinese students was a denial of equal opportunity under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Ideally, from the point of view of the Michigan Department of Education, equal education opportunity for Chicanos is more than just offering the same books, or the same number of hours, or the same curriculum as the majority student. Besides other objectives, it entails nurturing and developing all the realms of human behavior--physical, emotional, social, and intellectual--some of which are culturally and linguistically bound. An equal educational opportunity is based on the premise that education must respond to each individual student's modes of learning and to all facets of the learning experience for each child, as noted in Michigan Essential Skills (Michigan Department of Education, 1979, p. i).

However, according to statistical information, Michigan school systems have not lived up to their responsibility where the Chicano student is concerned (Flores, 1987; Michigan Department of Education, 1985). It is within the context of comparative low levels of school achievement that the issue of bilingual education enters into the arena of education for Chicanos as an equity measure; and when a legislative effort is made to implement the remedy, Michicanos are rejected in the sense that many of their proposed language policy provisions were not realized. The mainstream legislators continued to wield the power to effectuate the educational processes which would provide Michicanos social benefits.

This chapter examines the results of the Chicano's lack of involvement in the legislative process when majority legislators do not take into account input from those segments the policy most affects. First, the implementation failure of P.A. 294 of 1974 will be discussed. What will become evident is the gross negligence of a legislative mandate by school districts and even the Michigan Department of Education where language minority educational issues are concerned. Next, two other dimensions, eligibility/funding and monitoring of Michigan's Bilingual Education Program will be analyzed to further demonstrate how an "assimilation" mentality inherent in Michigan's educational process manages to further usurp an already compromised equity program intended to improve conditions of equity for language minority students.

The concern is raised whether Michicanos can realistically effectuate change in the education process given the majority culture's opposition to diversity and their current belief in majority/minority relations.

Implementation

Upon the initial implementation of P.A. 294 during the 1975-76 school year, bilingual education in the state of Michigan was characterized by elements which would result in a "no-win" situation for opponents or proponents of the measure. On the one hand, it challenged the American tradition of the "melting pot" concept and its socialization practices of the educational institutions; on the other hand,

it did not provide for significant legislative provisions which would ensure its impact as an equity measure; that is, teachers, data base, adequate funding, etc.

The first bilingual education effort in the state of Michigan proved to be a resounding disaster. As a result, a Special Study Committee on Bilingual Instruction Programs was established by Legislative House Concurrent Resolution 487 to review the implementation of the Bilingual Education Act of 1974. The following recounts the efforts to initiate a bilingual education program in the wake of P.A. 294, and why these efforts failed.

As P.A. 294 of 1974 began to unfold, it became evident that the implementation of this legislative mandate was destined for failure. Many concerned individuals and community groups from throughout the state were expressing their dissatisfactions over the substantial disregard of the law by school districts and the Department of Education (Special Study Committee on Bilingual Education, 1976). Simply stated, this piece of legislation did not embody a strong commitment to its implementation. The major requisites for effective programming were not in place; that is, properly trained teachers, model curricula, instructional materials, public support, and, most importantly, sufficient state aid.

The lack of a critical negotiation process for Chicanos to transmit important provisions to ensure effective implementation of language policy has proved detrimental. Mainstream politicians and educational organizations, such as Michigan

Education Association (MEA), had dominated in formulating the language of P.A. 294, more than Michicanos. Therefore, the "assimilation" mentality was maintained and remained as the overall effect of bilingual education, whose intent was to assimilate the language minority student as soon as possible. The hierarchical structure of power in the legislature had ensured that the outcome of the implementation process would not fulfill the aspirations which Michicanos had for it, a means for social mobility, by negating Michicano input in the policy formulation process. As a result of a poorly formulated language policy, the implementation of P.A. 294 of 1974 was a fiasco. This prompted the introduction of House Concurrent Resolution 487 by Representative David Hollister.

The Intervention of a Proponent

Representative Hollister was a legislator who represented a substantial segment of Lansing's Northside Chicano voters. Upon the implementation failure of P.A. 294, he followed through, upon the urging of Chicano leaders, with rectifying the provisional deficiencies of the state's first language policy. Bilingual education had facilitated the development of an educational infrastructure within state government and had opened jobs in local communities; it had also served to rally La Raza behind the concept as a political issue. Bilingual education had become a symbol of Michicano aspirations in society. Therefore, when bilingual education failed

in 1975, Chicanos coalesced as an interest group to seek Representative Hollister's intervention.

The events which surrounded the implementation disaster were critical to the formation of a Chicano political identity because, for the first time, La Raza was united statewide behind one common symbolic issue. Michicanos had come together to ensure that the implementation of P.A. 294 of 1974 be rectified. House Concurrent Resolution 487 served this purpose.

House Concurrent Resolution 487

The resolution, introduced by Representative David C. Hollister, created a Special Study Committee on Bilingual Education. In April 1976, the resolution was adopted and the Committee was directed to look into the initial implementation process of P.A. 294. Its task was to:

> Determine the reasons why a substantial number of school districts required to establish bilingual instruction programs have failed to do so, and to report its findings and recommendations to the Legislature. (p. 2)

The Study Committee consisted of five members of the House of Representatives and five members of the Senate, as follows:

Representatives	Senators
David Hollister, Chairman	Jack Faxon
Joseph Young	Dale Kildee
Mark Clodfelter	Earl Nelson
Bela Kennedy	Richard Allen
Robert Geake	Gilbert Bursley

The first task of the Study Committee for analyzing the implementation of the Bilingual Education Act was to review and discuss a series of concerns representing the view of the Department of Education's Chicano administrators and personnel, legislative leaders, Chicano local school district administrators and personnel, Title VII bilingual project directors, bilingual education interest groups, and national bilingual experts.

This challenge surrounding the bilingual education implementation failure demonstrated an attempt by Michicanos to achieve the political requisites to make their concerns audible in the decision-making process. They were successful. Bilingual education had served as an important symbol for political identification. It had provided the basis for Michicano community political involvement. Consequently, their concerns regarding the implementation failure were being heard for the first time.

These concerns fell into 12 categories after which each was assigned to one of three levels of responsibility:

1. The local school district level,
2. The Department of Education level, and
3. The legislative level.

Next, the role of the three respective levels was outlined and the Study Committee examined the issues assigned to each level.

In order to better understand the problems with the implementation, the Study Committee initiated a series of

activities. It conducted a public hearing in Lansing on June 16, 1976; it held a meeting with Dr. Carlos Saavedra, the director of Colorado's Bilingual Education Office to compare the states' implementation processes. The Study Group also conducted school district interviews throughout the state.

As one example of the findings of the Study Committee, it was concluded that the reason school districts had not fully implemented P.A. 294 were:

-- lack of resources including funding, staff, and instructional materials

-- school districts which had initiated programs with existing state and local revenues were having difficulty serving all the students who had been identified as having difficulty in the regular classroom

-- difficulty in the training and staff and the identification of materials and resources

An "assimilation" mentality had pervaded in determining what type of education language minorities were to receive in spite of the legislation and implementation of a pluralistic mode of education by majority culture standards. By being lax or indifferent to the implementation process of P.A. 294, the state's educational infrastructure posited that bilingual education would not attain its intended purpose of addressing the educational needs of Chicanos in Michigan.

The Failure of the Implementation Process

Of the 23 school districts that were interviewed, not 1 district was operating a full-time program of bilingual instruction with local funds. School district administrators overwhelmingly took the position that state monies were essential to establishing and maintaining bilingual instruction programs. This was determined to be one key factor for the failure of its original implementation. Bilingual education funding was a language provision which had been compromised in the legislative process. At one point, $11 million had been proposed to implement the mandate; however, in the final enactment, the necessary monies were not provided. For school districts, money was more important than commitment where the educational needs of language minorities was concerned.

Upon completion of the Study, the failure to implement P.A. 294 was attributed to:

1. limited local initiative in establishing bilingual instruction programs
2. problems with involving parents of eligible children in the census procedure and in program planning
3. difficulties in developing an accurate census instrument to identify the eligible children
4. wide variance from district to district in the kind of activities accepted as "bilingual instruction programs"

The Study Group acknowledged that Michigan's schools had failed to implement P.A. 294. Schools are part of a social-

ization system which plays a central role in determining who will have access to such societal values as wealth, status, and power. In the implementation process, Michigan's schools had functioned as "bottlenecks" for language minorities.

As regards the State Department of Education, the implementation of P.A. 294 failed because its actions during the initial years were concentrated mainly on providing consultative and technical assistance to school districts. The Study Committee determined that the implementation of P.A. 294 had not been a top priority for the Department. It found that actions it had taken for the initiation of P.A. 294 throughout the state were generally those of a reactive nature.

The Study Committee also determined that the Legislature had not fulfilled its obligation to ensure an equal educational opportunity for all its language minority students. It had not mandated appropriate instruction to meet their needs nor had it legislated the monies necessary to provide bilingual education services. An area of major concern to everyone involved in bilingual education in Michigan had been the Legislature's funding for bilingual education. Since no state monies, other than for pilot programs, were provided the first year the act went into effect and since only $850,000 of the $11 million requested was appropriated for 1976-77, school districts in general were dissatisfied with past and current levels of funding. As a result, local school districts were unwilling to incur the costs of implementing a newly enacted

educational program based more on community pressures than on good pedagogy.

The failure of the implementation of bilingual education was "systemic" in the sense that it was an institutional failure which had failed to provide language minorities with an opportunity for educational intercourse. This institutional failure is a sociopolitical phenomenon which is better understood in its own historical (Chapter I) and political (Chapter III) context. As discussed in previous chapters, it was a failure that permeated from the classroom to the Chicano community and the various social settings in between.

> Schools contribute to the academic problems of minority children intentionally and unintentionally because they operate according to the norms of American society and according to the norms of the communities in which they exist. Comparative and historical research shows that there have always been factors within the schools and classrooms operating against minority children's adjustment and academic performance. (Ogbu, 1987, p. 319)

After substantial input from individuals, organizations, school districts, and others, a series of recommendations were outlined by the Study Committee to rectify the substantial noncompliance with P.A. 294 of 1974. The recommendations of the Study Group were intended to address all the discrepancies in the original mandate which weakened the implementation of bilingual education. The following recommendations delineated specific actions which the two most important agencies in the implementation process of bilingual education were to take in order to ensure the appropriate implementations of bilingual services:

That the State Board direct the Superintendent of Education to:

1. Identify and incorporate into their program approval and funding process indicators that can be examined in assessing local school district initiate.

2. Develop acceptable standards for school districts to adhere to that met the minimum requirement of a full-time program for bilingual instruction.

3. Evaluate existing guidelines in the areas of program models, in-service training and testing and assessment. Where necessary, changes should be recommended.

4. Report whether existing resources are sufficient to successfully carry out the requirements of P.A. 294.

5. Review and recommend to the Board of Education any necessary changes in the review procedure so that all approved bilingual teacher training programs will be reviewed within two years after the initial program approval and that any program not meeting the minimal standards set by the State Board of Education should be discontinued.

6. Increase technical assistance to local school districts.

7. Develop into the funding approval process criteria for evaluating the extent of bilingual activity in grades 4-12.

8. Identify the Intermediate School Districts that will be required to establish and operate programs of bilingual education.

That the Legislature amend P.A. 294 of the Public Acts of 1974 to:

1. Require that once every three years a special Joint Senate-House Committee be appointed for the purpose of reviewing the progress made in implementing P.A. 294.

2. Require that the parents serving on a bilingual advisory committee be elected by parents

of children enrolled in the bilingual instruction program.

3. Require that all school districts in the state conduct an annual census for the purpose of determining the number of children in each school district who are of limited English-speaking ability. Results of the census to be reported to the Office of Bilingual Education.

4. Include the future maintenance and budget allocations for a Bilingual Education Office, a Bilingual Education Director and the necessary staff to carry out the requirements of P.A. 294.

5. Require that bilingual instruction programs include instruction in the culture of the children enrolled in the programs.

6. Define "needs assessment" and to require that all school districts with 20 or more children of limited English-speaking ability conduct an annual needs assessment.

7. Provide full funding for bilingual-bicultural programs in grades K-3, and that two additional grade levels be funded every year, until full funding in grades K-12 is achieved.

8. State that until full funding of grades K-12 is achieved, local school districts will be expected to provide bilingual instruction support services for those students in grades for which there are no state monies.

9. Require that, in addition to the annual report, the Department of Education submit an annual plan for the coming school year.

10. Require the State Department of Education to monitor local school district implementation of P.A. 294.

Summary of Implementation

In summary, the Study Committee identified three major factors which adversely affected the statewide implementation of bilingual education. These were:

--data base

--program planning

--funding

A major problem area in the implementation process was an inadequate data base. Poor information in the total number of bilingual programs, bilingual teachers available, different languages identified, and the number of bilingual students (and grade level) made it difficult to estimate program costs and overall programs. It was determined that the Department of Education had failed to develop and carry out short- and long-range plans for establishing bilingual education programs, and, finally, it was further concluded that the Legislature had not made an adequate appropriation for the implementation of P.A. 294. The Study Committee recommendations were to start the implementation process anew.

In the implementation process of P.A. 294 of 1974, an "assimilation" mentality had prevented the successful implementation of bilingual education for language minorities by maintaining a "hands-off" attitude on a token legislative gesture with no pedagogical basis.

The implementation process was destined to fail from its inception. "Patterns of minority student failure show that power and status relations between majority and minority groups exerts major influence on school performance" (Cummins, 1986, p. 21). How, then, can Michicanos seriously effect radical change in the education process given the nature of the hierarchical power structure over them and their political

powerlessness? The first step is by recognizing that schools are not neutral institutions; that they are the purveyors of the values of the majority culture; that they are socialization institutions. As described by Wong-Fillmore (1983), the dominated status of minority groups exposes them to conditions that predispose students to school failure even before they come to school. These conditions include limited parental access to educational resources, ambivalence toward cultural transmission and primary language use in the home, a lack of commitment to minority programs, and a home culture which may not prepare students for a classroom culture where different interaction patterns are required. These are some of the same conditions which the Study Group, introduced by House Concurrent Resolution 487, confirmed. An "assimilation" mentality had prevailed.

Eligibility/Funding

House Concurrent Resolution 487, in focusing attention on the inadequacies of P.A. 294 of 1974, concluded that the Legislature had not made a sufficient appropriation for its implementation. After the identification and resolution of the implementation problem of 1975, one of the many recommendations was for the Legislature to support bilingual education with state funding. The Legislative Study Group had basically overturned the policy language provisions which had been compromised during the initial legislative process.

For funding purposes, on September 8, 1976, the State Board of Education approved "Guidelines to Aid in the Development of a District Plan for Bilingual Instruction Programs and to Secure Reimbursement Under Section 41a of the 1976-77 State School Aid Act." These "Guidelines" asked local school districts to identify eligible students according to the Board's Guidelines for Selecting Test Instruments and Procedures for Assessing the Needs of Bilingual Children and Youth. Among other things, The Guidelines advised districts on acquiring reimbursement under the State Aid Act for bilingual expenditures.

Since the greater majority of school districts were barely starting the process of implementing bilingual programs, many initial mistakes occurred. A lack of commitment, staff shortages, scarcity of instructional materials, the lack of technical expertise, and the lack of knowledge about bilingual methodology complicated the implementation process for school districts in its second round. For these reasons, the Bilingual Education Office was lax in applying the funding requirements between the years of 1976 through 1979. In the following years, as school districts became more adept at providing bilingual services to eligible students, reimbursement requirements became more stringent.

The required eligibility process (Bilingual Education Report, 1976-79) stipulated the following guidelines for funding:

1. Student eligibility was to be determined by a Bilingual Instruction Eligibility Committee, composed of parents, teachers, counselors, administrators, and students. A majority of the committee were to be parents whose primary language in the home is other than English.

2. The Bilingual Instruction Eligibility Committee should work with the professional school personnel to determine the student's primary or home language.

3. The Bilingual Instruction Eligibility Committee should review the student's classroom performance as reflected in academic records, performance on one or more academic achievement tests that is at least 1 grade equivalent until below average, and evaluation of other data from teachers, counselors, parents, and/or the Bilingual Instruction Eligibility Committee which provide evidence that the child was having difficulty, or was expected to be having difficulty, in performing ordinary class work as a result of his/her language background.

4. The student was judged eligible if he/she has difficulty performing ordinary class work, or was expected to have difficulty performing ordinary class work, in English as a result of his/her language background. (p. 3)

Arbitrary Eligibility Procedures

According to the 1976-79 Bilingual Education Report, school districts had not adhered to the eligibility committee requirements. Others, who did attempt to form such committees, did not achieve the recommended parent membership. There was also a wide range of committee impact on the determination of students eligible for bilingual instruction. For example, some school districts elected to develop their own eligibility criteria. Others used a variety of procedures which tended to include some children who were not considered

eligible under the law's definition of "limited English-speaking ability children" as well as to exclude some students who should have been enrolled in the program. These "home-made" procedures only tended to undermine bilingual education in the state.

In spite of the Legislative Study Group findings, which found school districts to be in non-compliance with the implementation of P.A. 294 of 1974, they continued to undermine the intent of the mandated language policy by not following the funding eligibility procedures. In Fennville, for example, Chicano students became eligible for bilingual education funding on the basis of cultural and/or linguistic behavior characteristics. If a student had an Hispanic surname or was classified as a migrant, she/he would become eligible for bilingual education.

Among other arbitrary procedures used by districts to identify students of limited English-speaking ability as eligible were the following:

> Teacher assessment of language proficiency and general academic performance. Teachers, who often were not bilingual and had no linguistic training, were asked to assess a child's language proficiency.
>
> Consultations with parents or students to determine if a language other than English was used in the child's home or environment. Districts used a wide range of interpretations regarding the meaning of "primary language" and the amount of time needed to designate a language the primary language used within the home or environment.
>
> Tests of language dominance, proficiency, and/or achievement. The dominance tests did not necessarily measure language proficiency. A child may have

> been dominant in English, but still unable to speak the language at grade level proficiency (Bilingual Education Report, 1976-79, p. 4).

It can be concluded that the eligibility process for funding, for the most part, was being done on the basis of arbitrary procedures.

