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# Bilingual Education - A Historic and Programmatic Overview

Jens Tillmanns

*University of Texas at El Paso*, jens.tillmanns@web.de

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION –  
A HISTORIC AND PROGRAMMATIC OVERVIEW

JENS U. TILLMANNS

Department of Teacher Education

APPROVED:

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Kerrie Kephart, Ph.D., Chair

---

Elaine Hampton, Ph.D.

---

Elena Izquierdo, Ph.D.

---

Patricia D. Witherspoon, Ph.D.  
Dean of the Graduate School

## **Dedication**

Für Tina

und Helga Tillmanns – ich danke Dir für alles Mama.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION –  
A HISTORIC AND PROGRAMMATIC OVERVIEW

by

JENS U. TILLMANNS, M.A.

THESIS

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## **Abstract**

This study is an archival research for historical understanding documenting historical trends in bilingual education in the United States. Relevant documents and literature were reviewed, analyzed, and coded to form the themes that examine the historical and programmatic development of bilingual education in the United States since its formation. It is particularly important to examine these roots of bilingual education in light of the ongoing political tensions around immigration issues. What historical events have impacted the emergence and shaping of and the resistance to bilingual education in the United States? What political and social forces have impacted the emergence and shaping of and the resistance to bilingual education in the United States?

Upon this background it is necessary to understand the forces that encourage these programs and the ones that prevent them from being implemented and further developed. Those forces included nationalistic and assimilationist ideologies working against bilingual education to implement English-only educational practices. This study gives a deeper understanding of the historic process that led to the current situation of bilingual education in this country. Dual language bilingual education is presented as a possible method to bridge the political positions on bilingual education.

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# **Chapter 1:**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1. General Background**

This study examines the historical and programmatic development of bilingual education in the United States since its formation. It is particularly important to examine these roots of bilingual education in light of the ongoing political tensions around immigration issues. Since the 1980's these tensions have been particularly divisive.

As multiple studies by national and international scholars like Jim Cummins (2003) or James Crawford (1999) show, there is strong evidence for the usefulness of well designed bilingual education as a means to encourage bilingualism, biliteracy, the development of self esteem in minority populations, and thus the promotion of social equality and an equitable democratic education for the two different linguistic groups.

The underlying research questions of this study are:

- a) What historical events have impacted the emergence and shaping of and the resistance to bilingual education in the United States  
and
- b) What political and social forces have impacted the emergence and shaping of and the resistance to bilingual education in the United States?

Upon this background it is necessary to understand the forces that encourage these programs and the ones that prevent them from being implemented and further developed. This

study tries to give a deeper understanding of the historic process that led to the current situation of bilingual education in this country.

Most sources used for this study are monographic studies and journal articles published in peer-reviewed publications. Among the most important sources are the works of Colin Baker (2006), Robert Slavin and Margarita Calderón (2001), Judith Lessow-Hurley (2009), and Fred Genesee (1999), for general overviews on bilingual education and the different bilingual programs. Together with the before mentioned sources James Crawford's work (1999 and 2000) was particularly helpful for the historical background information and the political discussion around bilingual education. For a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural background of the Latino experience I relied especially on the work of Ricardo Stanton-Salazar (2001) and Sofia Villenas (2001 and 2007). In addition to this archival research I was able to apply my personal experiences as a dual language history teacher at a high school in the U.S.-Mexican border region. The personal experiences as a bilingual educator and the participation in academic conferences like the Annual Bilingual Educators Emphasizing and Mastering Standards (BEEMS) conferences at the University of Texas at El Paso have helped to develop an insight into the current discussion of bilingual education and the different educational models.

## **1.2. Rational**

As of 2009, the United States elected Barak Obama, the first president who was not a White male. Mr. Obama is a black American with a multicultural background and a Muslim-sounding name. The Speaker of the House, for the first time in U.S. History was a woman, Nancy Pelosi. In 1990, there were three women serving in the fifty-member U.S. Senate. As of 2010, there were seventeen (United State Senate, 2010). The first Latina was confirmed to serve

on the Supreme Court in 2009. Elena Kagan will probably be confirmed soon. The Supreme Court will be composed of three women and no justices from Protestant religious groups. These changes in representation by women and minorities in leadership in the United States are almost explosive when compared to the White, male dominate, Protestant leadership for all of the country's history.

The later part of the decade 2000 – 2010 was marked by several severe events in the United States. The U.S. economy spun into a recession causing high jobless rates and international economic impact. Hurricane Katrina devastated parts of the South. The Deep Water Horizon oil well broke at the level of the ocean floor causing the worst environmental catastrophe in U.S. history. Two costly and seemingly endless wars were ongoing. Tensions in the country were high as mainstream Americans felt actual or perceived threats to their income level and comfortable life style.

The demographics in the United States are changing as the minority populations are growing at rates that exceed the growth of mainstream White population. As of 2007, the Hispanic population was about 45.5 million. This was an increase of 29 percent from spring of 2000. During this same time, the non-Hispanic population grew by about 4 percent. As of 2007, Hispanics were the largest minority at more than 15 percent of the total U.S. population (Fry, 2008; Minckler, 2008)). Students who were English Language Learners (ELL), that is, speaking a language other than English, comprised 10.5 percent of the nation's K-12 enrollment in 2002. This enrollment was double the enrollment of ELLs of 1990. These ELLs are concentrated in states such as California, Texas, Arizona, Florida, and New Mexico; but almost every state currently is educating these children (National Council of Teachers of English, 2008).

Mainstream White Americans with strong individualistic or nationalistic leanings felt the tensions and noted the rapid changes in positions of leadership away from White males to diverse and multicultural individuals. They saw their schools changing from the Dick and Jane images of the 1950s to classrooms full of children from varied cultures, languages, religions, and traditions. They saw about one in three of their fellow citizens as non White and multicultural.

These rapid demographic and social changes combined with the environmental and economic issues moved many mainstream Americans into a cultural war where they were trying to “defend” their country from these changes, victimizing the changes and the national leadership and burrowing into a conservative position of resistance and nationalism.

### **1.3. Purpose**

Bilingual education has been swept up into these cultural wars. Many mainstream Americans who are not familiar with educational needs in multicultural and multilingual communities, question why all children in the schools shouldn’t be taught only in English. Their thinking includes several understandable doubts. Wouldn’t the country be strengthened and more united if everyone speaks the same language and become acculturated to mainstream U.S. culture? Won’t educational costs be reduced if special programs for second language needs are cut? When not countered, this thinking may result in severe political actions that would cut bilingual programs even further.

Therefore, this study is important in providing a synthesis of the history of bilingual education in its political context. U.S. citizens, especially teachers, who understand this

background and the bigger cultural and national view of bilingual education will be able to counter uninformed thinking and advocate for the important programs that second-language learners in our schools need. In addition to this important support for minorities the development of bilingualism, bi-literacy and multiculturalism can only be an advantage for a country with global trade contacts and a political outreach that is unparalleled.

#### **1.4. Limitations**

Bilingual education is a very wide field. As long as different cultures and languages have come into contact, some forms of bilingualism and resulting forms of bilingual education have existed. This study will focus mainly on bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States of the last 50 years. Within this time frame it will focus on the discussion around bilingual education in the most contested area, the bilingual education in Spanish/English. Because of its social relevance and its connection with the discussions around immigration, this topic is highly politicized.

Being a controversial topic, the danger of bias is paramount. Because of the nature of the discussion, many sources dealing with bilingual education and specific educational models advocate bilingual education and might themselves lead to biased conclusions. The reliance on secondary sources such as monographies and publications of interest groups can have an influence on the evaluation of bilingual education.

Another limiting aspect for a completely neutral and unbiased evaluation is my own personal experience as a dual language teacher on the U.S. Mexican border. Personal experiences and values inevitably influence any scientific approach and have to be acknowledged.

### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

All bilingual education programs are not created equal. Programs for educating children whose home language is other than English vary tremendously over space and time. The causes, purposes, and methods of implementing a bilingual program in colonial times is very different from the causes, purposes, and methods for implementing bilingual education in a school in the southwestern United States in 2010. Then, the implementation of a program in one community in the southwest in 2010 may vary greatly from that in another southwest community in the same year.