Bilingual Education Funding

Upon the implementation of P.A. 294 of 1976, or the second year of bilingual education program implementation, it was reported by the yearly report that state, as well as federal, funding contributed to the "creation of a Bilingual Education Office within the Michigan Department of Education and the implementation of a significant number of bilingual programs throughout the state" (Michigan Department of Education, Bilingual Education Report, 1976-79, p. 1). Beginning in 1976, programs became more apparent as the Department of Education began to acquire bilingual staff members for purposes of providing the technical assistance and guidance necessary for local school districts to identify and serve the state's language minority students. An analysis of the bilingual education funding process for the first three years of the program will indicate that state and federal funds were, in fact, a major factor in the implementation of P.A. 294 of 1976, which replaced the Act of 1974, via the legislative House Concurrent Resolution 487. In particular, it was the funding of the Bilingual Education Office which provided the impetus necessary for local school districts to

develop bilingual programs. Via this office, funds were allocated to school districts.

For the first time, in 1976-77, the state legislature earmarked funds for the implementation for bilingual instructional programs in local school districts. Section 41a of the 1976-77 School Aid Act stated:

> From the amount appropriated in Section 11, there is allocated not to exceed $850,000 to applicant districts offering programs of bilingual instruction for pupils of limited English-speaking ability as required by Section 390 to 396 of the School Code of 1955. Reimbursement shall be on a per pupil basis and shall be based on the number of bilingual pupils in membership on the fourth Friday following Labor Day.

In 1977-78, the amount of State funding was increased to $3 million, and, for 1978-79, Bilingual State Aid rose to $4 million. The per capita funding for these three years was as follows:

Year	Funding	No. Funded	Per Capita
1976-77	$ 85,000	10,692	$ 79.49
1977-78	$3,000,000	19,089	$157.15
1978-79	$4,000,000	16,590	$241.11

This funding scheme shows the extent of the Department's efforts to implement bilingual education.

It is interesting to note that funding for the last 10 years has not significantly increased beyond the 1978-79 level. In the 1988-89 school year, funding for school district reimbursement was $4,212,000. The per capita funding remained at only $251.00. As the numbers of eligible bilin-

gual students increased, the per capita funding to schools decreased. Once again, a lack of definite commitment to language minority education was demonstrated by those in the educational hierarchy of power, by limiting access to funding.

Federal funding provided the initial support for bilingual education which contributed significantly to its implementation. The national Bilingual Education Act of 1968, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (E.S.E.A.), facilitated the provision of language services to its limited-English-proficient populations. Prior to this federal initiative, Michigan prohibited the use of any language other than English as the medium of instruction (P.A. 269, 1955). To supplement insufficient state resources, the Department of Education not only applied for federal funds, but also encouraged local school districts to compete for Title VII, E.S.E.A. of 1978, funds. These funds were among several other federal sources which provided: (a) additional resources to meet the immediate and expanding needs of programs for the state language groups; (b) access to national sources of materials, information, and assistance; and (c) additional staff to bring more intensive and extensive services to Michigan's language minority populations.

Another major source of funds which had a major impact in the implementation of bilingual education in the state was Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Beginning in the 1976-77 school year, the Bilingual Education Office began to

administer these desegregation funds for statewide impact. The objectives of these Title IV monies were:

> Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational programs offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students (May 25, 1970 Memorandum, Office of Civil Rights, H.E.W.).

This ample, vague definition of desegregation served as an opportunity for the Department of Education to misdirect a desegregation of school intent to one of implementing a transitory, assimilationist bilingual model. The true intent of Title IV federal funds was not followed. For approximately seven years, the Michigan Department of Education misappropriated these federal monies (Proceedings before U.S. Department of Education, 1989).

In spite of the fact that Title IV funds were to provide technical assistance for ensuring the student's right to an equal educational opportunity under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Department of Education was using these funds, for the most part, to supplant the state of Michigan's bilingual education program funding commitment. Consequently, in a 1983 monitoring review of the Federal Department of Education, a funding exception was found. Whereas federal and state bilingual monies used by the Department of Education explicitly encouraged transitional Bilingual Education, Title IV funds were to remedy past discrimination by providing specialized technical assistance for academically enabling language

minority students. However, the Department had used Title IV federal monies ineffectively, inefficiently, and illegally.

In spite of a legislative mandate which acknowledged the lack of commitment on the part of the Michigan Department of Education and the lack of legislative funding, it continued to be noncommittal to the needs of language minorities as evidenced by federal legal proceedings against the Department.

Monitoring and Evaluation Outcomes

To ensure that school districts complied with the bilingual education mandate (Sections 380.1151-1158 of the School Code of 1976) and the funding provisions under Section 41 of the State School Aid Act, the Bilingual Education Office developed monitoring materials for documentation purposes and procedures. To determine the extent to which bilingual programs in school districts increased the educational progress of students in comparison with others, the Bilingual Office also conducted outcome evaluations. With the intent of analyzing these two processes, this study proposes to review the monitoring processes for the 1976-77, 1977-78, and 1978-79 school years for comparative purposes. In this same manner, the study also proposes to review the outcome evaluation of the bilingual program for the years 1983-84, 1984-85, and 1985-86.

Monitoring Outcomes

The 1976-77 school year was a developmental year for bilingual education in the state of Michigan, as it was the

first year for bilingual services to school districts after House Concurrent Resolution 487. Consequently, during the year the principal objective was not to monitor school districts, but to provide technical assistance and in-service training to aid in identifying eligible students and provide services to them. As 57 school districts implemented bilingual programs during this year, the Bilingual Education Office had the obligation to monitor them. The existing limited staff of the Bilingual Education Office were both the provider of technical assistance and training and also the monitors. This dual role of the bilingual consultants resulted in a conflict for them. On the one hand, they were perceived as "helpers" while assisting in implementing programs; on the other hand, conducting monitoring visits of these same schools, they were viewed as the opposite. The contrasting role of consultants led schools to become suspicious of technical assistance visits for fear that they were being monitored, also. In other words, the separation of roles was difficult for school districts to make; nevertheless, in the long run, it yielded revealing information for ameliorating the programs.

In the 1977-78 school year, the monitoring process was refined. A monitoring checklist was developed which consisted of the following components: (a) program overview; (b) student eligibility; (c) parent notification; (d) bilingual advisory committee; (e) administration; (f) program description; (g) evaluation; (h) resources; and (i) in-service training. The

monitoring visit supposedly consisted of two parts: (a) a lengthy interview with the program coordinator to fill out the checklist; and (b) visits to classrooms in which randomly selected bilingual students were enrolled, including a brief interview with those students. Bilingual teachers were also interviewed.

In reality, the monitoring person was already aware of the program status since she/he had already had extensive contact with the school's bilingual program via the provision of technical assistance. The Department of Education's bilingual consultant, to a great extent, had impacted the development of the program. Nevertheless, deficiencies became salient since districts did not have the expertise to follow upon consultant's advise or were simply not interested in implementing change. Some deficiencies in the monitoring process were:

- the use of an incomplete and arbitrary eligibility process
- failure to serve all eligible bilingual students
- shortage of teachers
- meaningful instructional time
- shortage of instructional materials
- segregation of students
- few support services
- inactive Bilingual Advisory Committee
- poor program evaluation
- poor parental involvement (Bilingual Education Report, 1976-79, p. 65)

In spite of these monitoring findings, consultants were ineffective in effectuating changes in the school district programs for two reasons. One was that she/he maintained no credibility as an enforcer because the consultant had already

developed a prolonged relationship as a technical assistant person prior to the monitoring the program. Secondly, the Bilingual Education Office was unwilling to impose sanctions on a school district which was found in noncompliance. To this date, in spite of the poor quality of bilingual education programs in many parts of the state, the Department of Education has not followed through with sanctions for any school district.

On February 24, 1978, a weak effort was made to enforce the requirements of bilingual education per Sections 380.1151 through 380.1158 of the School Code of 1976 between the Department of Education and the Office of Civil Rights. Both departments' staffs met to explore a possible working relationship to ensure that all of the state of Michigan's school districts which provided bilingual education would rectify monitoring findings encountered by Bilingual Education Office staff. The Superintendent of the Michigan Department of Education, John Porter, and the Director of the Department of Civil Rights drew up an agreement by which both departments would work cooperatively in the area of bilingual education to protect the students' civil rights. In spite of this agreement, to date no school district has been cited for violating language minority students' access to an equal educational opportunity.

During the 1978-79 school year, two full-time consultants monitored bilingual education programs in 62 districts. The previous year's components were monitored and included: (a)

comprehensive planning; (b) student eligibility; (c) parent involvement; (d) evaluation; (e) staff development; and (f) overall program administration. The monitoring visits consisted of three parts: (a) interviews with program supervisors and coordinators; (b) interviews with bilingual teachers; and (c) visits to classrooms with eligible bilingual students.

In some school districts, the deficiencies found in 1978 were the same as in 1979. For example, incomplete and arbitrary eligibility processes were used; not all limited English-speaking ability (LESA) students were served; eligible LESA children were receiving little or less-than-sufficient instruction because of a shortage of teachers; instructional materials were scarce; support services, such as counseling, were unavailable; parent advisory committees were disorganized and minimally involved in program operations, development, and improvement; evaluation designs were limited or nonexistent. Some positive changes were recorded and some good, potentially high-quality programs were in operation in a few districts for the first time.

Program monitoring became a much more clearly defined function in 1979. The separation of monitoring staff from technical assistance staff provided a clearer role differentiation. Efforts in both areas became more specific and comprehensive. Specific job assignments and explicit follow-up action enabled the Bilingual Education Office to gather and update information on program status in all districts involved with bilingual education.

For the following year, 1979-80, the Office of Bilingual Education developed a comprehensive year-long monitoring plan. Staff attempted to determine whether existing programs were in compliance with applicable laws, rules, and regulations and which programs could have been improved to become exemplary models for truly providing Michigan's language minority population access to an equal education opportunity. In spite of the comprehensive monitoring plan, a sampling outcome evaluation of the state's bilingual program indicates that neither the existing bilingual services nor the monitoring process were making a meaningful impact in raising the educational achievement of language minorities by substantial gains.

According to this writer's monitoring observations, bilingual education had become a "catch-all" for language minorities. Districts were using the concept for the following intents other than its stated purposes:

-- discipline detention of LEPs
-- placing special education cases as LEPs
-- holding deck for students without the benefit of assessment
-- teaching non-LEPs another language
-- teaching English as a Second Language (only) to LEPs
-- getting more money on a per capita basis

The elastic use of the program negatively impacted upon the achievement of those it was intended to serve; moreover, the fact that the program was of a transitional nature which had

not shown significant achievement gain in 10 years raised serious concerns as an equity measure for Chicanos.

Evaluation Outcomes

Data have been collected on bilingual education by the Department of Education's Office of Research and Development on a yearly basis since the 1978-79 school year. The purpose was to determine the extent which the program increased the educational progress of students in comparison to other groups and to report its findings to the State Board. Besides educational achievement, the outcome evaluations included allocation and expenditures, composition of the advisory committees, home language of students served, composition of bilingual program staff, family participation in school activities, and student involvement in extracurricular activities. Data were gathered on this variety of categories since all these factors were deemed as having impact on the bilingual students' success in the program. For the purposes of the study, isolated outcomes of several of these factors will be analyzed to demonstrate the limitations of the Department's evaluation process and the unsuccessful outcomes of bilingual education.

Outcome evaluation is based on the process evaluation data collected over an extended period of time. Using a variety of instruments, performance data should be gathered over a period of several years (Scriven, 1968). The limitation of the Department's evaluations were that the evaluation

data were, and still are, gathered on information generated each singular school year. There is no longitudinal analysis of the data. The deficiency of this yearly evaluation is that it fails to assess the full impact of the total program over a period of time. The same discrepancy occurred with the students' educational progress on achievement. The yearly bilingual evaluations for the 1983-84, 1984-85, and 1985-86 school years did not show progress in comparison with monolingual English instruction. Scrivens (1968) notes that the role of summational evaluations is

> to enable administrators to decide whether the entire finished curriculum, refined by the use of the evaluation process . . . represents a sufficiently significant advance on the available alternative to justify the expense of adoption by a school system. (pp. 41-42)

The results of the state's bilingual education evaluation were based on insufficient data on student performance and the data from inadequate instruments, as none were available in the Department's Office of Research and Evaluation checklist designed for those monolingual students who use part of the school programs.

As a result, judgments concerning the success of bilingual education in the state of Michigan were based solely on the student's progress in reading and math. The report, entitled A Description and Evaluation of Michigan's 1982-83 School Year Section 41, Bilingual Education Program, states:

> Complete sets of reading test scores administered in the spring-to-spring testing period were available on 5116 students, or 44 percent of those reported. Of these, 3935 students, or 34 percent

> of those reported were represented in sufficient proportions to allow for meaningful analysis of achievement in English reading. Of the mathematics scores reported, 4604, or 48 percent were complete sets. Of these, 3644, or 31 percent of those reported, were analyzed (p. 5).

In this reported test data, no consideration has been given to the English language development if the transition into English is the goal of the program. In a bilingual program, students must first understand and speak English before learning to read it, as explained in Chapters II and V of this study. Reading, then, should first be developed in the native language before being introduced in English. Thus, for a great number of bilingual students included in this evaluation summary, it was inappropriate to make any comparison about the relative effectiveness of the 1982-83 programs on English language skills without an awareness of the audio-lingual concept for learning reading. The same argument can be made for measuring math achievement through English in the early grades. The yearly evaluation reports acknowledge no need for more information to determine at what point students in bilingual programs can be expected to take standardized tests in math, which assumes knowledge of English. Cummin's (1988) BICS V. CALP argument is clearly the issue in the state of Michigan yearly evaluation reports (refer to Chapter II for an explanation of these concepts). The summary evaluation reports are assuming the latter when, in a great number of students' cases, the former skill may be the norm.

Above and beyond the stated problems with Michigan's evaluation reports, it can be safely assumed that no appropriate local instruments, which measure a content area achievement in the student's primary language or English with a minimum of cultural or socioeconomic bias, were used as normed tests, nor instruments used to measure bilingual skills development for justifying the whole concept of bilingual education in spite of considerable research in the area of language and cognition.

These isolated examples of the state's bilingual evaluation reporting serve to show the inattention paid to a language minority program. Moreover, the results of an administered poor evaluation also demonstrate not only the state's commitment to the program, but also that it is supporting an inadequate bilingual education program statewide for its language minority populations as indicated by the fact that:

> Over seventy-one percent (71.3%) of the program students received bilingual instructional services on a pull-out basis, that is in a classroom or resource room separate from their regular classrooms (1986-87 Evaluation Report, p. 14).

This bilingual approach is undoubtedly recognized as the least acceptable form of bilingual instruction as it is arguably the most difficult way yet devised to promote literacy and the least responsive to the student's culture. Teachers also generally react to the fact that the student requiring the most subject matter attention is "pulled-out" from much needed

class interaction because of the difficulty in recuperating the time lost.

To demonstrate further the inadequacy of the state-mandated and state-funded bilingual education program, note in the following figures the achievement of language minorities in math and reading as compared to statewide general school population and Title VII federally-funded programs in Michigan. Figure 2 shows that in the key area of reading, 57% of 4th grade language minorities are achieving between 75% and 100% of the Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP) reading objectives, whereas 79% of statewide students are attaining the top quarter of reading objectives. In Figure 4, only 43% of 7th graders are achieving the top quarter of reading objectives as compared to 80% of the general statewide population. Similarly, Figure 6 shows Michigan's 10th grade bilingual students faring poorly in reading in comparison to the statewide general population.

In the area of math, a similar cursory analysis will yield the same results; that is, bilingual students are not achieving as well as the "regular" students. What is clearly evident is that bilingual education in the state of Michigan is not achieving its mission of alleviating the educational dilemma of language minorities.

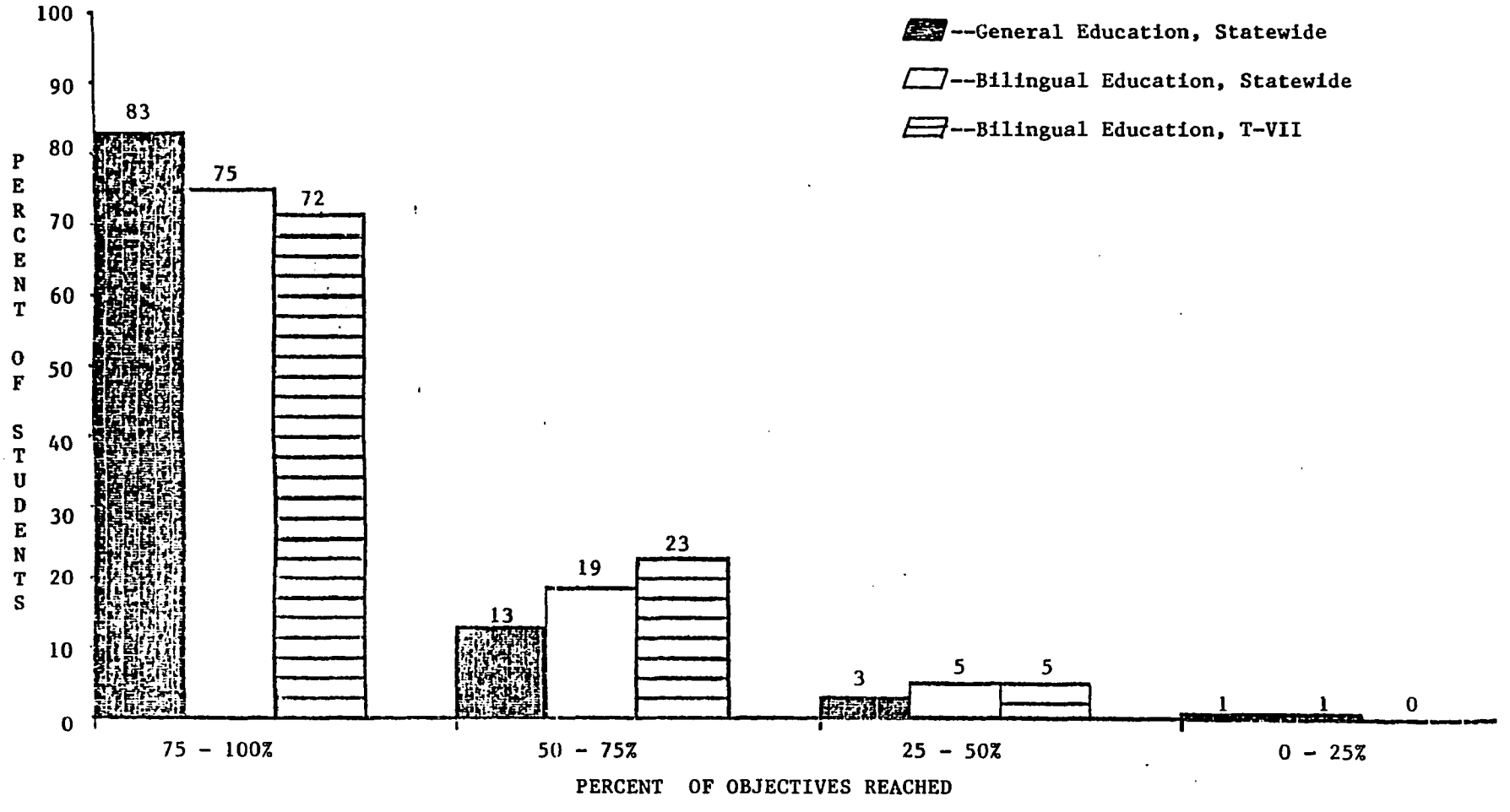

Figure 1.--Michigan Math Test, Grade 4, 1985-86

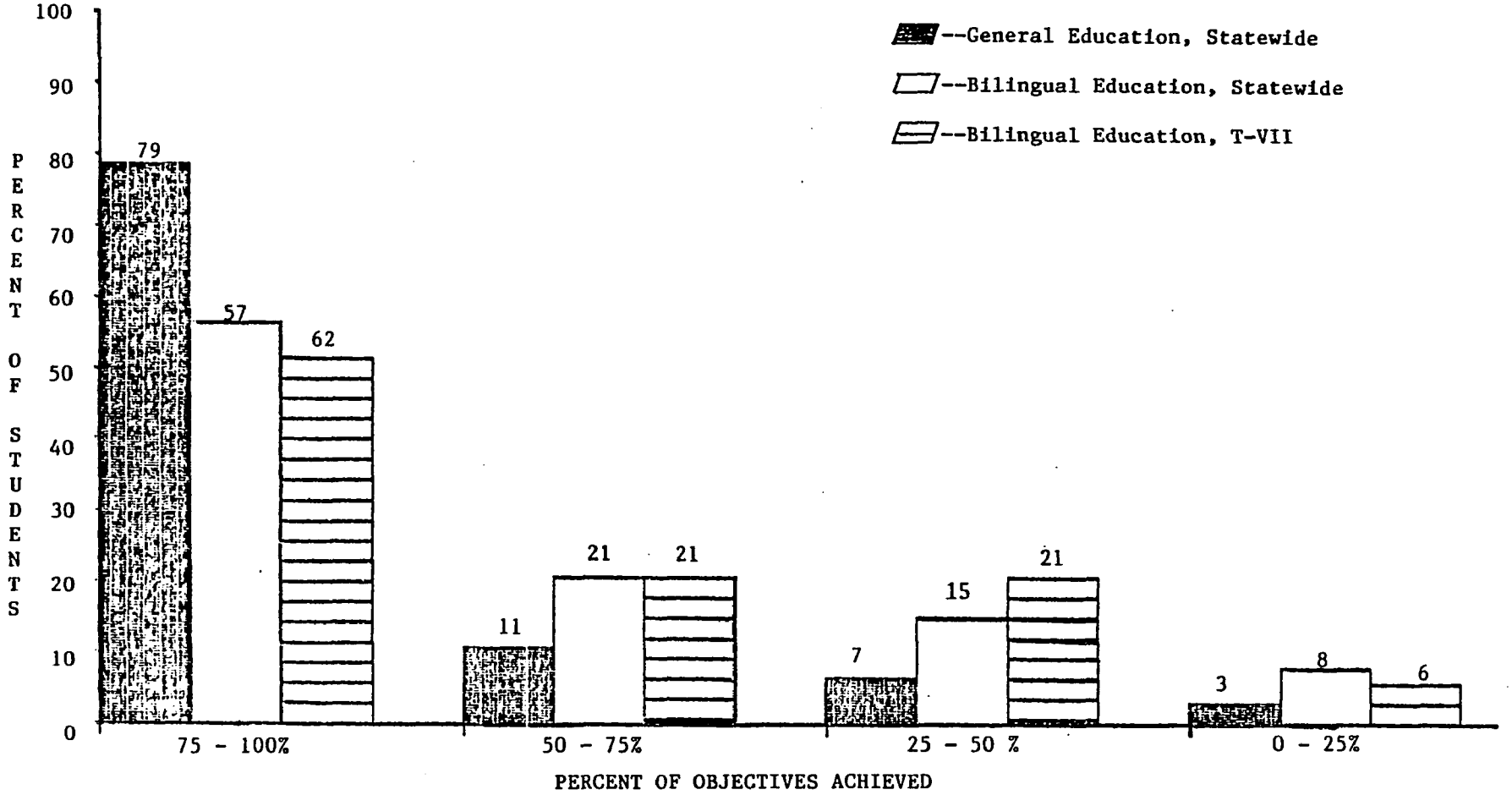

Figure 2.--Michigan Reading Text, Grade 4, 1985-86

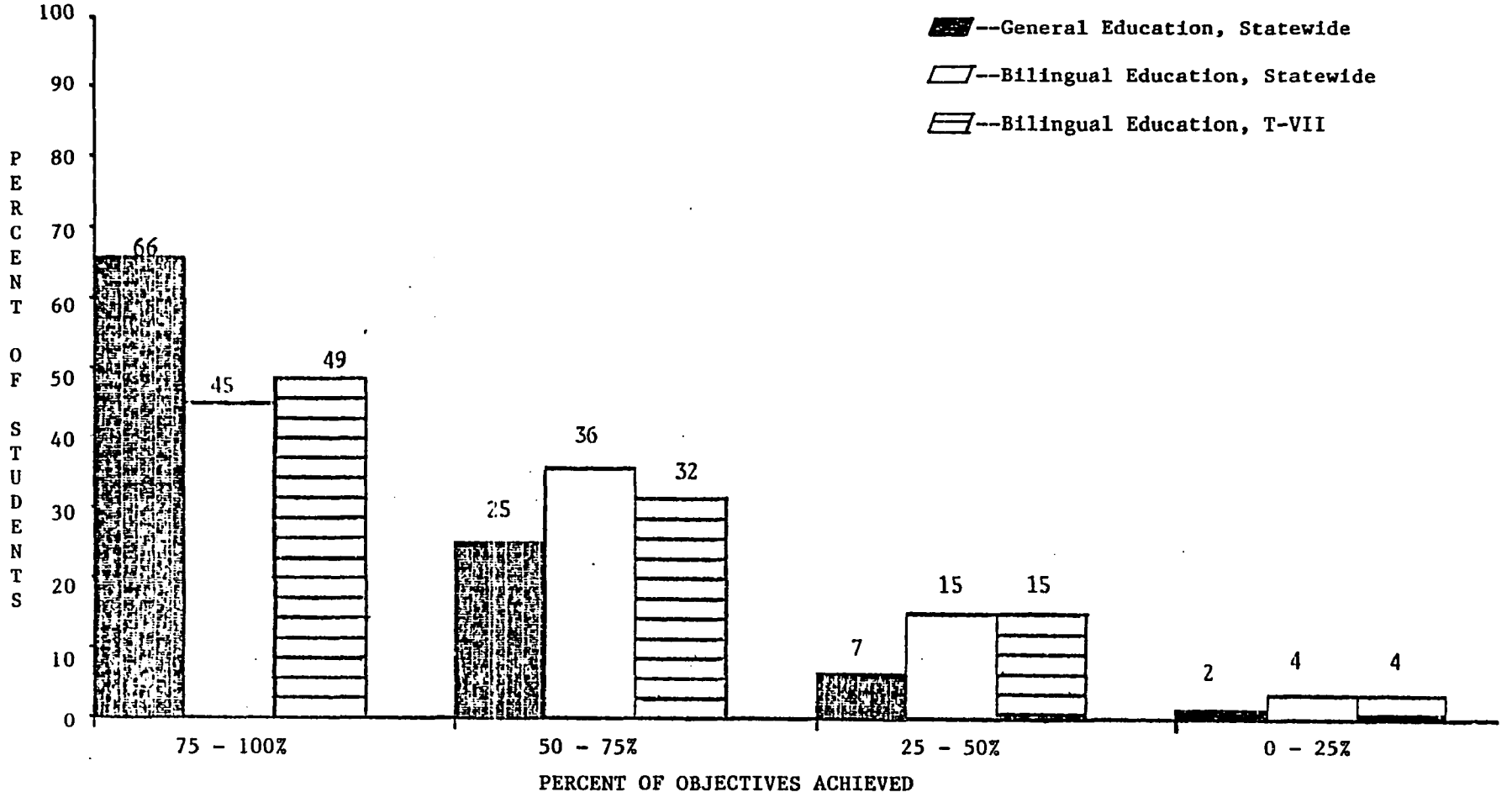

Figure 3.--Michigan Math Test, Grade 7, 1985-86

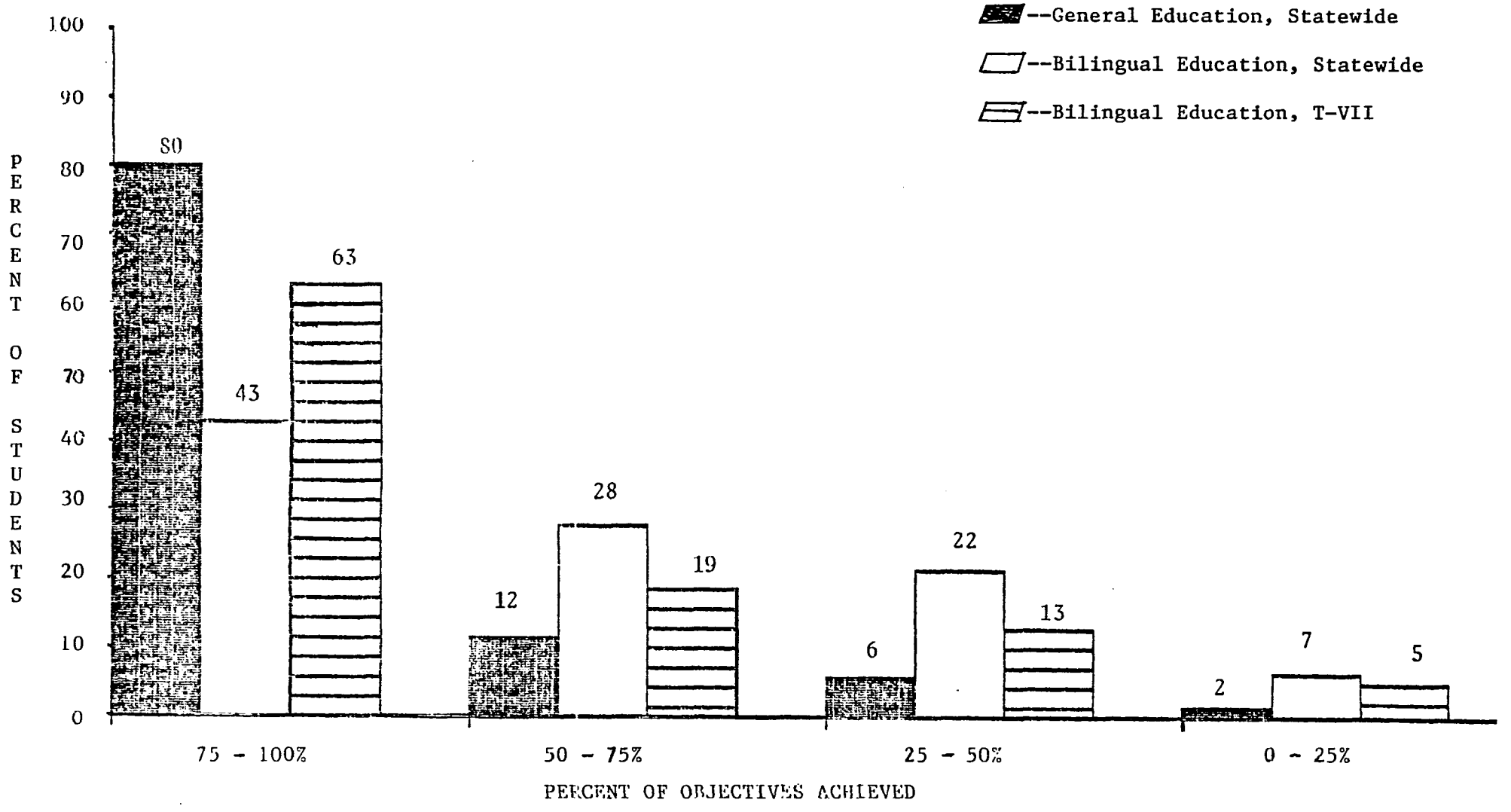

Figure 4.--Michigan Reading Test, Grade 7, 1985-86

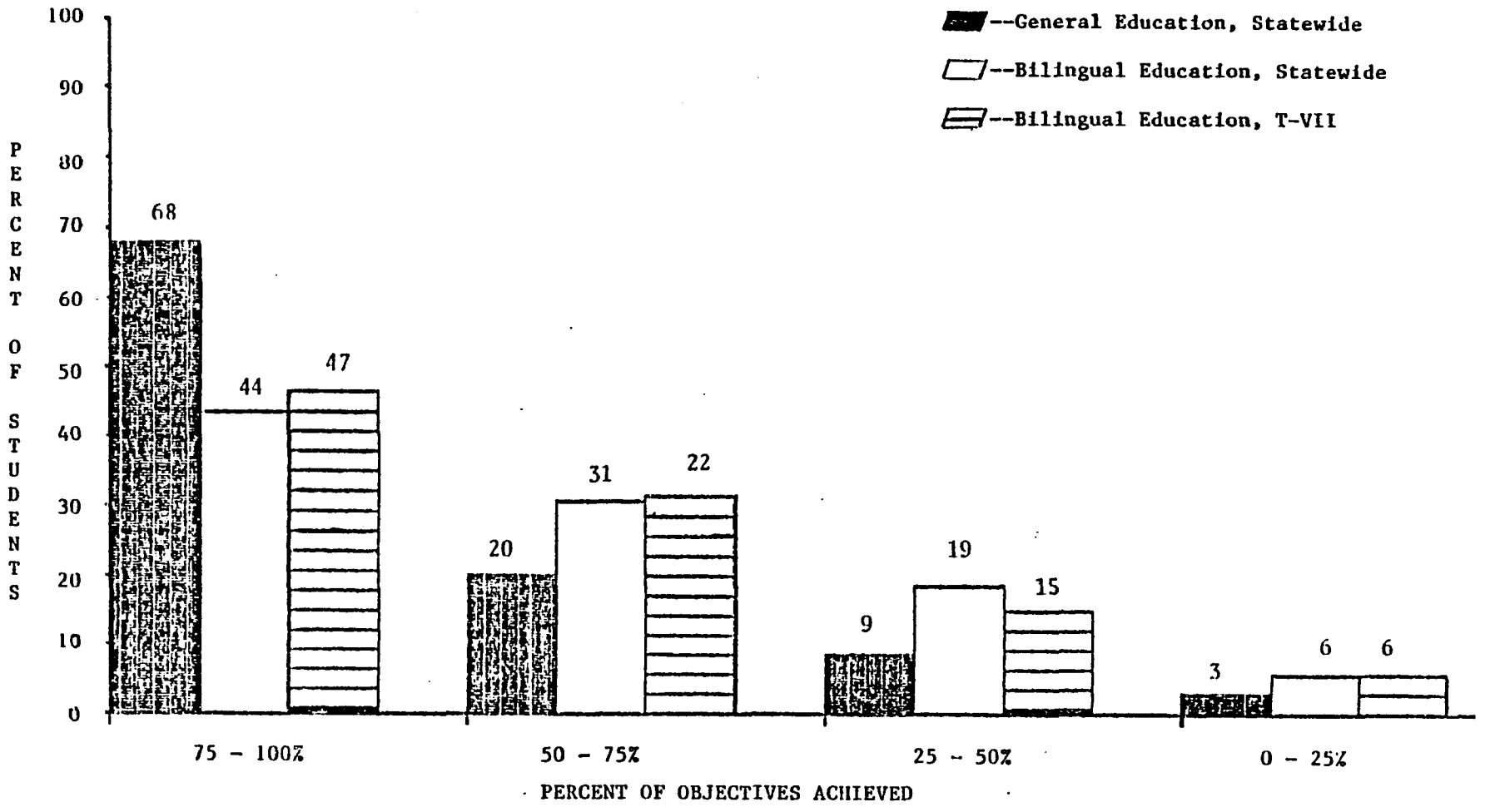

Figure 5--Michigan Math Test, Grade 10, 1985-86

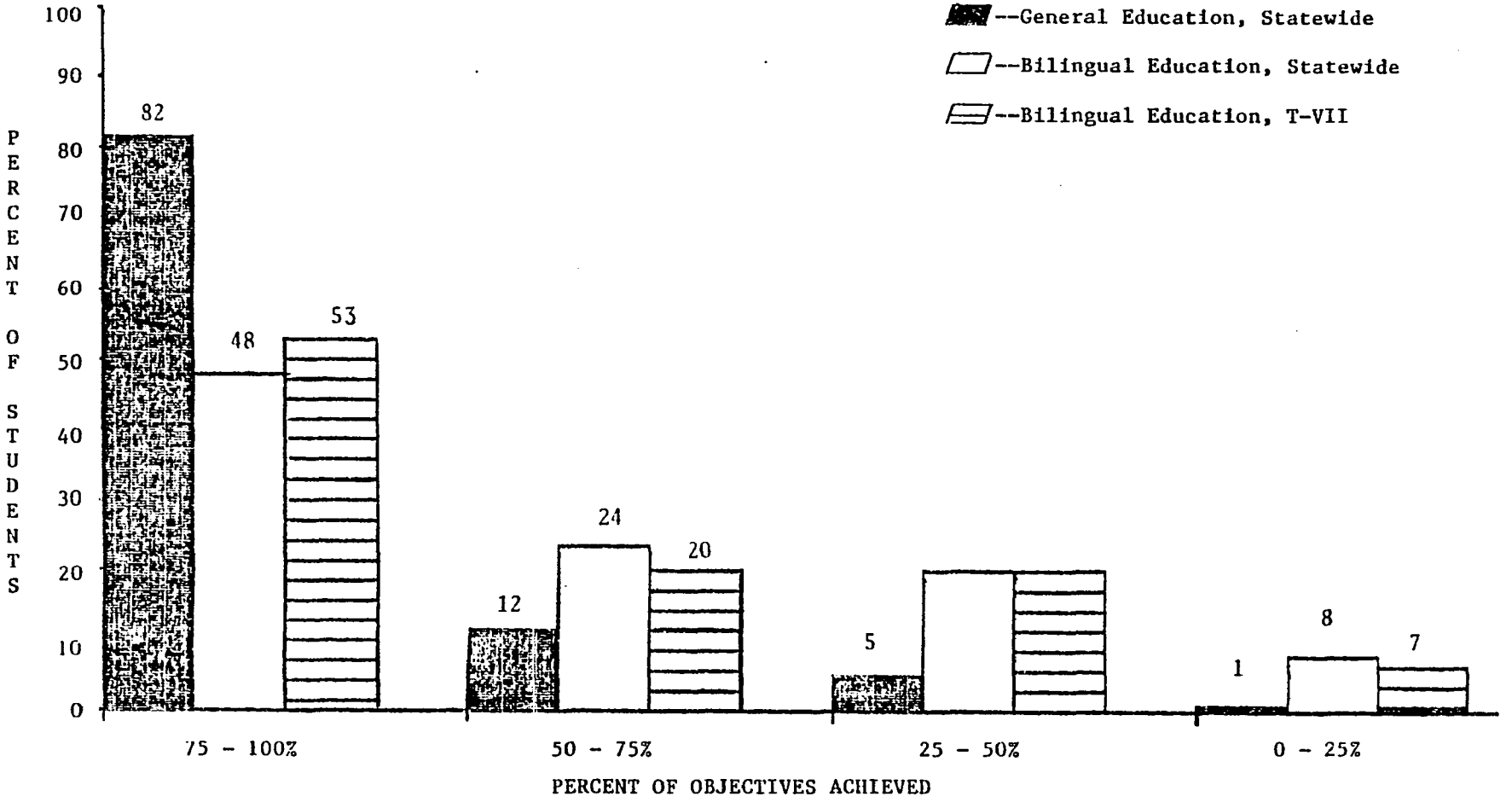

Figure 6.--Michigan Reading Test, Grade 10, 1985-86

Summary

This chapter has provided a sketch of bilingual education as a policy issue, focusing on its implementation, eligibility/funding, and evaluation outcomes. These sketches present clear evidence that bilingual education, post 1974, is still a compromised program in spite of House Concurrent Resolution 487's findings and recommendations. Despite lofty ideals touted by impressively-stated educational goals and objectives, bilingual education in Michigan has not worked to advance democratic ideals for Chicanos, developed their individual abilities, nor provided an equal educational opportunity; rather, it has resulted in a "watered-down," token, and compromised program superimposed, not integrated, within the traditional mode of education. As a result, the educational underachievement of Chicanos persists.

As P.A. 294 of 1974 began to unfold, the results of a compromised language policy became evident. The important elements for its successful implementation were missing; that is, state aid, teachers, materials, etc. This vacuum in the implementation process pointed to the need of Chicano input into the critical negotiation process for transmitting important provisions into the language policy. Bilingual education was failing to attain its intended purposes as an equity program; an "assimilation" mentality had prevailed. Consequently, bilingual education became an ideological focus for Michicanos to unify.

With the intervention of Representative Hollister, Chicanos brought attention to a failed language policy. It was determined that the failure of the implementation process was "systemic;" therefore, the process was to begin anew with the 1975-76 school year.

This second round of the implementation process did not demonstrate significant progress in the educational underachievement of Michigan's language minorities. This was due, in part, to a lack of commitment on the part of the Michigan Department of Education and school districts in following the eligibility rules for funding. Arbitrary procedures were used to classify language minority students. This lack of commitment to bilingual education is demonstrated by the fact that, in more than 10 years, state aid has decreased while eligibility numbers have increased.

The outcome of evaluations of Michigan's bilingual education program attests to the fact that, as a language policy, it has not achieved its intended purpose. Its inadequate implementation provisions, its poor funding, and inefficient program evaluations point to the inattention paid to a language minority program. Comparative charts of achievement in math and reading are provided to prove this analysis.

The critical analysis of three dimensions of Michigan's bilingual education program demonstrates that it was a reactive attempt to placate community concerns and was based more on the assimilationist theory of cultural deprivation

than on a proactive one based on good pedagogy. If the language policy indeed presupposed any notion, it was a pathological perspective of language minorities where the fault lies in the student who must be changed to fit into the American mold.

The results of this type of "assimilation" mentality raise serious questions about the adequacy of a traditional mode of education whose intent is to reform language minorities (Glenn, 1988).

A view of the interaction between the traditional mode of education and a "pluralistic" mode from a community level perspective where bilingual education becomes further compromised will demonstrate the imbalance of majority/minority relations, their segmentation, and their inability to restructure the program for their benefit. Schools at the local level do not exist on a vacuum. They are only one aspect of a broader social context that, despite legislative intents and civil rights guarantees, by tradition and otherwise, still support ingrained majority sociocultural values (Galicia, 1973).

As the following chapter will demonstrate, bilingual education, as an equity program which challenges the majority culture's conformist ethic in American culture, becomes a political issue entangled in power relations at the local level. The result is an ineffective language minority program in a community with a sizeable Chicano population.

CHAPTER V

A COMMUNITY-LEVEL PERSPECTIVE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: THE FENNVILLE CASE

The previous chapters speak to the traditional role of schools as the transmitters of culture; that is, maintenance of the status quo. As such, it is a conservator of the existing social-political system in which local districts play an integral part. They and their administrative hierarchies exist at the pleasure of the state. The tasks of educating language minority students are delegated by the state to the local district. Even though what happens in the local district classroom is distant from the state's central education agency, it is decisive. Bilingual education program implementation at the local school district level is no exception to this "assimilation" mentality.

Chapter III examined the formulation of bilingual education program policy at the state level. It concluded that policy failed because of the lack of Chicano political input. Its failure was linked to a political theory of educational policy. Similarly, this chapter will show that the failure of bilingual education, as an equity program for Chicanos at the local level, is also tied to the same political theory of

educational policy when state policies are translated into discriminatory administrative actions, rules, and procedures.

This chapter will go beyond Chapter III in that the results of a political theory of educational policy-making will be discussed; in particular, as they relate to: academic grouping, lack of bilingual personnel, and an "assimilation" mentality in practice. It will show that the implementation process of bilingual education program policy at the local level occurred in a vacuum where some of the factors at play at the state level were also missing at the local level. Teachers' and parents' surveys particular to Fennville will be utilized as a basis for demonstrating the differential impact of educational policies on Chicano students.

The Setting

The Fennville Public School District is located in western Allegan County between Holland and South Haven, Michigan. The district includes approximately 5 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline development, but the school complex is located in the city of Fennville, approximately 5 miles inland. The city is the largest concentration of population within the school district, approximately 1,000 residents. The second largest concentration of population is in the Hutchins Lake area, a 1,000-acre inland lake, approximately 2 miles from the school. The total population of the community is in the area of 7,500, with approximately 1,600 students enrolled in the K-12 system.

The mainstay of the local economy is agriculture and has been for more than 100 years. The area is at the present best known for apples, blueberries, grapes, and cherries, although a variety of other crops and nursery stock help create a demand for labor from early March through November. The large local industries are also closely tied to agriculture: Michigan Fruit Canners, Michigan's largest food processing factory, and Campbell Soup's mushroom-growing and packing plant. Migrant labor is in demand in all phases of the local agricultural economy, from planting to processing.

Chicano graduates tend not to stay in the Fennville area, yet are well represented in the immediate area of settled-out citizens. No local elective officeholder is Chicano at any level of government, although the city of Fennville had a long-term Chicano commissioner. Most of the energy for public service seems to be directed through the local Chicano Catholic Church. Children who attend college tend not to return to the Fennville area after graduation.

The Subjects

The vast majority of the people supplying the labor that feeds the local economy consider themselves Chicano and consider Mexico their ancestral home. They have been represented in the area for three generations, but the greatest settlement has been within the last 15 years. The Fennville School System is approximately 25% Chicano; however, population figures (28%) in lower elementary for the 1988-89 school

year indicate that growth is anticipated. This is consistent with national population trends. Of that school population, 78% of their parents terminated their education prior to completing a high school diploma, while some within the Chicano subgroup are third-generation residents; others arrive at the school being able to speak only Spanish, and others will have limited English skills. Based on the previous year's records, it was estimated that about 60% of all Chicano children enrolled qualified for a free or reduced lunch program.

A thorough study of the reading curriculum by Dr. Ted Kilty of Western Michigan University's Reading Department indicated that 40% of Fennville's students are 2 or more years behind in reading, 20% are at or about grade level, and 40% are 2 or more years above grade level. Children from Hispanic background were represented throughout the population, but tended to be overrepresented in the lower 60%. This is consistent with statewide trends as evidenced by the Michigan Department of Education Hispanic School Dropouts and Hispanic Student Performance on the MEAP Tests (Flores, 1986). Statewide, the MEAP reading results showed a deficit for Hispanics when compared to all students:

> The combined 4th, 7th, and 10th grade results yield an average gap of 23 percentage points: 79% of the students, statewide, attain acceptable performance in reading while only 56% of the Hispanics did. (p. 5)

The 1988-89 bilingual education "Fourth Friday Count of Students Eligible for Bilingual Education Funds" form submit-

ted by the Fennville School District to the Michigan Department of Education for funding reported 412 potentially eligible Chicano students. These students are the ones who are prevented from obtaining the experience, knowledge, and skills required for active participation in school activities that are the basis for cognitive development and academic success because of cultural and psychological isolation. To counter this situation, bilingual education is provided as an equity measure per state mandate. The problem is that the program becomes mired in its controversy, thereby rendering it ineffective.