This study is significant in that it provides the broad and deep overview of bilingual education in the United States, bringing to bare the current research on the topic. The reader will have a better understanding of these causes and purposes of bilingual education in the historical, social, and political context. Then, the research interprets the different versions of bilingual education in this context and develops an argument for the education community to consider for the implementation of dual language instruction as an educational program that will stand up to much of the criticism and unrest surrounding multicultural education and immigrant education in the country.

### **1.6. Overview**

Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the applied research methodology and the kind of sources that were used for this study. The historical perspective developed in Chapter 3 provides insight into the political actions that have influenced bilingual education for decades. Also evident are some of the underlying reasons for the empowerment of some languages and the

disempowerment of others. In Chapter 4 the question of social identity and empowerment through bilingualism will be discussed upon the background of assimilationist pressures and discriminations. The specific case of the Latino experience in relation to language and education will be discussed here. The programmatic overview in Chapter 5 will examine the outcome of the before mentioned social and historic developments and the usefulness of different educational approaches as well as the latest tendencies in bilingual education. Chapter 6 provides a summary, critical analysis, and recommendations to the field.

## **Chapter 2:**

### **Methodology**

#### **2.1. Research Methodology**

This study is a non experimental research in that there is no attempt made to manipulate an independent variable. More specifically, it is a particular type of qualitative research identified as archival non experimental research (McBurney and White, 2007). This study is an archival research for historical understanding in that it is seeking to document historical trends in bilingual education in the United States.

McBurney and White (2007) define archival research as “research conducted using data that the researcher has no part in collecting, other than searching archives, depositories, and web-based resources.” Archival data are those that are present in existing records, in contrast to data that are generated through research activity with individuals as the participants.

In archival research, the traditional literature review is incorporated into the body of documents that are considered in the study. Traditional documents that compose a literature review, such as previous research studies and writings by recognized leaders in the field, now become a part of the body of the study as they substantiate and uphold other documents such as news reports of historical events and databases or school district reports.



## **2.2. Data Sources and Mode of Analysis**

The data sources for qualitative research rely heavily on text analysis. In this archival research for a historical perspective, the data sources are primary and secondary data sources. Primary sources include sources such as ethnographic data or interviews or conversations with individuals that inform case studies as well as web based sources. Examples of secondary sources are journal articles published in peer-reviewed publications and monographic studies examining bilingual education over decades, as communities and schools encounter situations that call for the need for some or all of their public to receive education in a language different from their home language. In this study of the emergence of bilingual education in the United States, the document sources included peer reviewed articles, monographic studies, journal articles and web based resources.

Yang and Miller (2008) define archives as rich sources of documents, pictures, maps, and other materials. The mode of analysis for archival research in a historical perspective may be similar to other forms of qualitative data analysis. The texts must be read, interpreted, coded, and arranged into themes. The data in this study were categorized and combined in several iterations as the thematic structure emerged. Cross checking of the process was conducted with the thesis advisor.

In any qualitative study, the researcher must deal with internal validity. Analysis of the text generated by the qualitative researcher seeks to uncover convergent lines of inquiry that are pulled from the multiple pieces of evidence. Hill (1993) discusses archival strategies and techniques. He describes the iterative process used to extract and analyze data from the documents. One document may seem less significant until it is viewed in light of documents that are discovered later in the research process. Two points in particular that he posits as problems

for archival researchers are the “seductive concreteness of tertiary sedimentations” and “bracketing the perspective of the present to understand the past” (p. 64). The first problem, phrased as the seductive concreteness, refers to the tendency of a researcher to interpret printed documents as fact and overlook the possibility that some sources can be fabrications or perhaps interesting items that are not significant. Hill suggests viewing these sources as anchors more than events in a timeline. This interpretation, along with that of bracketing the present perspectives to help interpret the past, allow for a more general interpretation that goes through several iterations in the document review process until a big picture emerges that forms the structure for the themes that are reported.

## **Chapter 3:**

### **Bilingualism and Bilingual Education in the USA - A Historical Overview**

#### **3.1. Beginnings**

Bilingualism (the ability to communicate in two or more languages) is not a new phenomenon, rather it's as old as the contact between different language groups and it was common in antiquity. The spread of Greek and Latin around the Mediterranean during the classical era, or the use of Latin in Western-European education throughout the Middle Ages are just some examples of bilingualism which often resulted in bilingual education (Black, 2001). Throughout the world today we find numerous multilingual countries. Some like Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, Paraguay, China, or India are even officially bilingual.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century immigration and westward expansion brought also a wide linguistic diversity to the United States. Indigenous languages of Native Americans, languages of early settlements of mainly European immigrants and the Spanish speaking populations of the newly annexed Mexican territories enriched the linguistic diversity of the new country. This diversity was initially met with relative tolerance and the presence of different languages was reflected not only in churches and foreign language newspapers but also in schools. The first school operating in the mother tongue of German immigrants was opened in Philadelphia in 1694 (Crawford, 1999).

Different immigrant communities and Native Americans used English along with their mother tongue for instruction. Judith Lessow-Hurley points out that these efforts were academically successful early on. Students used their heritage language in school and learned academic content while they acquired proficiency of the country's increasingly dominant English

language. As a result of this bilingual instruction, by 1854 the Oklahoma Cherokee had a higher English literacy level than the white populations of either Arkansas or Texas (Lessow-Hurley, 2009).

Given the large number of German immigrants to the United States most of the bilingual schools of the 19<sup>th</sup> century taught in English and German and were located in the Midwest where large groups of central European immigrants settled, but there are also examples of bilingual education in Polish, Dutch, Italian and Spanish. The newly created Territory of New Mexico authorized bilingual instruction in 1850 (Crawford, 1999).

### **3.2. Expansion and Nativism**

But while bilingualism and bilingual education of European immigrants was tolerated until the latter decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the situation for Spanish speakers in most parts of the newly conquered Southwest was different. The incorporation of Texas and the annexation of another 525,000 square miles of former Mexican territories in 1848 brought a Spanish speaking conquered minority into the United States. They were a population that did not choose to be part of this country and understandably were more reluctant to give up their culture and linguistic heritage (Garcia Bedolla, 2005). Soon after the annexation of the Southwest, Spanish speakers began to be discriminated against. Among many other discriminatory measures, California mandated English-only instruction in 1855, and language became a justification to segregate Mexican-American students. In some parts of the Southwest, this segregation happened on religious grounds. While many New Mexican Spanish speakers continued to be instructed in Spanish in private Catholic schools, the newly arrived, mainly Protestant, Anglo settlers tended to use the new public schools (Meyer 1996). After the introduction of English-only instruction

throughout New Mexico in 1915, segregation was justified with the argument that the joint instruction of predominantly Spanish speaking students and Anglo students would impede the academic progress of the latter (Manchaca & Valencia, 1990).

Early on it was clear that the maintenance of some languages was preferred over others. Ruiz (1988) points out that the languages of economically successful Western Europeans who were ethnically similar to the dominant Anglo-Americans were tolerated while the languages of poorer and disenfranchised groups like Native Americans and newly conquered Mexicans were discriminated against.

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century even this selective linguistic tolerance gave way to a more nationalistic approach. With a growing influx of non-English speaking, southern and eastern European, and Catholic immigrants, a rising wave of xenophobia led to an increasingly less tolerant language policy. More and more Americans believed that immigrants posed a menace to their way of life. This notion included also the question of language. Not only bilingual education but bilingualism itself then became a focus of nationalistic and nativistic feelings. Maintaining “the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race” (p.174) and its language became the driving motivation for Nativists in their struggle against bilingual education (Kraut, 2001).

As a result, after WWI, during which the use of the German language became highly stigmatized and many Germans where anxious to Americanize culturally and linguistically as fast and thoroughly as possible in order to not be identified with the World War I enemy, a majority of states mandated English as the only language of instruction, and the English language was imposed on language minorities throughout the United States. In many states school children were required to take language loyalty oaths (Linton, 2004). In the state of Texas students were then forced to speak English even on the playground, and until the late

1960s, “Spanish detention” was a feared practice in Texan schools. These assimilationist pressures were strong and led many second and third generation Latinos to shift to English monolingualism (Portes & Hao, 1998). Linton (2004) points out that Nebraska even prohibited the instruction of any foreign language before the 9<sup>th</sup> grade during this time of anti-bilingual and anti-foreigner hysteria.

Pennsylvania State University professor Lourdes Diaz Soto defines this imposition of language and cultural norms as colonization. She points out that the assimilationist pressures are rooted in the fear of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants of losing their dominant role. Bilingualism was and is seen as a threat to their economic power and their ability to define the cultural norms of American society (Soto, 1997).

President Theodore Roosevelt saw bilingualism as a “symptom of divided loyalties” (Crawford, 2000, p.21) and suggested sending immigrants who don’t learn English within five years back to their former home country. Even in the new colonies of Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines English-only instruction was introduced. The outcome was devastating. According to a 1925 study 84 percent of Puerto Rican students dropped out before 4<sup>th</sup> grade (Crawford, 2000).

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, academia assisted this nativistic backlash; studies supported the idea that bilingualism was the cause of mental retardation and that the retention of a foreign language and the lack of English language skills were signs of intellectual inferiority. Ethnocentrist IQ testing provided further “proof” of the inferiority of bilingual immigrants (Portes & Hao, 1998).

Post WWI isolationism also led to tough restrictions on immigration. The immigration of non-English-speaking Europeans was limited and Asian immigration was completely stopped. At

the same time the southern borders were still easy to cross and a major influx of Mexican immigrants could not be stopped.

Only in 1957 when the Soviet Union launched the first satellite into space and thereby shocked the competing superpower, did the United States start to question the quality of the nation's education. The 1958 National Defense and Education Act promoted among other changes the learning of foreign languages. Something considered unnecessary and even un-American in previous decades was now considered essential to national defense.

Not only did the Cold War revalue the learning of foreign languages, it also fathered the first dual language school: in 1963 Cuban middle class exiles expecting to return soon to their Caribbean Island established Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County, Florida. The need to maintain their mother tongue for an eventual return after the overthrow of Castro was seen with sympathy and bilingual education was now supported by staunch anti-communists and conservatives (Baker, 2006). Coral Way offered bilingual instruction for both Spanish and non-Spanish speaking students. The first dual language program of the United States was born.

### **3.3. Multicultural Opening**

The 1960's brought more dramatic change to American policy. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 ended the racist immigration quota system of keeping non white immigrants out of the USA. The playing field for immigrants was now leveled and subsequently millions of non European immigrants entered the United States. This changed the ethnic composition of the country dramatically and also brought more linguistic diversity. At the same time the black civil rights movement and the Chicano movement brought discrimination of racial and ethnic minorities to the attention of national and World opinion. The Supreme Court case

Brown vs. Board of Education made school segregation unconstitutional and opened the United States to a more equitable and democratic education. According to studies of the Civil Rights Commission, one of the most important issues within the Hispanic community was bilingual education (Sheperd, 1991).

Part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society project – a liberal reaction to the increasing social mobilization of minorities and students – was the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. Introduced by Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough this law provided funds for bilingual education and opened the way for a massive expansion of different bilingual school programs. This was a reaction to the poor preparation of Mexican American students - at that time 80 percent of Texas Spanish speakers graders had to repeat the first grade because they simply couldn't follow instruction in a language they did not speak (Davies, 2002). An additional support for bilingual education was provided in 1974 by the United States Supreme Court decision in the Lau vs. Nichols case. The decision acknowledged the right of equal access to education for all students regardless of their inability to speak English. In the following 15 years all states allowed bilingual education, and in nine states some form of bilingual education was even mandated for English Language Learners (Lessow-Hurley, 2009).

### **3.4. Neo-Nativism and Some Hope**

This return to bilingual education was not applauded unanimously, and a fierce debate broke out over the role of languages in the American society. As a part of this “culture war” of conflicting cultural values immigrant groups, Mexican-American activists and liberal politicians supported a more multicultural approach. They called for the introduction of bilingual education for speakers of minority languages not only to help them to succeed in school, but also to



maintain or even further develop their heritage language. Conservatives opposed such language maintenance programs strongly. In 1978 a resurging opposition to language plurality in the USA led to a new shift in language policy (Crawford, 1999). Transitional bilingual education continued to be funded, but no federal funds were allocated for maintenance bilingual education programs. This policy shift against bilingualism was also felt in Dade County where the first dual language program had been successfully established. After the Mariel boatlift in 1980 and the arrival of more than 100.000 poorer Cubans, Dade County passed extremely restrictive English-only legislation. As a consequence Coral Way discontinued its dual language program. According to James Crawford (2000) Dade County was willing to support wealthy Cuba immigrants with bilingual education but refused to do the same for poorer and darker immigrants of this later migratory influx from the neighboring Caribbean island.

A neo conservative backlash against bilingual education came with the Reagan Administration in 1980. The new President opposed bilingual education openly and encouraged states to limit bilingual education. In 1987 California ended its mandate for bilingual education (Lessow-Hurley, 2009). Anti-immigration movements and assimilationists like the newly founded “U.S. English Movement” managed to dismantle bilingual programs in the late 1990s and early 2000s in California, Arizona, and even in Massachusetts, the first state to mandate bilingual education as early as 1971. Ferguson (2004) points out California’s proposition 227, the so-called “English for the Children” initiative of 1998 as the most serious setback to bilingual education. The proposition was approved by a large majority of Californian voters and replaced most bilingual programs with “sheltered English immersion.” Instruction now had to be delivered overwhelmingly in English: after students attained a minimal knowledge of English they had to be transferred to mainstream classrooms (Crawford, 1999). Various scholars call this

“sink-or-swim” approach sarcastically “submersion” instead of immersion (Baker, 2006; Crawford, 1999; Ferguson, 2004; Lessow-Hurley, 2009).

After a more liberal approach during the Clinton years and a reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act in 1994, the NCLB (No Child Left Behind) Act of 2001 encouraged English-only education through mandatory assessment in English (Baker, 2006). Title VII, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, was eliminated and tellingly replaced by the English Language Acquisition Act (Crawford, 2002).

This assimilationist policy was expression of a conservative reaction to an increasingly multicultural nation. The fear of some sectors of the American society of immigration and cultural plurality was most eloquently expressed by Harvard scholar Samuel Huntington (2004) in his controversial *Foreign Policy* essay, “The Hispanic Challenge.” In it, he claims that “the single most serious challenge to America’s traditional identity comes from the immense and continuing immigration from Latin America, especially from Mexico” (p.32). This is why he advocates for initiatives to prevent the transformation of the United States into a “two-language country” (p.38). He does not argue against bilingual education on educational grounds, but on the contrary points out that bilingualism leads to economic success, which would put non-bilingual Americans at a disadvantage. In order to protect the dominant role of a an “Anglo-Protestant society,” (p.45) he openly attacks not only bilingual education in general but specifically dual language programs that combine language minority and language majority students in order to develop bilingualism in both.

Slavin and Calderón (2001) point out that “the education of language minority students is constantly embroiled in controversy” and that “the use of languages other than English for

instructional purposes continues to be perceived as a threat to national security or some un-American activity”.

While Democratic administrations have tended to support bilingual education and a more liberal opening towards a multicultural society, Republicans have tended to be more nationalistic and have favored the English-only approach. Consequently there are high hopes among proponents of bilingual education that the new Obama Administration will support bilingual education (Jimenez & Krikorian, 2008).

Since the states have the ultimate responsibility for education, there is a confusingly wide spectrum of language policies present in the United States today. Some states continue to support bilingual education, while others have taken actions to limit bilingual programs. But even in states that oppose bilingual education as a help for English as a Second Language (ESL) students, there continue to be two-way bilingual programs (Burdick-Will & Gomez, 2006).

After pointing out that the dominant tendency of the United States language policy continues to be assimilationist Ferguson (2004) describes the increase of such dual language programs as a positive opposing tendency. He also refers to a more diverse range of bilingual programs being offered to minority and majority language speakers. In the fifth chapter I describe these programs.