Grouping for Bilingual Education

Bilingual education at the local school district levels does not guarantee an equal educational opportunity, because the quality and quantity of language services vary. In other words, a school system may deny bilingual services or provide poor services, as in the Fennville case, even after a bilingual education mandate has been legislated. Through the use of various overt (e.g., segregated classrooms) and more subtle institutional discriminatory practices (e.g., grouping) schools are denying language minority students an equal educational opportunity (Fernández & Guskin, 1981). Such is the case in Fennville, a district which can be classified as a microcosm of a statewide system where bilingual education becomes entangled in an "assimilation" mentality which renders it ineffective.

The Bilingual Education Office's 1988 monitoring visit to Fennville documented the fact that Chicano students were "sorted" on the basis of: (a) estimated intellectual abilities; (b) cultural/linguistic behavioral patterns, or (c) a Hispanic last name. Although academic grouping techniques are considered useful pedagogical tools for creating homogeneous instructional groups, for Fennville's bilingual students the reality is that grouping placed them in an ineffective bilingual program where the teacher/pupil ratio was 214:1, as indicated by the "Fourth Friday Count of Students Eligible for Bilingual Instruction Funds" (1987-88). Academic grouping is a type of institutional discrimination (González, 1990), especially when it stigmatizes students as ethnic and low achievers.

P.A. 294 of 1976, as restructured after House Concurrent Resolution 487, required local school districts to create bilingual programs for Chicanos who needed extra educational help; the result, however, was the "pull out" grouping of students from regular classes.

The "pull out" approach in bilingual education results in segregation. This method is generally recognized as the least acceptable form of bilingual instruction as it is arguably the most difficult way yet devised to promote literacy and the least responsive to the student's culture (MacDonald, 1982). Yet, Fennville's "pull out" program is representative of bilingual programs in the state of Michigan where "over seventy one percent [71.3%] of the students received bilingual

instructional services on a pull out basis" (Bilingual Education Evaluation Report, 1986-87, p. 14).

This practice of grouping for "pull out" bilingual services is consistent with statewide practices; it has become imbedded in the informal modus operandi in the state. This sanction on informal policy has allowed Fennville administrators to provide a meaningless program, perhaps without the presence of conscious bigotry because of the lack of bilingual resources to share the knowledge of exemplary programs.

Lack of Bilingual Personnel

For analytical purposes, an important aspect of Fennville's school situation must be made explicit. The teachers in the district are predominantly Anglo. They are from lower-middle- to middle-income backgrounds, while the Chicano students come from predominantly lower-income backgrounds. This means that students and teachers do not share the same cultural and social experiences. The very significant student/teacher relationship based on common culture and language is nonexistent. The point is that the lack of Chicano teachers compounds the "pull out" situation. Also, the lack of Chicano teachers in Fennville points to a lack of commitment to minority teachers.

Teachers, according to Brophy (1983), are the strongest single influence on the student's learning environment. They can easily influence decisions on ability grouping. Their

high expectations of students are highly correlated with student performance (Carrasco, 1984).

This study's political theory of an equal educational opportunity through bilingual education is partially explained by staff perceptions of Chicanos, as evidenced by the Hispanic school improvement survey administered to Fennville teachers on April 21, 1988 (Appendix C). In response to the question: "Cultural deprivation affects his educational achievement," 60% of the teachers agreed; 10% were not convinced either way, and 30% disagreed. When asked, "Teachers in this school believe all students can achieve basic reading skills," only 40% agreed. Only 20% of the teachers agreed that they "are 'tuned' to the educational needs of Hispanics." In terms of students expectations, again only 20% of the teachers "expect that over 95% of the students in school will graduate from high school."

What becomes evident in the teacher survey are negative attitudes toward Chicanos which postulate the school district's general policy toward minorities. These attitudes translate into tacit policies and actions which render services to Chicanos ineffective.

Teachers are the most likely individuals to influence a policy-making decision at the local level in the area of equal educational opportunity. Cummin's research (1986) suggests that minority students are "empowered" or "disabled" (p. 13) as a direct result of their interaction with teachers. In Fennville, where Chicano teachers comprise only 2% of the

total teaching staff, students do not benefit from the significant impact which teachers can have on the nature of their educational experiences. This Chicano student/Anglo teacher ratio situation explains the teacher's survey response regarding Chicano's reading achievement; only 4 out of 10 Anglo teachers believed that Chicano students can learn reading skills--the basis for educational achievement.

As regards the question, "Teachers are 'tuned' to the educational needs of Hispanics," 50% of the teachers indicated that they were not 'tuned' to Chicano needs; 30% neither agreed nor disagreed; and only 20% agreed to being 'tuned' to Chicano needs. When this same question was posed to parents in a similar survey designed for parents, 50% indicated that teachers were not 'tuned' to Chicano needs; 15% neither agreed nor disagreed; and 22% agreed. Both Chicano parents and Anglo teachers felt the same as regards Fennville teachers being 'tuned' to Chicano needs. As a result, Chicano students are underachieving.

Even though 100% of the teachers surveyed and 93% of the parents surveyed agreed that "Teacher role models would benefit Hispanic students," no policy commitment exists for providing the 214 eligible bilingual students the needed services. Only one fully certified bilingual teacher serviced them in the 1988-89 school year.

In formulating a political theory of educational policy, a political hypothesis is that education for Chicanos at the

local level should be correlated with the proportion of Chicano teachers.

The answers to the survey questions by teachers point to the nature of interaction which the teacher will allocate to the Chicano student, especially the two questions regarding "cultural deprivation" and "student expectations." This lack of positive Chicano student/Anglo teacher interaction often results in students being pygmalion-affected.

The Fennville teacher survey illustrates a classical case where the pygmalion-effect syndrome consists of something more ingrained in the educational system. The wider problem may not be the teacher, but a political entity; in this case, the school system, which "disables" Chicano students by virtue of its subtle bias towards the equity program of bilingual education. To illustrate, a sizeable 60% of the teachers surveyed felt that "cultural deprivation" affected their educational achievement and that bilingualism is not a learning impediment. Moreover, 100% of the teachers felt that Chicano role models are important. Yet no administrative policy support exists for teachers to address their perceptions in the classroom. This nonsupport of teachers is, per se, a political statement.

In Fennville, the school system's noncommitment to the bilingual education program promulgates a pattern of low achievement among a sub-population in the district whose most outstanding characteristic is their ethnicity and English language proficiency. This noncommitment, as expressed via

the teaching personnel, answers the question, Why is it that bilingual education has not attained its intended purpose of addressing the needs of Chicanos in Michigan?

An "Assimilation" Mentality at Work

The student's language is the most basic element of any curriculum. This is especially true in the early years of schooling when the child must depend entirely on the ability to communicate. Fennville schools use English as the dominant language of instruction. Consequently, in the Chicano's early education, reading and writing skills are developed on the assumption that the child has oral skills in the English language. For many Fennville Chicano students, this assumption is false. These Chicano children, by the time they have reached school age, have developed a complete language system in Spanish, and some have even developed limited language skills in English; however, what may still be lacking are the cultural skills for appropriate classroom instruction. Current literature on minority education documents the significance of common culture and social experiences between teacher and student for explaining minority failure. For example, in 1976, Bates (cited in Ferrer, 1988)) defined the term "pragmatics" as the rules governing the use of language in a social context. In their article entitled "Where's the Floor? Aspects of Cultural Organization on Social Relationships in Communication at Home and School," Schultz, Florio, and Erikson (1982) cover the issue of

communicative incongruence. To alleviate the Chicano students' underachievement in Fennville, this cultural/linguistic gap needs to be closed via bilingual education for the sole purpose of positive educational experiences. This, in turn, will lead to positive teacher/student communication, educational achievement, and literacy.

Literacy, according to Farr and Daniels (1986), has both cultural and cognitive consequences. They state that literacy changes both societies and individuals; that is, becoming literate affects how people use language and how they think. For Boyer (1983), literacy is the most essential tool for learning. Herein lies the educational dilemma for Chicanos in Fennville. Since the development of literacy is contingent on the recognition of the connection between the student's background and learning, then, based on the "cultural deprivation" teacher response of the survey, it follows that education for Fennville's LEP students is a continuous vicious cycle which allows no entry junction for those who are linguistically and culturally different.

Literacy for Chicano students in Fennville consists of being placed in basal reading programs where they are expected to begin to read and write in English long before they have experienced and solidified the prerequisite language skills of listening and speaking, as explained in Chapter II and graphically demonstrated in Table 1 of the same chapter.