### **3.5. Chapter Summary Response to Research Questions**

This chapter responds to research question A: What historical events have impacted the emergence and shaping of the resistance to bilingual education in the United States. Bilingual experiences in schools were common in the late 1600s and early 1700s as immigrants from many countries were arriving in the country with varied home languages. However, bilingual learning

experiences in schools were tolerated for European immigrants, but Spanish speakers in the Southwest were discriminated against. This vast expanse of land was added to the United States as a result of a war with Mexico. Since the land was previously Mexican, the residents were now forced to give up their culture and language to assimilate to their conquerors. A xenophobic feel grew in the country around the early 1900s as more immigrants came from southern Europe and non-protestant countries; rooted in the fear of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants of losing their dominant role (Soto, 1997). The World Wars only contributed to ethnocentric sentiment and following political actions to enforce English only. After the Russians launched the first satellite and the Cuban missile crisis occurred, the nation began support some forms of bilingual education; and wealthy Cuban immigrants who were seen as vital in overthrowing Castro were provided with the first bilingual school in Florida.

The chapter also addresses research question B: What political and social forces have impacted the emergence and shaping of and the resistance to bilingual education in the United States? Since the beginning of the first bilingual program in Florida, bilingual education has been batted around in the political match between conservative leadership with a more nationalistic feeling and liberal leadership with more multicultural and global goals.

The following chapter provides more information about these political and social forces of assimilation pressures, discrimination and inequities.

## **Chapter 4:**

### **Language and the Latino experience**

#### **4.1. Assimilationist Pressures**

In her study of Latina mothers in North Carolina, Villenas (2001) underlines the importance of traditional values within the Latino families and communities. Although the Latino experience has been one of cultural resistance and pride, assimilationist change has also transformed this community and changed its values. One of the mothers interviewed by Villenas comments that “the change is more difficult when the children grow up and *se acostumburan*, they get used to life here...” (p.42).

Better living conditions and more opportunity for the next generation seem to be common motivations in the Latino immigrant experience. Various researchers mention the great importance that better educational opportunities and the resulting social mobility have for immigrant families. But this potential economic benefit often comes at the price of loss of cultural identity. The assimilationist pressures are strong and lead in many second and third generation Latinos to a shift to English monolingualism (Portes & Hao, 1998).

To prevent this loss of identity and as a tool for empowerment, Latino communities have long struggled for the recognition of their language and culture as a distinct way of life that does not merge completely with the Anglo mainstream. This concept of difference is enforced by language maintenance and cultural pride.

The problems that assimilation poses to ethnic minorities were analyzed by Thompson in his 2003 review of ethnographic field studies. Thompson describes the identity struggles of Chinese immigrants in Canada who confronted an “authentic dilemma” (p.97) by assimilating

into the Euro-American society. While the dominant culture is subconsciously rooted in “whiteness” (p.97), the loss of language and native culture of non-white immigrants can thus lead to a form of self-denial and a marginal self-concept of non-white assimilated immigrants. In order to mitigate the negative effects of this dilemma, Thompson proposes the creation of positive double identities which require “competent bilingual and bicultural skills” (p.98). In his essay he advocates for a “sweeping policy of bilingualism and biculturalism that would be required of all students” (p.98) in order to expose the entire society to multicultural and bilingual understanding.

#### **4.2. Discrimination and Resistance**

Latino working class immigrants are exposed to multiple forms of discrimination and racism (Villenas, 2007). This often subtle discrimination is strongly felt in schools, where a wide range of factors contribute to under average performance of Latino immigrant youth. Powerless immigrant students are often not a priority of school administrations and teachers. They are assigned to lower level classes that they sometimes already have completed in their country of origin (Suarez-Orozco, 1987). In this context the language of instruction plays an important role. Many working class ESL students face a watering down of their school curricula to match the perceived or identified weaknesses of these students. The advantages of building up on previous learning and the transfer that learning in their first language could give immigrant students has not always been capitalized on, and their educational development, as a result, has been unnecessarily hindered (Moll & Diaz, 1987).

Even though many immigrant students have a level of literacy that makes them proficient learners in their first language, these advantages are often neglected and students' progress is slowed by segregating ESL students into instructional tracks that hinder their learning progress and exclude them from the necessary education for future social mobility (Godina, 2004).

Various ethnographic studies analyze ways how immigrant families cope with educational, economic, cultural, and linguistic discriminations and show successful resources that are used by immigrant families to support their children during their education and to resist mainstream pressures (Menard-Warwick, 2007; Suarez-Orozco, 1987; Villenas, 2007). Delgado-Gaitán (1994) describes the empowerment of Latino families in a rural Californian community who supported each other in their struggle with ethnocentric and discriminating schools. The communities' needs were addressed and through organized mutual support it was possible to change the school boards policies. Over the years this led to the employment of more bilingual counsellors, administrators, and teachers. By organizing their struggle for better learning conditions and communication, the parents managed to build up their own organizations and had a very positive impact on the instructional opportunities of their children. This collaborative solidarity empowered the community and improved both the learning conditions for immigrant students and the communication between parents and school. Ethnographic research has allowed the process of this development to be better understood so that it can now function as a model for community organizers and other agents of change.

In his study of Central American immigrants Suarez-Orozco (1987) analyzes the psychosocial and cultural context of immigrant motivation. The particularly hard struggle of immigrants from civil war torn Central America during the 1980's is an example of especially strong family ties and solidarity. The highly motivated refugees saw in their migration a unique

opportunity for themselves and their families. Compared with the “*castelike* minorities, such as Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Native Americans” (p.288) Suarez-Orozco observes a more motivated and successful experience in the Central American immigrants. This observation suggests that the interiorized, long-lasting discrimination of the above mentioned minorities led to a lower degree of motivation and to a tendency toward resignation. Important new research questions arise from these observations. What are the cultural components or impediments for motivation and success?

In his study of social support networks and help-seeking experiences of low-income Mexican-descent students, Stanton-Salazar (2001) offers an important clue to this question with his concept of *confianza*, which “translates roughly into the trust experience within a particular interpersonal relationship” (P.26). The lack of *confianza* arising from experiences of discrimination, ethnocentric concepts within both communities, Latino and mainstream, and often lacking support networks explain some of the educational problems of working-class Latino students. At the same time this ethnographic and statistical research offers important clues for an understanding of Latino school alienation and the importance of community building.

Various authors insist on the importance of community building and support networks. This importance of community is often presented as opposed to the individualistic character of the mainstream culture. Latino immigrants are proud of their cultural heritage and of their tight family and community ties. But this does not prevent the communities from coming under the individualistic pressure of mainstream culture and the menace of disintegration through this influence.



#### **4.3. Bilingualism as a Source of Identity and Empowerment**

As discussed in the previous chapter, the political conflict underlying the discussion about Bilingual education ultimately is a struggle between a more multicultural and multilingual concept of the nation and a monolingual English-speaking assimilationist one. Traditionally the United States has had the tendency to assimilate immigrants quickly into the monolingual mainstream. Monolingualism itself was seen as the normal and ideal way to be. Bilingualism was not desired and often viewed with suspicion (Valdes, 2003).

But although bilingual education continues to be under a lot of political pressure in various states, it has made headway since the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the multicultural discourse of the 1980's and 90's. Even in states that oppose bilingual education as a help for ESL students, there continues to be two-way bilingual programs that combine language minority and language majority students in order to develop bilingualism in both groups (Burdick-Will & Gomez, 2006).

The awareness that languages are best learned as a medium of content rather than as the focus of instruction has gained ground. While bilingual education originally had the purpose to enable ESL students to learn English as fast as possible while being instructed in their heritage language in order to achieve academically at the same time (Masemann, 1978), the importance of maintenance of the heritage language and the development of biliteracy seem to be stronger today (Potowski, 2004) .

In an interesting ethnographic study, Janet Fuller (2007) studied the importance of language for the construction of personal and group identity. Students used their bilingual abilities to create identity through the use of language and code-switching between languages. Using English and Spanish, their participation in United States mainstream culture was coupled

with their Mexican heritage, which they did not want to give up. The bilingual proficiency gave them a possibility to bridge the two cultural spheres and to combine them participating actively in both and creating positive identities in both languages while receiving meaningful instruction in both languages.

Fuller underlines the importance of language for identity construction and the complexity of identity in a bilingual and bicultural context. The same conclusion is reached by Montero-Sieburth and LaCelle-Peterson (1991) who emphasize the role that bilingual education can play in the empowerment of Latino immigrants. The example of a Puerto Rican woman who was able to maintain her bilingualism and developed a strong cultural connectedness and pride in her identity through bilingual education contrasts with the experiences of some of her family members who were not educated in bilingual programs and who lost their connection with Puerto Rico and the ability to speak Spanish. Ethnographic research studies such as these have been able to reveal the empowering force of language maintenance and the usefulness of bilingual education as a means of this empowerment.

This is particularly important in bicultural and bi-national communities along the U.S.-Mexican border. Here the understanding and evaluation of multidimensional issues gives particular opportunities to bicultural and bilingual individuals. Beyond the question of cultural identity, bilingualism and biculturalism are able to empower Latino populations in a globalized marketplace. This is especially true in the border region with its multiple economic and social challenges (Slavin & Calderón, 2001).

#### **4.4. Inequity and Possible Solutions**

Hispanic students overall have lower success rates on formal tests than mainstream White students, and their drop-out rates are higher than White students. In most states Hispanic drop-out rates are around 25 percent. The National Assessment of Educational Progress reports consistently show that Hispanic students' average performance on state and national tests remains significantly below that of White students in all grade levels and all subject areas. Two reasons given for these performance gaps are socioeconomic status and language (NCES, 2007; Knapp & Woolverton, 1995).

Several researchers have examined the inequity reported above by looking at schools where Hispanics are experiencing success. Robert Slavin and Margarita Calderon led an extensive research project on programs in schools across the nation that provided evidence of success for Latino students. Their report on *Effective Programs for Latino Students* was published in 2001. This study spun out of the *Hispanic Dropout Project* that was initiated by New Mexico Senator Pete Domenici and commissioned by U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley in 1995. Walter Seceda and others searched the nation for schools where there were high numbers of Hispanic students with strong success in the public schools. They examined these schools and found common programs that led to success.

They found that programs that worked viewed the Hispanic children's cultural, personal, and linguistic experiences as assets rather than detriments and built school and community programs based in these strengths. Factors that led to high dropout rates included overcrowded and unsafe schools; teachers who did not have training and experience in working with Hispanics, lowered academic expectations, and a disconnect with families and Hispanic communities.

Slavin states that most Hispanic students who enter U.S. schools are proficient in English. For those students who are not yet proficient in English, only about half have access to bilingual education for various reasons such as political actions against bilingual education, parent preference, and lack of qualified bilingual teachers.

Slavin and Calderón's study examined programs that showed success based on rigorous evaluations in comparison to control groups and on the program's ability to be replicated in other schools. Among their findings were pedagogy practices such as various cooperative learning strategies, tutoring, and study groups. Formal curricula that proved successful included Cognitive Guided Instruction, the Profile Approach to Writing, Comprehensive School Mathematics, Multicultural Reading and Thinking. Family support and early interventions including Head Start were also cited as tools that enhanced success.

Slavin cited a program called Success for All / Éxito Para Todos as one of the most extensively evaluated programs. These evaluations from hundreds of schools consistently provide strong evidence of success. The curricula incorporates many of the indicators listed above and has the Spanish curriculum appropriate for bilingual education.

#### **4.5. Summary Response to Research Question**

This chapter provides information about research question B: What political and social forces have impacted the emergence and shaping of and the resistance to bilingual education in the United States? Thompson and others have shown that assimilation often leads immigrants into mainstream U.S. identity but at the cost of their cultural identity which can cause self-denial

and marginal self-concept. Suarez-Orozco and others report on school practices which are discriminatory to Latino immigrant youth such as watered-down curriculum and being assigned to lower level classes leading to a lack of *confianza*. This discrimination is documented in the studies by Slavin, Collier, and others highlighting the gaps in achievement between mainstream U.S. students and Latino students. These and other studies show the power of bilingual education to close those gaps.

The following chapter examines the political and social influences that affected the design of the various bilingual programs in the nation. Under the prevailing assimilationist political pressures, bilingual education is tolerated if it is designed to eliminate the home language and replace it with English. Under more liberal leadership, bilingual programs that support maintaining the home language while learning English tend to be more tolerated and sometimes are allowed to expand.

## **Chapter 5:**

### **Different Models of Bilingual Education**

Given the variety of bilingual education programs that exist, there is a confusing quantity of names and labels for the different variations. Baker (2006) lists ten different kinds of bilingual education but mentions Mackey's "typology of bilingual education" (p.213) with 90 different varieties. In order to give a clearer idea about the meaning of bilingual education and the different educational programs that use to some extent two languages a variety of general typologies have been offered (e.g. Genesee, 1999; Baker, 2006; Lessow-Hurley, 2009).

Baker (2006) distinguishes mainly between "(1) education that uses and promotes two languages and (2) relatively monolingual education for language minority children" (p.213). He underlines that the first approach fosters bilingualism, while the second educates students without fostering their bilingualism and focuses mainly on the development of student's proficiency in English. He criticizes the ambiguity of the term bilingual education itself and like Lessow-Hurley (2009) offers as a distinction the categories maintenance bilingual education (MBE) and transitional bilingual education (TBE). While Genesee (1999) and Ferguson (2004) also use the term transitional bilingual education, they choose to refer to maintenance bilingual education as developmental bilingual education. The rationale here is political, while the term MBE stresses the maintenance of the first language, the second emphasizes the long-term linguistic, academic, and cognitive development of English Language Learners and avoids the "negative political association linked to the notion of first language maintenance" (Genesee, 1999, p.24).

But the term developmental bilingual education makes sense out of another rationale: While maintenance bilingual education can only refer to language minority students who study in their heritage language (the one they intend to maintain) and the majority language, the term developmental bilingual education can refer to language minority students who maintain their heritage language and acquire English, as well as to language majority students who learn a foreign language through classroom immersion (Lessow-Hurley, 2009). I choose to refer to bilingual programs that intend to foster bilingualism and biliteracy as developmental bilingual education (DBE).

The difference between these two major categories (TBE and DBE) lies in the different roles of the used languages and in the social and cultural goals underlying these programs.

### **5.1. Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)**

Baker (2006) points out that aim of TBE is assimilation into the cultural and linguistic mainstream. The native language of the pupil is used only as a support until it can be replaced by the majority language English. In the case of the United States it aims exclusively at ESL students and provides them with academic instruction in their first language while they are learning English. Typically students exit from these programs in three years or less. The goal of TBE is not the development of bilingualism and biliteracy but exclusively the development of English language proficiency. TBE does not strengthen the cultural identity of students, rather it aims toward assimilating them into the cultural mainstream of the United States. As students learn English, gradually the use of the heritage language is phased out (Genesee, 1999). TBE doesn't lead to an additive bilingualism: it is subtractive. The linguistic goal is English monolingualism. The heritage language is only used to achieve this goal. Skutnabb-Kangas

(2000) argues that the resulting language shift, that is, the loss of the heritage language, is intentional on the part of governments.

Lessow-Hurley (2009) points out that these kinds of programs are still much better than a direct immersion/submersion of ESL students into mainstream instruction in English, but they fail to develop true bilingualism and biliteracy. She also criticizes the short duration of most TBE programs. Students are expected to develop mastery in their second language within three years.

Explaining the theoretical rationale of using the student's primary language for instruction while developing their English language proficiency Genesee (1999) cites Cummins' and Krashen's studies which show that students learn best in the language they understand best. Thus teaching in the student's primary language ensures their grade appropriate academic development while they are improving their English language skills. The knowledge and skills acquired during their primary language instruction can be transferred to make later English language input more comprehensible without falling behind while students are learning English.