The teaching of reading, then, should be based on a substantial understanding of the nature of human language

(Farr & Daniels, 1986). Secondly, teachers should capitalize on the language experiences their students bring with them to school. Utilizing and building on these resources are the keys to teaching reading and writing to LEP students. The failure to do so highlights the school's neglect and socialization agenda. Fennville provides us a classical case of an institution with an "assimilation" mentality at work against bilingual students. By shaping the images and controlling the ideas that Michicanos have about themselves and their position within American society, schools have suppressed them into a subordinate position. Despite the lofty educational goals touted by the state education agency, in reality schools have not worked to advance Michicanos, but rather have been an instrument of the dominant society to perpetuate the existing social, economic, and political order. The policy formulation process and the educational underachievement of Chicanos (see Chapters III and IV) attest to the socialization practices of Michigan's "assimilation" mentality in education.

A traditional mode of education is currently in operation in Fennville Public Schools. It is a process directly aligned to the common school concept (see Chapter I).

> In order to understand the role schools play in our society we must see school as a social institution. Schooling, the practice of participating in a perpetual predetermined institutionalized social relationship, assumes school is a necessary institution for the maintenance of existing relationships. Institutions do not create the social environment, they are created by it. Institutions must exist in the mind of man first, then the implementation of the shared concept and its continuance becomes the institution. Schools

> reflect the existing social milieu and do not change it (Galicia, 1973, p. 4).

According to Mirandé (1985), this mode of education assumes a critical role in the process of colonization and, since it is the primary institution of socialization and Americanization, its predominant function has been to eliminate the culture of Chicanos and to mute their language. Chicanos, under the "assimilation" process, are excluded from participatory education. This refers to the nonacceptance by the school of their experiential background. In other words, they can only be incorporated into the educational system if Chicanos reject their culture and abandon their native tongue. The education of Chicanos since the 1930s has demonstrated that this does not guarantee their educational achievement nor success (Carter, 1979). The "assimilation" mentality has spawned such practices as:

1. The no Spanish rule
2. Bilingual education "pull out"
3. The Mexican school
4. Dress code for Chicanos
5. Suspensions

To date, numbers 2, 4, and 5 are common practices in Fennville schools. Moreover, there is no proportionate representation between Chicano students and staff, as only 2% of the total staff are Chicano teachers; and parental communication is, at best, minimal, as only 2 out of 10 "teachers contact parents in this school on a regular basis," according to the parent

survey. The Fennville's school curriculum reflects the values and ethos of the dominant society; therefore, in this "assimilation" mode of education, one finds that, for Chicanos, it is an educational process which rejects their language and culture, thereby establishing conditions for failure.

Fennville illustrates the case of bilingual education operating within an "assimilation" mentality and the potential outcomes which contribute to the educational dilemma of Chicanos. What becomes apparent in Fennville is how the Chicano culture is viewed negatively and children are viewed as pathological cases who must be deprogrammed as a first step toward socialization, as demonstrated by the "cultural deprivation" question of the teacher survey. The surveys also show how culture is perceived by staff as being responsible for many of the problems experienced by Chicanos in and out of the school ambience, thereby potentially instilling an apathetic attitude toward school while stifling creativity and individuality. By implication, parents and the home are viewed as negative influences which must be neutralized for academic success. According to Fennville's three surveys, bilingual schooling for Chicanos is not an "equalizing" program because of:

-- the alienation of one's culture

-- the loss of one's language

-- the low level of student expectation

-- teachers not being "tuned" to Hispanic needs

-- lack of parental involvement

To address this dilemma, the Bilingual Education Act of 1976 was intended to bring about changes in the education of Michicanos. However, the fact is that it became entangled in a "assimilation" mentality which rendered it ineffective.

Bilingual education program policy has been ineffective in Fennville because of institutional discrimination. This type of discrimination occurs when the norms, procedures, and rules of an organization discriminate against certain individuals. Three reasons suggest that the failure of bilingual education at the local level is a product of institutional discrimination. First, as indicated by Chapter I, the history of language policy in the United States has emphasized one national language at the expense of our polyglot heritage. This restrictive attitude towards languages has filtered down to the local level through the state education agency.

Second, since the inception of federal bilingual education policy in 1968, federal and state laws have required local school districts to implement bilingual education programs for language minorities with extra educational needs, which are intended to assimilate them quicker rather than to provide them an equal educational opportunity. These types of programs are too often "pull out" modes of instruction which result in segregation and stigmatization.

Third, bilingual education practices at the local level have been consistent with statewide professional educational practices and procedures. The testing of students for bilingual services has been on arbitrary markers of natural

ability and on ethnicity. Bilingual services have been on a "pull out" basis from important content area instruction. Programmatic evaluation is on a yearly basis for state funding purposes, rather than longitudinal for student educational achievement purposes.

These practices have become imbedded in the informal rules of operation at the local district level and are sanctioned by the state, thereby resulting in the failure of bilingual education. These are other reasons why bilingual education has not attained its intended purpose of addressing the needs of Chicanos in Michigan.

Summary

This chapter focuses on Fennville's bilingual education program, considered as a microcosm of a statewide system which becomes mired in an "assimilation" mentality.

Upon providing a demographic description of the city of Fennville, the chapter discussed the implementation of bilingual education program policy. By presenting some "assimilatory" practices at work within the structure of bilingual education, it showed that its failure was tied to a political theory of educational policy at the local level which became apparent via the discriminatory actions, rules, and procedures as applied to Chicano students.

In using the results of a teacher survey and a parent survey, this chapter demonstrated how Chicano culture and language were viewed by school personnel. This perception has

led to the Chicano student in Fennville being pygmalion-affected, thus providing an answer to the question, Why hasn't bilingual education attained its intended purpose in the state of Michigan?

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

On May 31, 1989, United States Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos called for a "national commitment" to improve the education of minority students (1989). Secretary Cavazos reported that:

> By the fourth grade, Hispanic students have fallen so far behind already that they really have to struggle to catch up. Many of them never catch up and many of them drop out. We have a terrible loss of human potential in our educational system. (p. 90)

This call for a "national commitment" attests to the same need of Chicanos in the state of Michigan. Why is it that Michicanos lag in the acquisition of literacy? What is the reason for the low educational achievement?

Explaining Chicano educational underachievement in Michigan, as an outcome of systemic discrimination and Chicano powerlessness to hold the system accountable to meet their needs, is the focus of this study. To understand the educational dilemma of Chicanos is to explain the failure of bilingual education.

If bilingual education is a state-mandated equity measure intended to rectify the Michicano's educational underachievement, why is it not working? In this study, its failure is

linked to a political theory of educational policy. In implementing bilingual education, proponents have faltered in understanding the power relations at play in the process of institutionalizing bilingual education and in perceiving it within a sociopolitical historical paradigm. This study presented and justified a political view of education for Chicanos in Michigan and linked it to school district policies and to the political process statewide.

This study is an attempt to disentangle bilingual education program policy in the state of Michigan. This is done by providing a participatory perspective of the behavioral and interpretive processes of the actors and actions involved in the formulation and implementation of bilingual education program policy.

The intent is to show that bilingual education is operating within the framework of a traditional mode of early American education, that is, an "assimilation" mentality. This study is historical in nature.

Chicanos have been in Michigan since the beginning of the 20th century; yet, as a result of language legislation, it has only been in the last 15 years that schools have begun to concern themselves with their education. In the formulation and implementation of language policy, Chicanos have been rejected in that their intended objectives for Chicano education were not considered and, thereby, were unable to significantly impact the political process.

A result has been that bilingual education has not attained its intended objective of alleviating the Chicano's educational underachievement. In spite of this equity program, schooling in the 1990s looks much like the early education received by the immigrants of the mid-1800s.

Summary

In an attempt to gain an understanding of the historical roots of education for Chicanos in the United States and its correlation to their education going into the 21st century, Chapter I illustrated how a traditional mode of education, which has its roots in early American history, has filtered down to today's educational institutions and is still prevalent today, consequently negatively affecting Chicano education. As indicated in Chapter I, the assimilationist mode of education which was prevalent during the first half of the 20th century had a detrimental effect on language minorities by failing to provide for their cultural and linguistic needs.

Chapter I established the fact that education for language minorities since the turn of the 20th century did not fulfill its binding function of incorporating them into the American mold for becoming part of a national identity. Instead, language minorities were rendered powerless and segmented by being processed through common schools. This early educational schooling process has filtered down to today's schools and has had a detrimental effect on Chicano educational attainment.

No real effort to alter the Chicano's educational underachievement was undertaken until the introduction of national bilingual education legislation in the 1960s. The hearings on the Bilingual Education Act of 1967 produced testimony that millions of school-aged children were educationally disadvantaged because of their inability to speak English (August, 1988).

In general, the intent of this law was to overcome language and cultural barriers in the school setting and to undo the accompanying negative effects they had on children. Ideally, the rationale of bilingual-bicultural education includes enabling students to use their language and culture as a base from which to develop abilities in English, the facilitation of the transition from home to school, and the development of a positive self-concept. Realistically, the Bilingual Act of 1968 resulted as assimilationist in nature and caused considerable confusion among proponents and opponents of bilingual education.

Chapter II notes how, in the midst of the national bilingual education controversy, the state of Michigan enacted language policy for its language minority student population in the early 1970s. As P.A. 294 began to unfold, the opposition to bilingual education became evident. As a result, policymakers became mired in its controversy while the perennial myths and misconceptions continued to complicate its implementation.

To provide an understanding of bilingual education as a program that works, Chapter II provided a review of the literature related directly to some ubiquitous myths and misconceptions.

Chapter III, in discussing the formulation of bilingual education program policy, generated a theory of education policy-making that is applied to Michicano educational under-achievement. It examined the formulation of bilingual education policy by tracing its development in the early 1970s. The intent was to demonstrate how and why a policy deemed a sound pedagogical program was compromised in the political process. Chapter III ends 15 years later when the English Only, Inc. organization proposes to delimit the existing language policy. Two separate political events related to bilingual education policy were examined to show the differential input and impact which Chicanos had on both events. What became evident was a move towards political sophistication. The political focus of Chapter III suggests that Chicano input is important in determining educational policy.

Chapter IV provided a critical analysis of three dimensions of Michigan's bilingual education program as implemented under politically compromised conditions: implementation, eligibility/funding, and monitoring/evaluation. It examined the results of the Chicano's lack of input in the legislative process when majority legislators failed to take into account input from those segments the policy most affects.

In the discussion of the implementation process, what became evident was the gross negligence of a legislative mandate by school districts and the state education agency. Chapter IV suggested that the lack of Chicano input into important policy provisions which would ensure effective implementation of language policy had proven detrimental. Mainstream politicians and professional organizations had dominated the policy formulating, therefore, a hierarchical structure of power in the legislature had ensured that the implementation process would not succeed.

As a result of a poorly formulated language policy, the implementation of bilingual education was a fiasco. This prompted House Concurrent Resolution 487, which this chapter discussed.

In a similar fashion to the implementation process, Chapter IV also focused attention on the eligibility/funding and monitoring/evaluation of bilingual education program policy in the late 1970s and 1980s. What became evident in these two dimensions of language policy was the lack of commitment by both state and local agencies, and that it is still a compromised program going into the 21st century.

Despite lofty ideals touted by impressively-stated departmental and legislative goals and objectives, bilingual education in Michigan has not worked to advance democratic ideals for Chicanos, nor developed their individual qualities. All the dimensions discussed have demonstrated a "watered-

down," token, and compromised language program superimposed, not integrated, within a traditional mode of education.

Chapter IV's critical analysis of three dimensions of Michigan's bilingual education program demonstrated that it was a reactive attempt to placate community concerns and was based more on an "assimilation" mentality rather than a proactive one based on good pedagogy. As a result of this approach, the educational underachievement of Chicanos persists.

Chapter V argued that bilingual education program implementation at the local school district level was no exception to the "assimilation" mentality. If the failure of bilingual education at the state level was linked to a political theory of educational policy, this chapter also showed that the failure of bilingual education at the local level was tied to the same political theory when state policies were translated into discriminatory administrative actions, rules, and procedures.

This chapter focused on Fennville's bilingual education program as a microcosm of a statewide system where it becomes entangled in an "assimilation" mentality which rendered it ineffective via academic grouping, a lack of professional personnel, and generally accepted informal practices of operation.

This last chapter showed that the failure of bilingual education was, without doubt, tied to a political theory of

educational policy which became evident via the differential actions, rules, and procedures as applied to Chicano students.

Michigan schools, in an attempt to rectify the under-achievement of Chicanos, implemented bilingual education based on an "assimilation" mentality. In other words, the Chicano student must be assimilated. To exemplify the drastic results of an ill-imposed equity program, the implementation of bilingual education was viewed from the perspective of a Michigan local school district--Fennville. This focused analysis highlighted the following results of an educationally deficient approach, as supported by two localized surveys:

- Reading underachievement
- Poor student/teacher classroom communication
- Lack of parental involvement
- Poor bilingual education program
- Lack of Chicano personnel
- Poor self-concept

These results raise serious questions about the adequacy of a traditional mode of education which holds on to the notion that students are completely to blame for their educational predicament; the effectiveness of school programs based on this idea also is cause for concern.

Chicano researchers, since the 1970s, have qualitatively analyzed the educational dilemma of Chicanos. Their findings attribute school failure to a number of reasons other than the student. Among them are:

1. Psychological characteristics and the failure of schools to adjust to them
2. School policies and practices inhibit Chicano achievement and promote conflict, emotional problems, and dropout
3. Schools fail to capitalize on the student's linguistic and cultural backgrounds, thereby obviating communicative competence on the part of the student.
4. Ineffective bilingual programs only provide a superficial facade that "something" is being done to help Chicanos
5. Meaningful community support is not nurtured to assist in the implementation of Chicano programs
6. A Chicano pedagogy which reflects the ethos of the Chicano is not existent in the school curriculum.

These deficiencies are the result of a traditional mode of education. With the advent of bilingual education in Michigan, a more pluralistic mode of education began to replace the traditional model where large numbers of minority students are enrolled. Such schools are Lansing, Adrian, Flint, Holland, Detroit, Saginaw, and Bay City, among others. A comparative analysis of both the traditional model and the pluralistic model would demonstrate that neither approach works to the advantage of Chicanos. Both models would result in the Chicano student having to conform to a dominant set of values and behavior, causing loss of identity.

Bilingual education in the state of Michigan is one program which is classified under the pluralistic mode of education. While it acknowledges the linguistic and cultural

needs of Chicanos, bilingual programs offer no educational equity because they do not significantly alter the relationship between:

1. Teacher/student
2. School/community
3. Student/self
4. Cognitive/academic factors

As a result, Chicanos in Michigan's bilingual programs do not experience measurable academic success. After 15 years of this pluralistic mode for addressing the needs of Chicanos, the same problems persist; that is, low reading achievement, high dropout rate, etc.

Recommendations

Recognizing that both the traditional model and the pluralistic model of education have "failed" the Chicano, this study proposes a framework for a Chicano pedagogy which not only reflects their ethos, but seeks to empower them economically, politically, and culturally. It rejects the traditional approach which is devoid of linguistic and cultural components. It also rejects the pluralistic approach which does not address issues of economic and political control.

The purpose of the framework is to suggest redefinitions of existing pluralistic approaches to Chicano education for purposes of impacting positively their current educational dilemma. It is an eclectic composition of existing educationally sound and tried pedagogical modes, interactions, and

power relations, and is based on qualitative research. The framework consists of the following four key components:

1. Bilingual education
2. Sociocultural teaching approaches
3. Political component
4. Parental involvement

This framework offers a multidimensional approach for a multicultural society. In today's ever changing, cosmopolitan, culturally pluralistic society, educators and institutions need to submit themselves to a redefinition of what constitutes equitable programs for its diverse population. The proposed framework for a Chicano pedagogy purports to provide a basis for such redefinitions.

This study argues that educational failure for Chicano students is "systemic." It is not a pathology, but an institutional failure which has failed to provide the Chicano with an equal educational opportunity. This institutional failure is a social phenomenon which can only be understood in its own historical, economic, and political context. As discussed in previous chapters, it is a "failure" that permeates the classroom, the home, the work place, the community, and various social settings. As such, to overcome this systemic failure, a cooperative political approach is needed to change the economic and political structure which impacts upon Chicano education by means of planned intervention, as suggested by the third component of the framework for a Chicano pedagogy.

The third component of a framework for Chicano education acknowledges the political theory of educational policy in school systems which plays a central role in the process of political socialization, and that we are subjected to cultural control. It recognizes that to internalize these facts is important for the empowerment of Chicanos. It further recognizes that schools also function as "bottlenecks" for society and thus play a crucial role in determining who will have access to such societal values as wealth, status, and power.

Chicanos need to perceive schools in the light that they reflect the existing social milieu and do not change it. They need to take into account that schools are part of the overall political process; therefore, any process for educational change has to be politically bent to impact upon society and not schools per se. "It is a myth that changing the schools will change the social structure" (Galicia, 1973, p. 4).

A Chicano pedagogy has to assume that there are elements of resistance at the local level, as well as other levels, that will impede educational attainment. Hence, the organization and application of Chicano politics is suggested as a means to bring about desirable change. To effectuate meaningful impact at the local level, a Chicano pedagogy must focus on the relationship between the school and larger society. A major pitfall of the pluralistic mode of education for Chicanos is that they have focused on language and culture to engender a false sense of security and optimism without

actually implementing attempts to alter the social structure. The suggested framework for a Chicano pedagogy assumes that significant change can be produced by providing relevant information about Chicano educational, social, and political deprivation, thereby creating an awareness of the Chicano reality.

The previous chapters have established the fact that schools serve to socialize Chicanos and that it is deeply rooted in the American value system. However, since schools are created to serve society rather than vice versa, then society must change before schools can demonstrate change. It follows, then, that patterns of classes and racial domination will not be altered by simply implementing superficial legislative mandates without challenging the existing political domination over Chicanos. How else can Michicanos seriously effect radical change in the educational process given the nature of the hierarchical power structure over them and its lack of relativity to cultural diversity?