Various authors (e.g. Baker, 2006; Ferguson, 2004) describe TBE as a "weak" form of bilingual education because it doesn't lead to full bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism. Their final goal is the development of English proficiency and the mainstreaming of minority language speakers.

Portes and Hao (1998) call this form of bilingual education "subtractive" (p.290) bilingualism because the native language is replaced by a new language.



## **5.2. Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE)**

As an alternative to the former “weaker” approach to bilingual education there are various forms of a “stronger” approach (Ferguson, 2004, p.47). Here the goal of bilingual education is bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism. Portes and Hao (1998) refer in this case to “additive” bilingualism. They mention the studies of Cummins (1976) and Hakuta (1986), according to which “positive cognitive and educational effects are associated with additive bilingualism, but not with the subtractive kind” (Portes & Hao, 1998, p.290).

Within this category there are three main kinds of programs:

- a) the afore-mentioned Maintenance Bilingual Education
- b) Immersion Bilingual Education
- and
- c) Dual Language Bilingual Education

### **5.2.1. Maintenance Bilingual Education**

Baker (2006) calls this “strong form” of bilingual education heritage language bilingual education, a kind of program where “minority children use their native, ethnic, home or heritage language in the school as a medium of instruction with the goal of full bilingualism” (p.238). An important motive for these programs is the build-up of cultural self esteem which enhances academic and personal achievement (Lessow-Hurley, 2009).

Given the aforementioned history of Spanish language discrimination, this approach is particularly important within the Hispanic community. This kind of education can help students develop a positive collective identity and overcome the negative attributions that have affected Hispanic self image for generations (Garcia Bedolla, 2005).

Genesee (1999) points out that although a so called one-way program only includes native minority language speakers, diversity in these programs is not uncommon. “A single class (..) might include Hispanic students who were born and raised in the United States but speak virtually no English when they first enroll, Hispanic students who are already proficient bilingual, and recent Spanish-speaking immigrants...” (p.19).

### **5.2.2. Immersion Bilingual Education**

This form of bilingual education has its roots in Quebec, Canada during the mid 1960's, where a group of English speaking, middle class parents advocated for French language immersion classes for their children. According to Baker (2006) the aims were “(1) to become competent to speak, read and write French; (2) to reach normal achievement levels throughout the curriculum including the English language; (3) to appreciate the traditions and culture of French speaking Canadians as well as English speaking Canadians” (p.245).

Subsequent studies, namely by Cummins (1983), found very positive results from these kind of programs. Not only was normal achievement reached, this form of bilingual education exceeded all expectations by turning out to be academically successful while producing high levels of bilingualism. Cummins (1983) points out, that participants of the program developed not only French proficiency but that their English proficiency was more highly developed than the one of students in monolingual English speaking classes. Students also tended to develop a “higher sensibility to interpersonal communication than monolingual children” (p.120).

### **5.2.3. Dual Language Bilingual Education**

Many scholars agree that the strongest and most successful form of bilingual education is dual language (or two way immersion - TWI) bilingual education (Baker, 2006; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Crawford, 1999; Ferguson, 2004; Lessow-Hurley, 2009). Ideally this form of bilingual education includes language minority and language majority students in approximately equal numbers. These programs should be open to all students who wish to enroll and typically also include language majority students who have lost their family's heritage language and wish to learn it with the help of such a program. Both languages are used for instruction. The aim of such programs is the development of full bilingualism and biliteracy in both student groups. This goal is achieved by using both languages for instruction.

The oldest TWI program was founded in the early 1960's in Dade County Florida (see Chapter 2.2.). Since then the number of dual language programs has been growing steadily, and as of June 2, 2009, the Center for Applied Linguistics Directory lists 346 programs in 27 states (plus D.C.) (<http://www.cal.org/twi/directory/index.html>). More than 90 percent of the listed programs pair English with Spanish.

According to Baker (2006) and Lessow-Hurley (2009), successful United States dual language programs tend to share various features:

- a) All students, majority and minority language speakers, are integrated in all lessons. The environment of instruction is additive and gives all students the opportunity to learn as second language.
- b) During each class period in high school only one language is used. Language is thereby primarily learned through content. In some schools languages are alternated on a daily basis. In other schools, different subjects use different languages.

- c) A minority language is emphasized during the early grades and is later used for at least 50 percent of instruction that lasts for up to six years.
- d) Parents and communities are engaged and involved. Strong and positive relationships with the school are developed.
- e) Instruction emphasizes core academics and is excellent.

Genesee (1999) additionally points out the importance of administrative support: “Interest on the part of parents and teachers, while necessary, is not enough. Principals, resource specialists, and superintendents should all understand and support the program” (p.34).

In a typical 90/10 TWI program model 90 percent of the instruction is given in Spanish during Kindergarten and first grade. Literacy is initially developed in Spanish. In the following years English language instruction increases by 10 percent each grade. By fifth grade both languages, English and Spanish, are used during 50 percent of the school day. In the first years of instruction the minority language Spanish is stressed. Through this language distribution English - speaking students can be immersed without losing their native language, while preventing the Spanish speakers from losing their fluency from not hearing enough Spanish (the minority language) in the first years.

<i>Example of a 90/10 program</i>			<i>Example of a 50/50 program</i>		
	percent of instruction in the partner language	percent of instruction in English		percent of instruction in the partner language	percent of instruction in English
K	90	10	K	50	50
1	80	20	1	50	50
2	70	30	2	50	50
3	60	40	3	50	50
4	50	50	4	50	50
5	50	50	5	50	50

Source: National Dual Language Consortium [http://www.dual-language.org/what\\_is2.htm](http://www.dual-language.org/what_is2.htm)

Considering that an exact 50 percent balance of each language is difficult to obtain, Collier and Thomas (2004) point out that a minimum ratio of 70:30 would be needed in order to have enough students of each language to stimulate the respective second language acquisition for each student. A bigger imbalance could also mitigate one of the most positive side products of this program – desegregation and empowerment. Different from one-way bilingual programs, the two-way dual language approach brings majority and minority language speakers together and both benefit from a bilingual and bicultural environment and increased intergroup communication. Interestingly many of the English language speakers in two-way programs are Hispanics. When their parents went to school they were often forced to speak English and were even punished for the use of Spanish. After losing the capacity of speaking Spanish their children now acquire the heritage language through bilingual education (Slavin & Calderón, 2001). Slavin and Calderón also underline the importance of two-way programs as “a better opportunity for equity in education for the language minority student in which both language groups would serve as a resource to one another (...) equity in educational access would lead to equity in power

and status and more commitment from mainstream teachers and administrators”. They see a win-win situation emerging from these kind of programs, “in which both groups would add a second language in the process of attaining an education”.

Lessow-Hurley (2009) states that “when we provide a bilingual education (...) we meet many of the goals embodied in broad definitions of multicultural education” (p.120).

Crawford (2004) points out that this win-win situation ultimately led to a broader alliance in which: “Anglo parents now saw bilingualism as an advantage in the global economy and as a source of cultural enrichment, not to mention good preparation for life in a diverse society. In short, this was an opportunity they wanted for their children.” (p.288)

### **5.3. Summary Response to Research Questions**

This chapter responds to research question B: What political and social forces have impacted the emergence and shaping of and the resistance to bilingual education in the United States?

In relation to Chapter 3 and 4 this Chapter describes the different forms of bilingual education with special focus on a) transitional bilingual education that aims at leading students away from their bilingualism to be tendentially monolingualistic English speakers, and b) developmental bilingual education which aims at an additive bilingualism in which students maintain their first language while acquiring a new language.

While the first form of bilingual education is a remedial approach to ease the English learning process of ESL students, the latter aims at the development of bilingualism and biculturalism. This approach is politically more charged and led to strong opposition from nativistic movements and even from some scholars like Samuel Huntington (2004).

When opened to first language English speakers, this form of bilingual education seems to gain support from more cosmopolitan English speaking parents. This coalition of migrant parents and cosmopolitan liberals seems to be a powerful support for dual language education, the only form of bilingual education with strong growth rates in spite of nationalistic English-only movements.

## **Chapter 6:**

### **Critical Analysis and Outlook**

#### **6.1. Summary**

As a country of mass immigrations the U.S. developed a wide linguistic diversity. But this diversity was rarely interpreted as an advantage. Throughout its history the United States leaned more toward a homogenous, primarily English speaking mainstream culture that should not be challenged by multilingual diversity.

This intent to homogenize American culture was challenged by language minorities that were integrated by expansion, force and the hope of economic gain. Mainly in the largely Spanish speaking American Southwest the natural desire for linguistic assimilation that could be found in most immigrants was not present. While the American mainstream initially was willing to accept bilingualism of economically successful Western European minorities, it was much less tolerant with Native Americans, Spanish speaking newly conquered Mexicans and recent Eastern European immigrants (Ruiz, 1988). Often, in these situations, assimilation could only be attained by coercion and force.

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the initial selective tolerance gave way to a linguistically nationalistic policy of “English only” (Kraut, 2001). This was combined with a rising wave of xenophobia and more and more restrictive language policies. Bilingualism was seen as divisive and un-American. Only the pressures of the “cold war” (Sputnik shock) managed to open this monolingual orientation and brought some linguistic and cultural opening to American education.



Since the 1960s an increasingly diverse country adapted to the multicultural challenges and started to integrate racial and linguistic minorities. School segregation was now considered unconstitutional and with the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 one of the most important demands of the Latino community was addressed. Now bilingual education became wide spread and in some states even mandatory (Lessow-Hurley, 2009).

But this linguistic and cultural opening did not remain unopposed. Since the late 1970's a growing opposition to multiculturalism and bilingual education found its political representation and managed to curb initial progress in many parts of the country. The resulting culture wars linger on and even radicalize in some parts of the country. Assimilationist educational policies coexist with a partially expanding multicultural and multi-linguistic approach (Ferguson, 2004).

In spite of assimilationist pressures large groups of Spanish speakers do not succumb to assimilation and they fight for linguistic and cultural recognition in order to overcome discriminations and inequality. Bilingualism plays an important role in this struggle for identity and empowerment. Among the growing pressure group of Latino voters bilingual education and school reforms have become a central political priorities.

But the cultural and linguistic advantages of bilingualism and biculturalism for the Latino minority were hardly supported by the American mainstream, and in many cases bilingual programs were curbed or terminated. This is especially true for maintenance bilingual education where "minority children use their native, ethnic, home or heritage language in the school as a medium of instruction with the goal of full bilingualism" (Baker, 2006, p.238).

Widespread opposition towards these kind of cultural and linguistic policies found a strong voice in Harvard scholar Samuel Huntington (2004), who explicitly warned of the United States transforming into a "two-language country" (p.38). In order to protect the dominant role of

an “Anglo-Protestant society” he openly attacked bilingual education and its implicit goal of biculturalism. The nationalistic backlash provoked by the ongoing culture wars tried to limit a multicultural opening of the American society. Language policy is just one of its battlegrounds.

Within this wide spectrum of political positions regarding language education, dual language programs have developed as an interesting educational compromise, a synthesis that meets the need of English language development for immigrant students and their desire to maintain linguistic identity. This combination of seemingly opposing political and linguistic goals is even combined with the possibility of foreign language immersion for native English speakers; a more attractive option for more nationalistic non-Latino citizens.

## **6.2. Critical Analysis**

While transitional bilingual education programs are being limited more and more, and many students are forced into one-way immersion, there continues to be a visible expansion of two-way bilingual education (Appendix B). These programs might be the future of bilingual education, meeting the preoccupations of both outspoken and opposing political positions on bilingual education.

Here linguistic assimilation is combined with language maintenance. The advantages and opportunities that these programs combine are plain to see. The target group is not limited to a cultural or linguistic minority, thus opening the program to all students interested in developing bilingualism. Typically dual language programs also include language majority students and students who have lost their family’s heritage language and wish to learn it with the help of such a program. The aim of these largely successful programs is the development of full bilingualism and bi-literacy in both student groups (Baker, 2006; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Crawford, 1999;

Ferguson, 2004; Lessow-Hurley, 2009). This goal is achieved by using both languages for instruction. In an ever more interconnected world cultural literacy and the dominance of various languages are more and more required to develop individually and as a society. Dual language programs may be an important tool for this linguistic and cultural opening in contemporary American education.

The further expansion of such programs is supported by a larger alliance of advocates. While traditional maintenance or transitional bilingual programs are usually aimed only at the language minority group, two-way bilingual education finds strong support from Anglo parents who seek better opportunities for their children. In an ever more globalized world they look for bilingual and bicultural programs that prepare their children for the challenges of the future (Crawford, 2004). In combination with the strong advocacy of large groups of minority language parents, this alliance might be able to overcome the nationalistic backlash in educational policies.

### **6.3. Outlook**

The success and constant growth of two-way bilingual programs are positive tendencies in a country that since its foundation has been challenged with massive waves of immigration and the shaping of an own national identity. The society of the United States still tries to figure out how to respond to these challenges and a more and more interconnected and globalized world.

The ongoing search for equitable educational opportunities for all students and the closing of the various achievement gaps are challenges that have to be met in order to further develop a democratic society and to resolve the problems of inequality and discrimination.

A more multicultural and multilingual approach can be helpful in meeting these challenges. Two-way bilingual education will probably not be the ultimate answer to this

problematic and a further development of educational responses is required. Educational research will be helpful in this search for solutions.

#### **6.4. Recommendations**

- a) Educators become strong advocates for bilingual education:

This study and others provide information about bilingual education. Virginia Collier and Wayne Thomas conducted a five year (1996-2001) extensive survey of bilingual education programs. The results are convincing of the value of bilingual education. Students who were English Language Learners and did not receive bilingual education support, were overwhelmingly lower in academic achievement than those who did receive bilingual education. The bilingual education programs that provided the most gain to the ELL students were dual language programs. The entire report is available at the website, [http://crede.berkeley.edu/research/llaa/1.1\\_es.html](http://crede.berkeley.edu/research/llaa/1.1_es.html). All teachers should be more aware of this and similar studies about bilingual education so they can communicate these advantages to the parents and other members of their community.

- b) Make public the data about the benefit of bilingual education to all of U.S. society:

Most global citizens speak at least two languages. The United States lags behind in its resistance to a bilingual citizenry. More information about the research-based evidence on the benefits of bilingual education would inform the citizens of the United States, and perhaps lead to a desire that all citizens achieve bilingualism. Thus, the purpose shifts from being a compensatory program for the vilified immigrants to becoming an academic advantage for all citizens. The following are just a few of the advantages that could be advertised.

- Cultural advantages. Understanding and speaking a second language opens the doors to the literature and culture of a different world community. Lack of communication often breeds fear and contempt. Increased communication can develop respect and understanding.
- Employment and economic advantages. Bilingual citizens have advantages when seeking careers in border communities, multilingual communities, or international programs.
- Communication advantages. Learning a second language increases English language skills. There are many more opportunities to interact with a variety of citizens and visitors when U.S. citizens speak a language in addition to English.
- Academic and Intellectual advantage. Jim Cummins' 1998 article cites studies that show the advantages of bilingualism intellectually. "The results of many recent studies suggest that bilingualism can positively affect both intellectual and linguistic progress. These studies have reported that bilingual children exhibit a greater sensitivity to linguistic meanings and may be more flexible in their thinking than are monolingual children" (p. 4).

c) Provide more system support, including professional development and qualified personnel, for dual language programs:

The recent and rapid spread of multicultural and multilingual communities across the nation has left teachers from mainstream United States at a disadvantage as their education did not prepare them to design and implement programs to assist these students. There are many sheltered English strategies that all teachers can implement to increase the chances of academic

success for their students. But, to implement true dual language programs, the communities, states, and national resources should be allocated to increase the numbers of teachers with the language and pedagogical skills to implement dual language education.