In retrospect, the implementation process of bilingual education in Michigan was destined to fail from its inception. "Patterns of minority student failure show that power and status relations between majority and minority groups exert major influence on school performance" (Cummins, 1986, p. 21). As described by Wong-Fillmore (1983), the dominated status of a minority group exposes its members to conditions that predispose students to school failure even before they come to school. These conditions include limited parental access to

educational resources, ambivalence toward cultural transmission and primary language use in the home, and a lack of commitment to minority programs. These are the same conditions confirmed by the Study Group initiated by House Concurrent Resolution 489. The "assimilation" mentality had prevailed.

This chapter proposes a theoretical framework for a Chicano pedagogy based on an analysis of their educational underachievement which is a function of the relationship between the society's power elite and education. The purpose of the framework is to propose redefinitions of existing approaches to Chicano education for the intent of reversing the existing educational dilemma. The framework is an eclectic melange of educationally sound and salient pedagogical modes, interactions, or power relations originally proposed as isolated means to impact the education of language minorities. This chapter merely suggests the best interventions, and organizationally proposes a Chicano educational pedagogy.

The framework assigns a central role to four interactive sets of relations:

1. bilingual education for cultural and linguistic incorporation
2. sociocultural teaching approaches
3. a political component
4. parental involvement

It assumes that the social organization and bureaucratic constraints within the school not only reflect the broader policy and societal factors, but also reflect the extent to which these four interactive sets of relations are developed and implemented. The central tenet for the framework for a Chicano pedagogy is that Chicanos are a socially, internally colonized cultural group and that schools where they are enrolled accomplish the task of maintaining the status quo.

The proposed framework is intended to suggest ways by which existing liberal modes of education are modified or enhanced to reverse Chicano student underachievement; the four interactive approaches are such modes which were chosen on the basis of research data which support them as relevant cornerstones for a Chicano pedagogy, but which were ineffective reforms due to institutional noncommitments and other factors. In proposing a framework comprised of "more of the same," this study proposes redefinitions which have to be assumed in relation to four institutional practices of schools. These practices reflect the extent to which (a) the Chicano language and culture is incorporated into the bilingual program and into the school; (b) teachers accommodate the Chicano student's differing communicative styles via meaningful teacher/student interaction; (c) Chicano politics are recognized as meaningful input; and (d) parental involvement is encouraged as an integral component of Chicano education. For each of these dimensions, a new perspective is proposed for alleviating the educational underachievement of Chicanos and respond-

ing to their needs. Both educators and institutions require a redefinition of what constitutes equitable programs in order to reverse the Chicano educational dilemma. In the absence of individual and collective role definitions, schools will continue to reproduce in these interactions the power relations that characterize the wider society and make minority students' academic failure inevitable.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE TANTON MEMO

APPENDIX A

THE TANTON MEMO

PACKET I

TO: WITAN IV Attendees

FROM: John Tanton

DATE: October 10, 1986

Here is a set of questions and statements that I hope will help guide our discussion of the non-economic consequences of immigration to California, and by extension, to the rest of the United States. These are not highly polished; I ask your indulgence.

These notes are based on reading Bouvier's and related papers, on the WITAN III Meeting, and my own thinking over several years on the topic of assimilation and the character of American society. The assignment of subtopics to the main categories is a bit arbitrary; many of them could be moved around.

I. Political Consequences.

1. The political power between the states will change, owing to differential migration to the six immigrant-receiving states. The heartland will lose more political power (see appended Table I).

2. Will the newcomers vote democratic or republican, liberal or conservative, and what difference does it make? A lot, if you're one or the other!

3. Gobernar es poblar translates "to govern is to populate," (Parsons' paper, p. 10, packet sent May 8). In this society where the majority rules, does this hold? Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile.

4. Does the fact that there will be no ethnic majority in California early in the next century mean that we will have minority coalition-type governments, with third parties? Is this good or bad, in view of the European and other experiences.

5. Shall illegal aliens be counted in the census and used to apportion congressional and state house seats, thereby granting them political power?

6. Is apartheid in Southern California's future? The demographic picture in South Africa now is startlingly similar to what we'll see in California in 2030. In Southern Africa, a White minority owns the property, has the best jobs and education, has the political power, and speaks one language. A non-White majority has poor education, jobs and income, owns little property, is on its way to political power and speaks a different language. (The official language policy in South Africa is bilingualism--the Blacks are taught in Zulu and related tongues.)

In the California of 2030, the non-Hispanic Whites and Asians will own the property, have the good jobs and education, speak one language and be mostly Protestant and "other." The Blacks and Hispanics will have the poor jobs, will lack education, own little property, speak another language and will be mainly Catholic. Will there be strength in this diversity? Or will this prove a social and political San Andreas Fault?

7. Illegal aliens will pay taxes to the Federal Government; their costs will mostly be local.

8. The politicians are way behind the people on these issues. This brings to mind the story told of Gandhi: he was sitting by the side of the road when a crowd went by. He said, "There go my people. I must get up and follow them, for I am their leader!"

9. Griffin Smith's point from the Federalist Papers: It was argued that the colonies would make a good nation, as they shared a common culture and language. Nineteen eighty seven is the celebration of the adoption of the Constitution, 1988 its ratification, and 1989 the setting up of the first Federal Government. Can we tie into these discussions?

II. Cultural.

1. Will Latin American migrants bring with them the tradition of the mordida (bribe), the lack of involvement in public affairs, etc.? What in face are the characteristics of Latin American culture, versus that of the United States? See Harrison's Washington Post article in the September 3 packet.

2. When does diversity grade over into division?

3. Will Blacks be able to improve (or even maintain) their position in the fact of the Latin onslaught? (See Graph 3)

4. How will we make the transition from a dominant non-Hispanic society with a Spanish influence to a dominant Spanish society with non-Hispanic influence?

5. Do ethnic enclaves (Bouvier, p. 18) constitute resegregation? As Whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night? Or will there be an explosion? Why don't non-Hispanic Whites have a group identity, as do Blacks, Jews, Hispanics?

6. Note that Graph 2 shows virtually all the population growth will come from immigrants and their descendants.

7. Is there a difference in the rates of assimilation between Asians and Latins?

8. Should something be said about the competing metaphors of the salad bowl and the melting pot?

9. What exactly is it that holds a diverse society together? Gerda's paper said that in our case, it was a common language.

10. Is assimilation a function of the educational and economic level of immigrants? If so, what are the consequences of having so many ill-educated people coming in to low paying jobs?

11. We're building in a deadly disunity. All great empires disintegrate, we want stability. (Lamm)

12. Enclaves lead to rigidity. (Hardin)

13. The theory of a moratorium: the pause in immigration between 1930-1950, combined with the assimilating experience of fighting side-by-side in the trenches in World War II, gave us a needed pause so that we could assimilate the mass of people who came in in the early years of the century. Do we again need such a pause?

14. Concerning the moratorium, here are some phrases that could be used: "The pause that refreshes." "A seventh inning stretch." "Take a break, catch up, eliminate a backlog, take a breather."

15. Perhaps mention should be made of Pacific Bell's move to install <u>completely separate</u> Spanish and Chinese language phone systems in California (see May 27 packet).

16. Novak's term "unmeltable ethnics" is probably better than some of the others that have been suggested. Similarly, ethnicity is a more acceptable term than race. It should also be noted that 50% of all Hispanic surname people on the census

forms designate themselves as White. So perhaps we should speak of Hispanic Whites and non-Hispanic Whites, to further diffuse the issue. Is Anglo a better term than White? LANGUAGE IS VERY important here.

III. Conservation and Demography.

1. What will be the effect on the conservation movement, which has drawn its support in the past from other than the minorities, and which has relied on the political power of the majority to pass legislative measures? As the people that groups like the Sierra Club represent go into opposition (minority political status), will many of the things they've worked for be lost because the new majority holds other values?

2. Can homo contraceptivus compete with homo progenitiva if borders aren't controlled? Or is advice to limit ones family simply advice to move over and let someone else with greater reproductive powers occupy the space?

3. What are the consequences to California of the raw population growth that is coming, the ethnic change aside (see Graph I)?

4. What is the conservation ethnic of the Asian and Latin American newcomers? Will they adopt ours or keep theirs?

5. The Sierra Club may not want to touch the immigration issue, but the immigration issue is going to touch the Sierra Club! (To mention just one group.)

6. On the demographic point: perhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down!

7. Do you agree with Teitelbaum's statement, "International migration has now become an important point of intersection between the different demographic profiles of developing and developed countries"? (Fear of Population Decline, p. 134--see also pp. 111-115.)

IV. Jurisprudence

1. What are the consequences for affirmative action of the ethnic change coming along? Will the non-Hispanic Whites (NHW) have a limited number of spots in professional schools, etc. proportionate to their numbers? Or will affirmative action go beyond this (as it does now in Malaysia) to cut spots to below their proportionate share, to enable other groups to "catch up?"

2. Anything to be said about drugs and the border?

3. Will we get more of the Napoleonic Code influence, and does it make a difference?

4. What do we demand of immigrants--or more correctly, what should we demand of them:
   a. Learn our language.
   b. Adopt our political ideals.
   c. Assimilate and add their flavoring to our stew.

V. Education.

1. What are the differences in educability between Hispanics (with their 50% dropout rate) and Asiatics (with their excellent school records and long tradition of scholarship)?

2. Where does bussing fit into the picture? Keep in mind that by 1990, over 50% of all the people under 15 years of age will be of minority status. They will also be heavily concentrated in certain geographic areas.

3. The whole bilingual education question needs to be mentioned.

VI. Race/Class Relations.

1. What will be the fate of Blacks as their numbers decline in relationship to Hispanics? As they lose political power, will they get along with the Hispanics? Relations are already heavily strained in many places.

2. What happens when we develop a new underclass, or a two-tiered economic system? Especially if the two groups can't speak the same language! (See Bouvier and Martin, Chapter 5)

3. Is resegregation taking place, in the Southern part of the state in particular?

4. Phil Martin's point: In agriculture, the Whites and Asiatics will own and manage, but will not be able to speak to the Hispanic field workers. They will need bilingual foremen. Does this sound like social peace? Or like South Africa? Keep in mind the poor educational level of the field hands.

VII. The Economy.

I don't think we should dwell much on the economy: I think we should try to make our contribution by talking about the non-economic consequences of immigration. Nonetheless:

1. Do high levels of immigration cut back on innovation (Bouvier, p. 27)?

2. Does it reduce the tendency and need of employers to hire current minority teens (Bouvier, p. 27)?

3. Is there a downward pressure on labor standards in general (Bouvier, p. 28)?

4. Phil Martin's point on the colonization of the labor market (Chapter 5).

VIII. Retirement.

1. Since the majority of the retirees will be NHW, but the workers will be minorities, will the latter be willing to pay for the care of the former? They will also have to provide the direct care: How will they get along, especially through a language barrier (Bouvier, p. 40)?

2. On the other hand, will the older and NHW groups be willing to pay the school taxes necessary to educate the burgeoning minorities?

3. The Federal Government may have to pay for the care of the elderly in schools--will it?

IX. Religious Consequences. This is the most difficult of all to tackle, and perhaps should be left out. Nonetheless:

1. What are the implications of the changes shown on graphs 2 and 3 for the separation of church and state? The Catholic Church has never been reticent on this point. If they get a majority of the voters, will they pitch out this concept?

2. Same question for parochial schools versus public schools.

3. Same question for the topic of abortion/choice, birth control, population control.

4. Same question for the role of women.

5. Will Catholicism brought in from Mexico be in the American or the European models? The latter is much more casual.

6. Keep in mind that many of the Vietnamese coming in are also Catholic.

7. Is there anything to be said about the Eastern religions that will come along with the Asiatics?

X. Mexico and Latin America (Chapter 7, Bouvier & Martin). Perhaps the main thing to be addressed here is whether or not shutting off the escape valve will lead to revolution, or whether keeping it open can avert it.

XI. Additional Demographic Items. Teitelbaum's phrase, "A region of low-native fertility combined with high immigration of high-fertility people does not make for compatible trend lines!"

Finally, this is all obviously dangerous territory, but the problem is not going to go away. Who can open it up? The question is analogous to Nixon's opening of China: he could do it, Hubert Humphrey could not have. Similarly, the issues we're touching on here must be broached by liberals. The conservatives simply cannot do it without tainting the whole subject.

I think the answers to many of these questions depend on how well people assimilate. This, in turn, depends heavily on whether the parent society has made up its mind that assimilation is a good thing (we're confused on this point now), whether it works at assimilating newcomers (as Canada and Australia do by following them longitudinally), whether the people coming want to assimilate (not all of them do), and, even if all the factors are favorable, whether the numbers are small enough so as not to overwhelm the assimilative process.

Good luck to us all!

APPENDIX B

DETROIT TASK FORCE PROPOSAL

CITY OF DETROIT
ROMAN S. GRIBBS, Mayor

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS
FOURTH FLOOR, 150 MICHIGAN AVENUE, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
(313) 224-4950

February 15, 1974

Representative Daisy Elliott
Representative William R. Bryant, Jr.
Representative William R. Keith
House of Representatives
State of Michigan
Lansing, Michigan 48901

Dear Representatives Elliott, Bryant, and Keith:

Attached for your earnest consideration is the proposal for a bill on bilingual education drafted by the Detroit Task Force on Bilingual/Bicultural Education.

The Detroit bilingual education task force (roster attached) is a broadly-based community organization of concerned citizens organized in January, 1974 by the Commission on Community Relations to secure more effective educational services to pupils of limited English-speaking ability.

Inquiries or consultation regarding the provisions recommended herein are invited and may be addressed to the undersigned, or to:

1. Mr. Jorge Lambrinos, Co-chairman,
   Legislative Sub-committee
   c/o L.A.S.E.D.
   4138 W. Vernor
   Detroit, Michigan 48209
   (313) 826-7022

2. Ms. Rachael Moreno, Co-chairman,
   Legislative Sub-committee
   4138 W. Vernor
   Detroit, Michigan 48209
   (313) 826-7022

Thank you for your support of these recommendations.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Denise J. Lewis
Secretary-Director

Silvestre Acosta
CCR Commissioner
Chairman, Detroit Task Force
on Bilingual/Bicultural Education

Enclosures

cc: Rep. Lucille H. McCullough
Rep. Thomas H. Brown
Rep. Matthew McNeely
Rep. George Montgomery
Rep. Thaddeus C. Stopczynski
Rep. Jackie Vaughn III
Rep. Edgar A. Geerlings
Rep. John S. Mowat, Jr.
Rep. Clifford H. Smart
Rep. Roy L. Spenser
Rep. William A. Ryan

RESTATEMENT OF HOUSE BILL # 4750

The U.S. Supreme Court has found that the failure of educational systems to make provisions for children whose dominant language is other than English, effectively forecloses them from any meaningful participation in the educational process and violates #601 of Civil Rights Act of 1964 which bans discrimination based on "race, color or national origin." The 1970 census (U.S. Census) for the State of Michigan indicates that there are large numbers of children in this state whose home language is other than English. Experience has shown that public school classes in which instruction is given only in English are inadequate for the education of children whose home language is not English.

This act will provide for the establishment, implementation, and funding of programs in bilingual education in the public schools of the State of Michigan, and the certification of teachers under these programs. This Act will further provide for the creation of a Division for Bilingual Instruction within the State Department of Education as outlined in this enactment. This Division for Bilingual Instruction will consist of a director, an assistant for Migrant Programs, and an assistant for Urban Programs, as well as the necessary supportive staff to provide the services in the areas of Research and Evaluation, Curriculum Development and Resources, and In-Service Training and Staff Development and University Programs, as outlined in section #9 of this act.

Therefore:

Pursuant to the policy of the State of Michigan to insure equal education opportunity to every child, and in recognition of the educational needs of children of limited English speaking ability, it is the purpose of this bill to provide for the establishment and funding of such bilingual programs in the public schools where a need has been shown.

Section 1 - The following words as used in this act shall, unless the context requires otherwise, have the following meanings: "Department", The State Department of Education. "School Board", the school board of a local school district. "Children of limited English-speaking ability", (1) children who were not born in the United States whose home language is a language other than English and who are incapable of performing classwork in English; (2) children who were born in the United States of non-English speaking parents and who are incapable of performing classwork in English; and (3) children, of parents with limited English speaking ability, who are incapable of performing classwork in English.

"Program in bilingual education", a full-time program of instruction (1) in all those courses or subjects which are required of a child, by local school districts, for completion of grade requirements to receive and which shall be given in the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability who are enrolled in the program and also in English, (2) in the reading and writing of the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability who are enrolled in the program and in the oral comprehension, speaking, reading and writing of English, and (3) in the history and culture of the country, territory or geographic area which is the native land of the parents of children of limited English-speaking ability who are enrolled in the program; and in the history and culture of the United States.

"Teacher of bilingual education", shall be defined for purposes of this act as denoting fluency in the language comparable to the level attained by persons in the ethnic classification by virtue of birthplace or natural origin.

Section 2 - Each school board shall ascertain, not later than the first day of _____, under regulations prescribed by the Division of Bilingual Instruction, the number of children of limited English-speaking ability within their school systems, and shall classify them according to the language of which they possess a primary speaking ability.

When, at the beginning of any school year, there are within a local school district, not including children who are enrolled in existing private school systems, twenty or more children of limited English-speaking ability in any such language classification, the school board shall establish, for each classification, a program in bilingual education for the children therein; provided, however, that a school board may establish a program in bilingual education with respect to any classification with less than twenty children therein.

Every school-age child of limited English-speaking ability not enrolled in existing private school systems shall be enrolled and participate in the program in bilingual education established for the classification to which he belongs by the local school district in which he resides for a period of at least three years and until such time as he achieves a level of English language skills which will enable him to perform successfully in classes in which instruction is given only in English.

Any other child in the local school district may participate in components of a program of bilingual education at the request of the child's parent or legal guardian, subject to available space.

An examination in thr oral comprehension, speaking reading, and writing of English, as prescribed by the Division of Bilingual Instruction, shall be administered annually to all children of limited English-speaking ability enrolled and participating in a program in bilingual education. No school board shall transfer a child of limited English-speaking ability out of a program in bilingual education prior to his third year of enrollment therein unless the parents of the child approve the transfer in writing, and unless the child has received a score on said examination which reflects a level of English language skills appropriate to his or her grade level.

If later evidence suggests that a child so transferred is still handicapped by an inadequate command of English, he may be re-enrolled in the program, or any component thereof.