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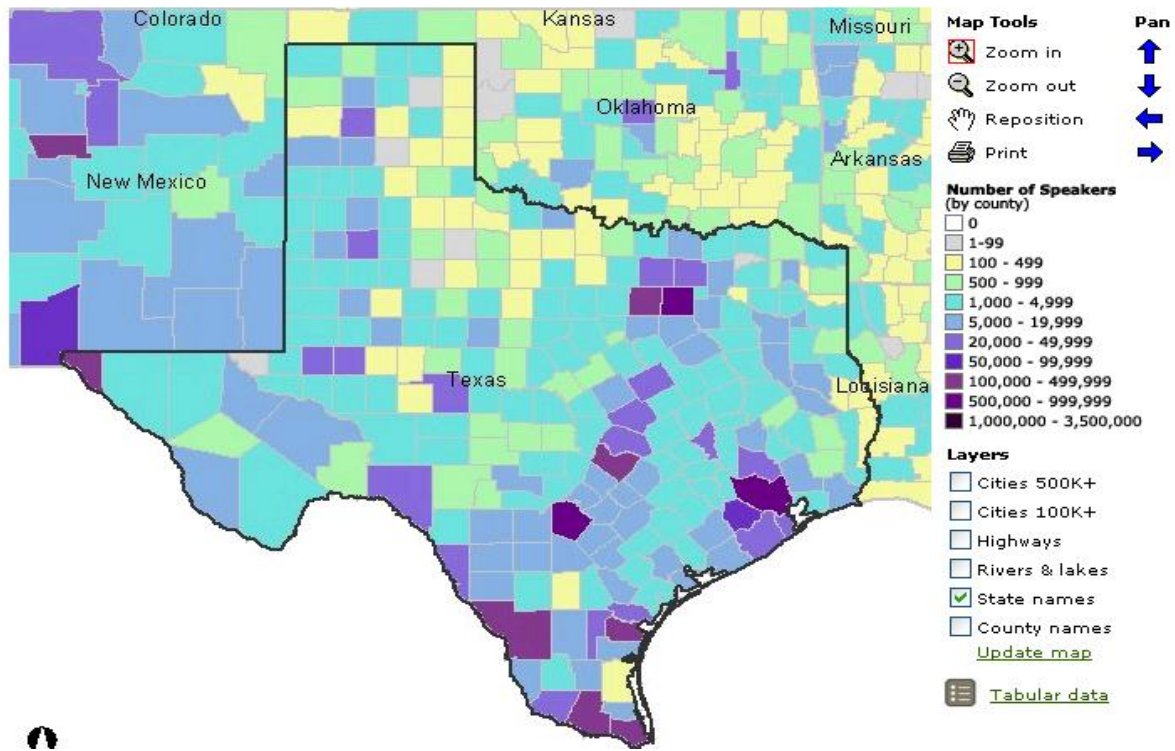
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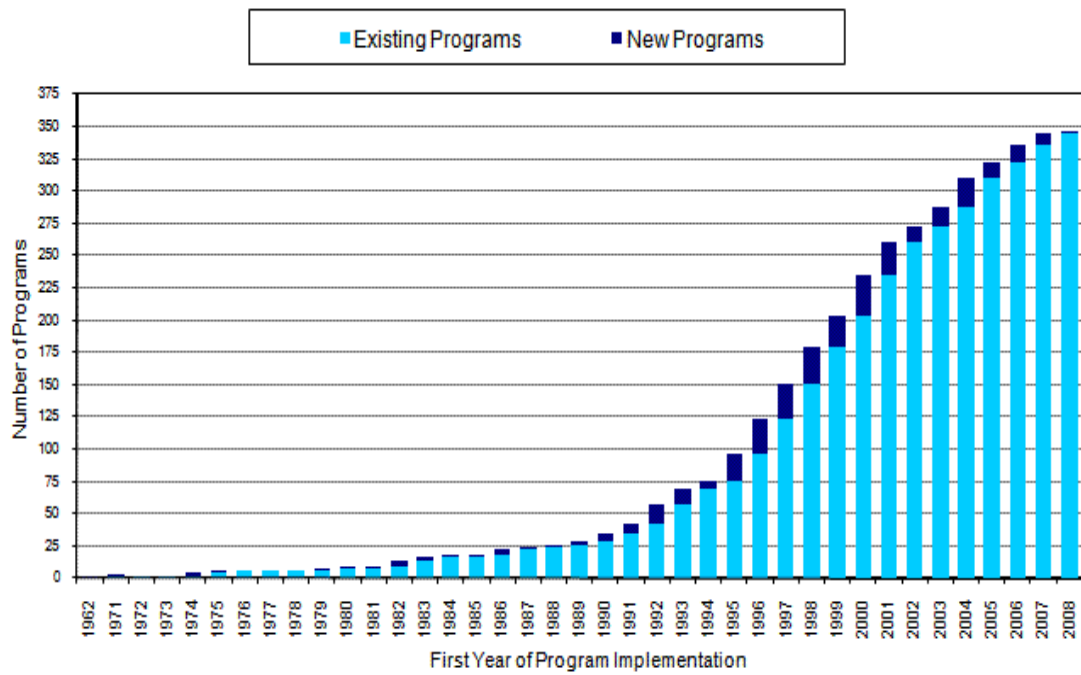
# Appendix

## Appendix A



Source: Spanish in Texas © 2008 Modern Language Association. Last updated 03/15/2006

## Appendix B



Source: Directory of Two-Way Immersion Programs in the United States. Available at <http://www.cal.org/twi/directory>.

## Appendix C

### Languages of Instruction in TWI Programs

Languages of Instruction	Number of schools
Spanish/English	320
French/English	8
Korean/English	5
Cantonese/English	3
Japanese/English	3
Mandarin/English	3
Navajo/English	1
French/English, Spanish/English, German/English *	1
Chinese/English**	1
French/English, Mandarin/English *	1
<b>Total # of Schools</b>	<b>346</b>

\* These programs have separate strands at their school site for each language.

\*\* This program teaches in more than one Chinese dialect.

Source: <http://www.cal.org/twi/directory/language.htm>

## Appendix D

### Grade Levels Served in TWI Programs

Grade Level	Number of Schools
Early Elementary	86
Early Elementary through Upper Elementary	168
Early Elementary through Middle School	26
Early Elementary through High School	2
Upper Elementary*	13
Middle School*	40
High School*	11
<b>Total # of Schools</b>	<b>346</b>

\* These sites have feeder schools that begin in the early elementary grades.

Source: <http://www.cal.org/twi/directory/grades.htm>



## Appendix E

### **Programs that Span Pre-K/Kindergarten through Grade 12**

The following list includes districts or private schools that are included in the Two-Way Directory that span from Kindergarten (or pre-K) through Grade 12. Their dual language programs may be held in one or more school sites.

#### *Private Schools*

The French-American International School of Boston

The French-American School of New York

#### *Public School Districts*

Anchorage School District, Alaska

Paso Robles Public Schools, California

Saddleback Valley Unified School District, California

Santa Monica-Malibu Unified School District, California

West Liberty Community School District, Iowa

Framingham Public Schools, Massachusetts

Santa Fe School District, New Mexico

El Paso Independent School District, Texas

Houston Independent School District, Texas

Ysleta Independent School District, El Paso, Texas

Arlington Public Schools, Virginia

Last updated September 28, 2007

Source: <http://www.cal.org/twi/directory/k12.htm>

## **Curriculum Vitae**

Jens Tillmanns was born in Karlsruhe, Germany. He spent his childhood and adolescence in Staufen, Germany where he graduated from Faust Gymnasium in the spring of 1984.

He studied Political Science at the Università degli Studi di Urbino, Italy and at Freie Universität Berlin, Germany where he received his master's degree in June 1994. After working for the Italian Cultural Institute in Berlin he moved to Mexico City where he lived for 6 years working as an international tour lecturer. His travels led him through various Latin American countries where he guided and organized cultural tours.

After moving to the United States, he went to work for the Desert Island School District at Borderland High School and pursued his Alternative Teacher Certification from the University of Texas at El Paso.

He was a recipient of the BEEMS (Bilingual Educators Emphasizing and Mastering Standards) scholarship, which prompted him to continue his graduate studies in Education, specializing in dual language instruction from the University of Texas at El Paso.

Permanent Address: 903 Upson  
El Paso, TX 79936

This thesis was typed by Jens U. Tillmanns