Section 3 - No later than ten days after the enrollment of any child in a program in bilingual education, the school board of the local school district in which the child resides shall notify, by mail, the parent or legal guardian of the child of the fact that their child has been enrolled in a program in bilingual education. The notice shall contain a simple, non-technical description of the purposes, method and content of the program and shall inform the parents that they have the right to visit bilingual education classes in which their child is enrolled.

The notice shall be written in English and in the language of which the child of the parents so notified possesses a primary speaking ability.

Section 4 - A school baord shall allow a non-resident child of limited English-speaking ability from a system without the required number of students to establish a program to enroll in or attend its program in bilingual education and the tuition for such child shall be paid by the appropriate district in which he resides.

Any local school district may join with any other school district or districts to provide the program in bilingual education required or permitted by this act. The coordination and establishment of such programs shall be under the direction of intermediate school districts.

The State of Michigan under section_____ shall reimburse any local school district for the cost of providing transportation for children attending a program in bilingual education.

Section 5 - Instruction in courses if subjects included in a program of bilingual education which are not mandatory may be given in a language other than English. In those courses or subjects in which verbalization is not essential to an understanding of the subject matter, including but not necessarily limited to art, music and physical education, children of limited English-speaking ability shall participate full with their English-speaking contemporaries in the regular public school classes provided that said subjects include definite units related to the culture of the various ethnic classifications. Each school board of every local school district shall ensure to children enrolled in a program in bilingual education practical and meaningful opportunity to participate fully in the extra-curricular activities of the regular

public schools in the local school district. Programs in bilingual education shall be located in the regular public schools of the local school district.

Whenever possible, children enrolled in a program of bilingual education shall be placed in classes with children of approximately the same age level of educational attainment. If children of different age groups or educational levels are combined, the school district so combining shall ensure that the instruction given each child is appropriate to his or her level of educational attainment and the local school districts shall keep adequate records of the educational level and progress of each child enrolled in a program. The maximum student-teacher ratio shall be determined by the Division of Bilingual Instruction to reflect the special educational needs of children enrolled in programs in bilingual education.

Section 6 - The State Board of Education, hereinafter called the Board, shall grant certificates and/or endorsements to teachers of bilingual education who possess such qualifications as are prescribed in this section. Teachers of bilingual education, including those serving under endorsements provided through this act, shall be compensated by local school districts on the same salary schedule applicable to regular teachers.

Teachers shall make application for a teaching certificate and/or endorsement through the established procedures of the State of Michigan.

The Board shall grant such endorsements and/or certificates to teachers of bilingual education who present the Board with satisfactory evidence that they:

1. possess a native speaking and reading ability in a language other than English in which bilingual education is being offered;
2. possess communicative skills in English;
3. are in good health, provided that no candidate shall be disqualified due to defective hearing or blindness;
4. are of sound moral character;
5. possess a degree from an accredited college or university;
6. meet such requirements as to courses of study, semester hours therein, experience and training as may be required by the Board;
7. be versed in the history and culture of the ethnic classification;
8. are legally present in the United States and possess legal authorization for employment.

The Board may grant a temporary teaching certificate and/or endorsement to those individuals lacking a degree, who are enrolled in and have completed at least two years of study in an accredited teacher training program and meet all other criteria.

For the purposes of certifying teachers of bilingual education the Board may approve programs at colleges or universities devoted to the preparation of such teachers. The institutions shall furnish the Board with a student's transcripts and shall certify to the Board that the student has completed the approved program and is recommended for a teaching certificate.

Also, the Division of Bilingual Instruction shall establish and administer a state-wide program of inservice training and staff development in bilingual education in cooperation with local colleges. This training program shall include but will not be limited to teachers, teacher-aides, para-professionals, and administrators.

A teacher of bilingual education serving under an endorsement as provided in this section shall be granted a certificate if he/she achieves the requisite qualifications therefore.

All years of service under such endorsement shall be credited to the teacher in acquiring that status of tenure and in the granting of salary increments.

Section 7 - A school board may establish on a full of part-time basis pre-school or summer-school programs in bilingual education for children of limited English-speaking ability or join with other local school districts in establishing such pre-school or summer programs. Pre-school or summer programs in bilingual education shall not substitute for programs in bilingual education required to be provided during the regular school year.

Section 8 - The cost of the programs in bilingual education required or permitted under this act, actually rendered or furnished, shall for the amount by which such costs increase the average per pupil expenditure of the local school district for the education of children of comparable age, be allocated by the State to the local school districts.

Allocation shall be made upon certification by the Division of Bilingual Instruction that programs in bilingual education have been carried out in accordance with the requirements of this act, the Division's own regulations, and approved plans submitted earlier by the local school districts.

Nothing herein shall be interpreted to authorize local school districts to reduce expenditures from local and federal sources, including monies allocated under the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, for bilingual education programs.

Section 9 - In addition to the powers and duties prescribed in previous sections of this act, the Division of Bilingual Instruction shall excercise its authority of all provisions of this act. A copy of the rules and regulations issued by the Division shall be sent to all local school districts participating in bilingual education.

Section 10 - There shall be established within the State Department of Education, a Division of Bilingual Instruction which shall be headed by a director. The director shall be appointed by the State Board of Education, and said director shall have the minimum qualifications of a Master's degree and shall have at least five years of documented administrative and/or teaching experience, with at least two of those years in bilingual education. The director shall file a quarterly report with the State Board of Education, the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Clerk of the Senate.

The Division of Bilingual Instruction shall be charged with the following duties: (1) to assist the Department in the administration

and enforcement of the provisions of this act and in the formulation of the regulations provided for in said act; (2) to study, review and evaluate all available resources and programs that, in whole or in part, are or could be directed toward meeting the language needs of children and adults of limited English-speaking ability residing in the State; (3) to compile information about the theory and practice of bilingual education in the State and elsewhere, to encourage experimentation and innovation in the field of bilingual education and to make an annual report to the legislative bodies and the Governor; (4) to provide for the maximum practicable involvement of parents of children of limited English-speaking ability in the planning, development and evaluation of bilingual education programs in the districts serving their children and to provide for the maximum practicable involvement of parents of children of limited English-speaking ability, teachers and teacher aides of bilingual education, community coordinators, representatives of community groups, educators and laymen knowledgeable in the field of bilingual education, in the formulation of policy and procedures relating to the administration of this act by the State; (5) to consult with other public departments and agencies of the State; (6) to make recommendations to the Department in the areas of preservice and in-service training for teachers of bilingual education programs, curriculum development, testing and testing mechanisms and the development of materials for bilingual education courses; and (7) to undertake any further activities which may assist the Department of Education in the full implementation of this act.

TASK FORCE ON BI-LINGUAL/BI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

1.	Mr. Silvestre Acosta, CONVENER/CHAIRMAN	Detroit Commission on Community Relations, 150 Michigan, Fourth Floor, Detroit, Michigan 48226	224-4993 365-4868 825-3940
2.	Ms. Lynne Alvarez	New Detroit, Inc., 1515 Detroit Bank & Trust Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226	961-9160
3.	Ms. Rose M. Aquilar	L.A.S.E.D., 4138 W. Vernor, Detroit, Michigan 48209	826-7022
4.	Mr. Fred Brinkman	La Raza Unida, c/o L.A.S.E.D., 4138 W. Vernor, Detroit, Michigan 48209	863-7756
5.	Ms. Juana J. Canales	Webster School, 1450 Twenty-Fifth Detroit, Michigan 48216	261-2351
6.	Ms. Lillian Castillo	Morley School, 1120 S. Beaumont, Detroit, Michigan 48209	862-4362
7.	Mr. Frank De Santis	Region 2, 6550 W. Warren Detroit, Michigan 48210	494-2215
8.	Ms. Jean Downs	Webster School, 1450 Twenty-Fifth Detroit, Michigan 48216	729-0599
9.	Ms. Nina Drolias	Webster School, 1450 Twenty-Fifth Detroit, Michigan 48216	863-5654
10.	Mr. Gordon Farrell	19441 Appoline, Detroit, Michigan 48235	864-5723
11.	Mr. Oscar Garcia	Neinas School, 6021 McMillan Detroit, Michigan 48209	843-6290
12.	Mr. Manuel Gonzalez	Wayne County Department of Social Services, 640 Temple, Detroit, Michigan 48201	256-1015
13.	Mr. Jorge A. Herrera	Psychology Department, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan	482-7500
14.	Ms. Mirta Irueta	Webster School, 1450 Twenty-Fifth Detroit, Michigan 48216	843-2184
15.	Ms. Margarita Jimenez	1522 Junction, Detroit, Michigan 48209	862-6617
16.	Ms. Rosana Jackle	14468 Flanders, Apt. 3, Detroit, Michigan 48213	526-8440
17.	Mr. Jorge Lambrinos	L.A.S.E.D., 4138 W. Vernor, Detroit, Michigan 48209	826-7022

18.	Mr. Israel Leyton	Latin-American Secretariat 305 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48226	963-3680
19.	Mr. Bob Lopez	Earhart Jr. High School, 1000 Scotten Detroit, Michigan 48209	273-8663
20.	Mr. Frank Lozano	Webster School, 1450 Twenty-Fifth, Detroit, Michigan 48216	826-7340
21.	Ms. Cleofe Manzor	Maybury School,4410 Porter Detroit, Michigan 48209	822-5379
22.	Sr. Mary Martinez	St. Andrew's School, 5675 Larkins Detroit, Michigan 48210	361-2900
23.	Dr. Charles Massey	Preston School, 1251 Seventeenth Detroit, Michigan 48216	825-6944
24.	Ms. Paulita Montanez	Webster School, 1450 Twenty-Fifth Detroit, Michigan 48216	
25.	Mrs. Annetta Miller	25456 Wareham, Huntington Woods, Michigan 48070	547-4333
26.	Ms. Rachael Moreno	Region 2, 6550 W. Warren, Detroit, Michigan 48210	494-2254
27.	Ms. Sema E. Moss	Community on the Move, 3022 Trumbull Detroit, Michigan 48216	963-5260
28.	Ms. Martha Moten	Webster School, 1450 Twenty-Fifth Detroit, Michigan 48216	825-3940
29.	Mr. Luis Murillo	Michigan Education Association P.O. Box 673, E. Lansing, Michigan, 48823	1800-292-1934 517-332-6581
30.	Mr. John Olivarez	Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202	521-7998
31.	Mr. Tom Rein	University of Michigan School of Social Work, Ann Arbor, Michigan	
32.	Dr. Mike Syropoulos	Detroit Public Schools, 10100 Grand River, Detroit, Michigan 48204	931-0848
33.	Ms. Percy Villaverde	Beard School, 840 Waterman, Detroit, Michigan 48209	843-0140
34.	Ms. Margarita Valdez	Latin-American Secretariat, 305 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48226	963-3680
35.	Dr. Joseph Wytrwal	Wilson Jr. High, 7735 Lane, Detroit, Michigan 48209	877-3596

APPENDIX C

TEACHER AND PARENT SURVEYS

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT
OF EDUCATION

FENNVILLE SCHOOL DISTRICT
TEACHER SURVEY & PARENT SURVEY

ANALYSIS ABSTRACTS #2 & #3

by

PROGRAMS FOR EDUCATIONAL
OPPORTUNITIY (PEO)

Research Department

August 6, 1988

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
FENNVILLE SCHOOL DISTRICT
TEACHER SURVEY

ANALYSIS ABSTRACT - #2

by

Program for Educational Opportunities (PEO)

Research Department

WHAT WE DID

After receiving the data from MDE we did the following:

1. Reviewed each questionnaire for completeness and/or data errors.
2. Assigned unique ID numbers to each questionnaire.
3. Keypunched the data and uploaded to MTS.
4. Read the data into the MIDAS Statistical Analysis program.
5. Performed three different types of descriptive analyses:
   (a) comparison of negative and positive responses for each item
   (b) frequency distribution for each item and (c) mean score calculation for each item.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ANALYSES

We present the first analysis in Section II - Initial Findings, parts 2 & 3. This analysis examines the proportion of negative and positive responses for each item. Our analysis uses two different criteria to determine which items suggest a potential school weakness and which a strength.

The second analysis is a frequency distribution for each question. A frequency distribution provides the percentage each unique value contributes to the total. These percentages always sum to 100 percent. These data are presented in Appendix A and Appendix B.

The third analysis is a mean score for each question. This analysis treats each response code as a real number. The mean (average) is derived through a three step process. In step one, we exclude all Don't Know/No opinion respondents. In step two, we sum all remaining response codes. In step three, we divide the total number of remaining respondents by the sum derived in step two. These data are presented in Appendix C.

SECTION I - Initial Analysis

Our initial review of the questionnaire focused on two areas, survey sample size and conceptual groupings.

1. Survey Sample Size

The size of the Fennville teacher survey sample is quite small (n=10). Small samples usually prevent the use of inferential statistics. In this study descriptive statistics are the primary means of analysis. Frequency distributions or marginals are appropriate for studies with small samples. The

negative effect, however, comes when interpreting the data. This is particularly true for this analysis. In the Fennville Teacher Study, for example, each respondent contributes 10 percent to the overall distribution. When this occurs significant swings in percentages can be attributed to one person. Small samples make it very difficult to draw accurate conclusions about the data. Thus, caution should be used when generalizing the findings to the larger population of Fennville teachers.

2. Conceptual Groupings

Our review of the questionnaire revealed numerous conceptual groups. Examples of these groups include, goal organization, expectations, parent initiative/support for school, parent school interaction, teachers, administrators, Hispanic concerns and discipline. Unfortunately, many questions are not easily categorized and some questions overlap into other categories. In addition, it was difficult to define concise, exclusive categories due to our limited knowledge of the Fennville District and the original conceptual design for the questionnaire. We patterned our analysis scheme to emphasize aspects of the questionniare about which we're certain. We also present the data in such a way that subsequent categorization of items by MDE or school personnel is possible.

SECTION II - Initial Findings

1. Description of Analyses

To simplify the analysis, we designated criteria or threshold points to categorize the data. Although, the threshold points are arbritrary they are a reasonable heuristic for organizing the data. Our intention in designating threshold points is to identify item responses as either positive or negative, so that some interpretations of school strength and weaknesses can be made. This approach provides data needed to evaluate the general perceptions of the respondents. The first threshold categorizes items with more negative than positive responses. The second threshold categorizes items with less than majority (49 % or less) positive responses.

2. Analysis One - Items with More Negative than Positive Responses

This analysis groups items as either positive or negative. A negative classification means that more respondents answered negatively than positively. This analysis excludes respondents that answered neutrally (code = 3) or DK/NO (Don't Know/No Opinion or code = 9). For example, on question #2 of the teacher survey 40 percent answered negatively (disagree or strongly disagree), 20 percent answered positively (agree, strongly agree) and 40 percent answered either neutrally or DK/NO. In this case the item classification is negative, even though it has a large proportion of DK/NO responses. Our justification for this threshold is quite simple: a school strength is one in which more people feel positively about it than negatively; a school weakness is one in which the opposite is true.

FENNVILLE TEACHERS STUDY

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW NO OPINION
	1	2	3	4	5	9
1. The administrators make frequent informal contacts with students and teachers	--	20.0	30.0	30.0	20.0	---
2. The administrators regularly give feedback to teachers regarding their instructional techniques.	10.0	30.0	30.0	20.0	---	10.0
3. Class is rarely interrupted to discipline students.	---	30.0	20.0	40.0	---	10.0
4. Students believe that school rules are reasonable and appropriate.	10.0	10.0	50.0	20.0	10.0	---
5. All students are encouraged to participate in extra-curricular activities.	---	10.0	10.0	30.0	50.0	---
6. The administrators emphasize participation by teachers in staff development activities such as instructional improvement.	---	10.0	40.0	30.0	20.0	---
7. Students are given many spportunities to participate in school activities.	---	---	20.0	70.0	10.0	----
8. Hispanics are proportionately represented in extra-curricular activities.	---	30.0	10.0	60.0	---	---
9. Teachers treat students with respect.	---	10.0	20.0	60.0	10.0	---
10. Teachers in this school believe that all students can achieve academically.	---	20.0	30.0	40.0	10.0	---
11. This school's written statement of purpose defines academic goals that focus on student's learning.	---	10.0	10.0	60.0	10.0	---

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW NO OPINION
	1	2	3	4	5	9
12. Administrative leadership is effective in resolving problems concerning the educational program.	---	40.0	40.0	20.0	---	---
13. Teachers in this school spend more time communicating with parents about the good things students do than about the bad.	---	50.0	20.0	10.0	---	---
14. There is a positive school spitit.	---	20.0	40.0	20.0	10.0	---
15. Class starts promptly at the beginning of each instructional period.	---	20.0	20.0	30.0	20.0	10.0
16. Regardless of students' home background, you feel you can successfully teach 90-95% of your students.	---	20.0	20.0	---	60.0	---
17. Hispanic students are seen as "different" by other students.	60.0	30.0	---	---	---	10.0
18. The student's background: i.e., "cultural deprivation" affects his educational achievement.	10.0	20.0	10.0	50.0	10.0	---
19. Bilingualism is a learning impediment for Hispanics.	40.0	20.0	20.0	10.0	---	10.0
20. Administrators support teachers in dealing with student discipline matters.	---	10.0	40.0	40.0	10.0	---
21. The administrators are accessible to discuss matters dealing with instruction.	---	10.0	50.0	40.0	---	---
22. All students in my class are expected to be successful in their school work.	---	---	10.0	50.0	30.0	10.0

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW NO OPINION
	1	2	3	4	5	9
23. Staff members are treated respectfully by students.	10.0	10.0	30.0	50.0	----	----
24. The administrators encourage teachers to accept their responsibilities for student achievement.	----	20.0	40.0	30.0	10.0	----
25. The activities of the parent group support the school's goals.	10.0	30.0	40.0	10.0	---	10.0
26. Hispanic students are respectful of teachers.	----	----	20.0	60.0	20.0	----
27. Most homework assigned to students is independent practice on what has already been learned in class.	----	----	20.0	40.0	20.0	20.0
28. Almost all students complete assigned homework before coming to school.	20.0	20.0	20.0	----	----	40.0
29. Parent-teacher conferences focus on factors directly related to student gains.	----	10.0	30.0	50.0	10.0	----
30. Most students come to class with all the materials they need (books, paper, etc.)	10.0	10.0	60.0	10.0	---	10.0
31. Students' homework is monitored at home.	30.0	50.0	10.0	----	----	10.0
32. Administrators enforce the student rules consistently & fair.	10.0	10.0	50.0	20.0	10.0	---
33. Hispanic students are achieving as well as non-Hispanics.	10.0	10.0	20.0	60.0	---	---
34. Hispanic parents support school activities.	----	20.0	40.0	30.0	----	10.0

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW NO OPINION
	1	2	3	4	5	9
35. Vandalism or destruction of school property by students is not a practice.	----	30.0	20.0	50.0	----	----
36. Students receive immediate feedback on their homework.	----	20.0	30.0	30.0	----	20.0
37. Classroom test results are used to give specific feedback to students.	----	10.0	50.0	20.0	10.0	----
38. Reteaching and specific skill remediation are important parts of the instructional process in this school.	----	20.0	30.0	20.0	20.0	-----
39. Alternative teaching strategies are provided to students having difficulty mastering a skill.	----	20.0	10.0	50.0	20.0	----
40. Most parents support school personnel when their child is disciplined for violation of rules.	10.0	20.0	60.0	----	10.0	---
41. Cooperation exists between parents and teachers in regard to homework monitoring.	10.0	40.0	40.0	----	----	10.0
42. Students are given specific feedback on assignments.	----	----	30.0	60.0	---	10.0
43. There is an active parent group in this school.	20.0	60.0	10.0	----	---	10.0
44. Teachers in this school base grading on students' achievement of subject matter rather than students' behavior.	----	----	40.0	60.0	----	----
45. Most students in this school are eager and enthusiastic about learning.	10.0	30.0	50.0	10.0	---	---

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW NO OPINION
	1	2	3	4	5	9
46. Most Hispanic parents demonstrate an interest in the students' education.	----	30.0	40.0	20.0	----	10.0
47. Homework is regularly assigned.	----	20.0	30.0	30.0	----	20.0
48. Most parents have a clear understanding of the school's goals.	10.0	60.0	10.0	10.0	----	10.0
49. Hispanic parents have a clear understanding of the schools goals.	10.0	50.0	20.0	10.0	----	10.0
50. Teachers in this school believe that all students can achieve basic reading skills.	----	30.0	20.0	30.0	10.0	10.0
51. Students from all racial and ethnic backgrounds are represented in all curriculum tracts, including college preparatory.	----	20.0	10.0	30.0	30.0	10.0
52. Students in this school try to succeed in their classes.	----	20.0	50.0	30.0	----	----
53. Teachers stress academic achievement as a priority for their students.	----	10.0	20.0	60.0	10.0	----
54. Staff members enforce the student rules consistently and equitably.	----	30.0	60.0	10.0	----	----
55. Teachers expect that over 95% of students in this school will graduate from H.S.	10.0	70.01	----	20.0	----	----
56. Teachers are held accountable for teaching skills or concepts contained in course outlines.	10.0	10.0	30.0	40.0	----	10.0
57. Hispanic parents frequently initiate contacts w/teachers.	30.0	50.0	20.0	----	----	----

		STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW NO OPINION
		1	2	3	4	5	9
58.	Teachers in this school believe they are responsible for helping students achieve identified standards in each subject area.	----	10.0	30.0	60.0	----	----
59.	Teachers are "tuned" to the educational needs of Hispanics.	10.0	40.0	30.0	20.0	---	---
60.	Teacher role models would benefit Hispanic students.	---	----	----	80.0	20.0	----
61.	The administrators are highly visible throughout the school.	----	20.0	40.0	40.0	----	----
62.	Teachers contact Hispanic parents in this school on a regular basis.	----	30.0	30.0	20.0	----	----
63.	Few discipline problems are referred in the office.	10.0	60.0	20.0	----	----	10.0
64.	In this school parents are aware of the discipline policy.	----	30.0	20.0	40.0	10.0	----
65.	In general, teachers expect almost all of their students to do well on teacher prepared tests.	----	----	20.0	60.0	10.0	10.0
66.	In this school students are assigned academic classes according to ability.	30.0	10.0	20.0	40.0	----	----
67.	I consistently hold high academic expectations for all students.	----	----	50.0	50.0	----	----
68.	Seventy-five percent or more of the parents attend open house or back-to-school night.	40.0	20.0	10.0	20.0	----	----
69.	Teachers at this school invite parents to observe the instructional program.	11.1	44.4	----	22.2	11.1	11.1

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW NO OPINION
	1	2	3	4	5	9
70. Students treat each other respectfully and are not subject to verbal abuse by other students.	20.0	30.0	10.0	40.0	----	----
71. In advanced classes, all ethnic groups are represented.	----	10.0	10.0	20.0	30.0	30.0
72. Multicultural education should be a course offering in this school.	----	10.0	30.0	10.0	30.0	20.0
73. Hispanics and non-Hispanic students inter-relate well in this school.	----	----	10.0	50.0	40.0	----
74. Hispanics and non-Hispanics mix socially in out-of-school events.	----	----	10.0	50.0	40.0	----

I. Gender

Female--70% Male--30%

II. Race

White--80% Black--10% Hispanic--10%

III. Average Number of Years Teaching

20.9 years

IV. Average Number of years teaching in Fennville

15.6 years

V. Age of Respondents

Under 26	---
26 - 30	---
31 - 35	---
36 - 40	40%
41 - 45	10%
46 - 50	30%
51 - 55	10%
Over 55	10%

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
FENNVILLE SCHOOL DISTRICT
PARENT SURVEY

ANALYSIS ABSTRACT - #3

by

Program for Educational Opportunities (PEO)

Research Department

WHAT WE DID

After receiving the data from MDE we did the following:

1. Reviewed each questionnaire for completeness and/or data errors.
2. Assigned unique ID numbers to each questionnaire.
3. Keypunched the data and uploaded to MTS.
4. Read the data into the MIDAS Statistical Analysis program.
5. Performed three different types of descriptive analyses: (a) comparison of negative and positive responses for each item (b) frequency distribution for each item and (c) mean score calculation for each item.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ANALYSES

We present the first analysis in Section II - Initial Findings, parts 2 & 3. This analysis examines the proportion of negative and positive responses for each item. Our analysis uses two different criteria to determine which items suggest a potential school weakness and which a strength.

The second analysis is a frequency distribution for each question. A frequency distribution provides the percentage each unique value contributes to the total. These percentages always sum to 100 percent. These data are presented in Appendix A.

The third analysis is a mean score for each question. This analysis treats each response code as a real number. The mean (average) is derived through a three step process. In step one, we exclude all Don't Know/No opinion respondents. In step two, we sum all remaining response codes. In step three, we divide the total number of remaining respondents by the sum derived in step two. These data are presented in Appendix B.

SECTION I - Initial Analysis

Our initial review of the questionnaire focused on two areas, survey sample size and conceptual groupings.

1. Survey Sample Size

The size of the Fennville Parent Survey sample is substantially larger than the teacher survey sample (n=54). In our analysis of the parent survey we decided to use the same analysis scheme as was used in the teacher survey, even though the sample is large enough to support the use of inferential statistics.

One advantage is that this approach will maintain analysis continuity across studies. In this study descriptive statistics are the primary means of analysis. Unlike the teacher survey, however, less caution is needed when interpreting the findings and more specific conclusions can be drawn from the data.

2. Conceptual Groupings

Our review of the questionnaire revealed numerous conceptual groups. Examples of these groups include, achievement/learning, expectations, parent initiative & support for school, parent-school interaction, teachers, administrators, Hispanic concerns, fairness and discipline. Unfortunately, many questions are not easily categorized and some questions overlap into other categories. In addition, it was difficult to define concise, exclusive categories due to our limited knowledge of the Pennville District and the original conceptual design for the questionnaire. We patterned our analysis scheme to emphasize aspects of the questionniare about which we're certain. We also present the data in such a way that subsequent categorization of items by MDE or school personnel is possible.

SECTION II - Initial Findings

1. Description of Analyses

To simplify the analysis, we designated criteria threshold points to categorize the data. Although the threshold points are arbritrary they are a reasonable heuristic for organizing the data. Our intention in designating threshold points is to identify item responses as either positive or negative, so that some interpretations of school strength and weaknesses can be made. This approach provides data needed to evaluate the general perceptions of the respondents. The first threshold categorizes items with more negative than positive responses. The second threshold categorizes items with less than majority (49.9% or less) positive responses.

2. Analysis One - Items with More Negative than Positive Responses

This analysis groups items as either positive or negative. A negative classification means that more respondents answered negatively than positively. This analysis excludes respondents that answered neutrally (code = 3) or DK/NO (Don't Know/No Opinion or code = 9). For example, on question #2 of the teacher survey 40 percent answered negatively (disagree or strongly disagree), 20 percent answered positively (agree, strongly agree) and 40 percent answered either neutrally or DK/NO. In this case the item classification is negative, even though it has a large proportion of DK/NO responses. Our justification for this threshold is quite simple: a school strength is one in which more people feel positively about it than negatively; a school weakness is one in which the opposite is true.

Table 1 presents survey items categorized as having more negative than positive responses.

TABLE 1

Questionnaire Item #	% Positive	% Negative	Neutral/ % DK/NO
03	16.4	61.9	21.8
04	35.2	44.5	20.4
07	34.5	43.7	21.8
10	35.9	49.0	15.1
16	27.3	32.7	40.0
19	36.3	50.9	12.7
32	19.6	54.9	25.5
42	26.0	55.6	30.2
48	21.8	56.3	21.8
51	29.1	32.7	38.2
52	22.2	61.1	26.7

In total, 11 out of 57 questions (19.0%) can be categorized as having more negative responses than positive. In contrast, 46 out of 57 questions (81.0%) can be categorized as more positive than negative. In many respects this is a positive finding. The issue, however, is to what degree the DK/NO respondents affect this finding. In analysis two we re-evaluate the data using different criteria designed to be more sensitiv to the effects of the DK/NO respondents.

3. Analysis Two - Items with Less Than Majority Positive

In the second analysis we incorporate in our interpretation the neutral and DK/NO respondents. We base this approach on the assumption that neutral and no opinion responses are actualy negative. This is particularly tre in education, where neutrality or lack of knowledge about som school attributes is not desirable. In other words, these respondents are as important to convert to the positive as individuals who consistently answer strongly disagree."

In this analysis we examine those items with less than majority (4.9% or less) positive. This method will describe more clearl the relationship between negative and positive responses.

TABLE 2

Questionnaire Item #	% Positive	% Negative
01	37.0	20.4
02	46.3	27.8
03	16.4	61.9
04	35.2	44.5
07	34.5	43.7
08	40.0	34.6
10	35.9	49.0
12	36.4	30.9
13	49.1	21.8
16	27.3	32.7
17	44.4	27.8
18	47.3	36.4
19	36.3	50.9
23	41.8	30.9
25	36.4	32.8
32	19.6	54.9
34	41.5	26.4
35	40.8	26.4
40	38.9	37.0
41	39.7	30.0
42	26.0	55.6
43	38.9	29.7
47	31.5	22.3
48	21.8	56.3
49	49.1	18.2
51	29.1	32.7
52	22.2	61.1
53	49.1	18.1
54	47.3	12.7
57	41.8	23.6

In total, 30 out of 57 questions (53.0%) are categorized as having less than majority positive responses. In contrast, 27 out of 57 questions (47.0%) are categorized as have majority positive response. This finding, unlike the previous one, indicates parents responses as a group were more negative than positive. In fact, slightly more than half the time parents as a group responded more negatively than positively.

Summary - Next Steps

The questionnaire contains many conceptual themes. Further data evaluations should consider grouping questions by some of thse themes, such as perceptions of teachers, discipline, Hisanic concerns, and fairness (see Section I, part 2). In general, teachers identified a variet of school strengths and weaknesses, the exact proportionof which depended on the criteria used for the analysis. Further investigation may reveal speific themes or areas which consistently produce negative or ositive response. The data presented in Appendix A can help define common themes and question roup. This analysis will alo provide valuable information that can be particularly useful when planning an intervention.

FENNVILLE PARENT SURVEY

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
1. I am satisfied with my child's progress in school.	5.6	14.8	35.2	11.1	25.9	7.4
2. Overall, I think this school is doing a good job educating my child.	11.1	16.7	24.1	20.4	25.9	1.9
3. Parents, students, teachers and principals work together to solve problems.	45.5	16.4	20.0	5.5	10.9	1.8
4. My child's property is secure at this school.	38.9	5.6	14.8	3.7	31.5	5.6
5. My child gets to school on time.	5.7	3.8	3.8	5.7	75.5	5.7
6. To the best of my knowledge students take pride in this school.	9.3	9.3	20.4	14.8	44.4	1.9
7. Teachers stress academic achievement for Hispanic students.	36.4	7.3	18.2	12.7	21.8	3.6
8. Teachers, parents, and administrators share responsibility for maintaining this school.	25.5	9.1	25.5	12.7	27.3	---
9. I would be notified if my child was misbehaving at school.	16.4	9.1	10.9	12.7	47.3	3.6
10. The principal is supportive of parent groups at this school.	35.8	13.2	11.3	15.1	20.8	3.8
11. I am proud to say my child attends this school.	5.5	7.3	32.7	16.4	36.4	1.8
12. Hispanics are proportionately represented in sports.	20.0	10.9	23.6	16.4	20.0	9.1
13. To the best of my knowledge not much class time is lost because of disruptive students	12.7	9.1	27.3	25.5	23.6	1.8

		STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
		1	2	3	4	5	9
14.	I am frequently kept informed about my child's school work.	14.5	16.4	9.1	18.2	41.8	---
15.	I attend open house or back to school night.	7.3	----	21.8	18.2	47.3	5.5
16.	Teachers at this school expect that all students will graduate from high school.	20.0	12.7	9.1	9.1	18.2	30.9
17.	The principal has stated the school's purpose and goals at parent meetings and in the school newsletter.	20.0	16.4	16.4	18.2	29.1	---
18.	My child's teachers contact me to discuss my child's progress.	22.2	5.6	25.9	7.4	37.0	1.9
19.	To the best of my knowledge, teachers at this school have the same level of expectations for academic achievement for students of all ethnic groups.	40.0	10.9	9.1	21.8	14.5	3.6
20.	My child respects the teachers in this school.	3.6	3.6	29.1	12.7	45.5	5.5
21.	I attend school activities, such as sports events, plays, concerts, awards assemblies.	14.8	9.3	18.5	14.8	38.9	3.7
22.	If my child breaks a school rule, I support the teacher in disciplining my child.	1.8	1.8	14.5	9.1	70.9	1.8
23.	There are few ethnic or other group hostilities at this school.	18.2	12.7	23.6	12.7	29.1	3.6
24.	When I have concerns, the administrators at this school are willing to listen to me.	17.0	3.8	18.9	24.5	34.0	1.9

		STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
		1	2	3	4	5	9
25.	I am pleased with the leadership provided by the school principal.	27.3	5.5	21.8	18.2	18.2	9.1
26.	Students are encouraged to participate in school activities.	7.4	9.3	13.0	14.8	50.0	5.6
27.	Teachers at this school are interested and cooperative when I discuss my child's academic progress.	9.1	1.8	25.5	20.0	38.2	5.5
28.	I attend parent-teacher conferences.	1.9	3.8	18.9	22.6	47.2	5.7
29.	I make sure my child's homework is completed.	---	1.9	7.4	20.4	66.7	3.7
30.	I make an effort to be informed about my child's educational progress.	3.8	---	5.7	24.5	64.2	1.9
31.	This school has a written discipline policy.	3.7	---	22.2	18.2	44.4	11.1
32.	My child is treated differently by teachers than other students.	17.6	2.0	21.6	19.6	35.3	3.9
33.	My child enjoys school.	1.9	3.7	22.2	16.7	51.9	3.7
34.	School rules are enforced consistently and fairly.	17.0	9.4	20.8	11.3	30.2	11.3
35.	A written statement of purpose exists for this school.	22.2	3.7	11.1	9.3	31.5	22.2
36.	I participated in this school's parent group.	3.8	7.5	26.4	18.9	41.5	1.9
37.	I feel free to initiate contact with my child's teacher.	5.6	7.4	16.7	27.8	38.9	3.7

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
38. My child is continuously encouraged by teachers to work.	14.8	3.7	20.4	18.5	35.2	7.4
39. Hispanic teachers are needed as role models in school.	1.9	---	5.6	1.9	90.7	---
40. Teachers and staff seem to take a real interest in my child's future.	29.6	7.4	20.4	16.7	22.2	3.7
41. My child is treated with respect by teachers.	22.6	7.5	24.5	20.8	18.9	5.7
42. I have been invited to visit and observe my child's class.	16.7	9.3	16.7	16.7	38.9	1.9
43. It is easy for me to talk to teachers.	16.7	13.0	29.6	9.3	29.6	1.9
44. I expect my child to graduate from high school.	---	---	1.8	5.5	89.1	3.6
45. I am informed about how well my child does on tests.	9.3	9.3	18.5	25.9	31.5	5.6
46. My child has a regular time and place to work on homework.	---	3.6	16.4	18.2	56.4	5.5
47. There is an active parent group at this school.	16.7	5.6	16.7	9.3	22.2	29.6
48. Teachers are "tuned" to the educational needs of Hispanics.	52.7	3.6	14.5	1.8	20.0	7.3
49. I feel my child is learning the skills and knowledge he/she needs to know to prepare him/her for the future.	12.7	5.5	27.3	25.5	23.6	5.5
50. My child is eager and enthusiastic about learning.	---	5.5	25.5	18.2	47.3	3.6

	STRONGLY DISAGREE				STRONGLY AGREE	DON"T KNOW
	1	2	3	4	5	9
51. I would rate this school as superior.	18.2	14.5	29.1	20.0	9.1	9.1
52. The principal keeps parents well informed about the academic program.	44.4	16.7	13.0	11.1	11.1	3.7
53. Teachers in this school base my child's grades on how well he/she performs in a subject.	9.1	9.1	25.5	21.8	27.3	7.3
54. I support the school homework policy.	9.1	3.6	10.9	20.0	27.3	29.1
55. I know the name of the school principal.	30.9	5.5	5.5	3.6	50.9	3.6
56. I expect my child to do well in school.	1.8	---	1.8	16.4	76.4	3.6
57. To the best of my knowledge, my child's teachers will provide additional help when needed.	20.0	3.6	27.3	12.7	29.1	7.3

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