

PLANNING FOR BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL

EDUCATION IN WOBURN:

WHAT PARENTS THINK

by

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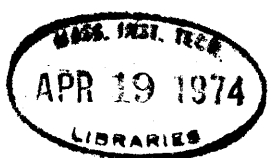
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ABSTRACTPlanning for Bilingual/Bicultural
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Woburn, Massachusetts, is a city of 38,000 with a Puerto Rican community of 500-750. Under Massachusetts law, they must provide transitional bilingual education for any school age children who can not speak English. However, transitional bilingual education is not the only model for bilingual programs, and the results of a survey of Puerto Rican adults in Woburn indicated that perhaps for this city, it is not the best.

Thirty-eight people were interviewed for this survey, and almost unanimously, they felt that Spanish language skills are important for their children, that they need to learn English as well, and that, with the help of the parents, the schools could and should teach both. The results of the survey and a review of research and writing on bilingual education lead to a plan for the Woburn schools advocating a full bilingual/bicultural program for Puerto Rican and Anglo children in the future and interim goals based upon the values of the Spanish community.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1971, Massachusetts became the first state to require bilingual education for its non-English speaking children. The Declaration of Policy of the Act states that "the General Court believes that a compensatory program of transitional bilingual education can meet the needs of these children and facilitate their integration into the regular public schools curriculum." The program is carried out by individual school districts where twenty or more children of limited English-speaking ability with the same mother tongue reside, assisted and partially funded by the State Department of Education. Woburn, a Boston suburb, is one of these school districts.

Like many other cities around Boston, Woburn has a small Spanish-speaking population. Being a small city (38,000), it can not afford the planning efforts of the larger cities and must depend on teachers and administrators (who have duties outside the bilingual program as well) to plan for the future when they can. The act calls for "the maximum practicable involvement of parents of children of limited English-speaking ability in the planning, development and evaluation of transitional bilingual education", and guidelines developed by the

Bureau of Transitional Education require a Parent Advisory Council to be formed. Woburn has found, as have many other cities, that to Puerto Rican parents the idea of laypeople planning the schools is foreign, and that parents lack the necessary skills.

My interest in bilingual education led me to Woburn to seek out the opinions of these parents to help formulate goals and methods to involve them in educational planning.

Chapter One, "Bilingual Education" discusses some of the possibilities for Woburn's bilingual program and the results of research into bilingualism and bilingual education. Although Woburn's is an ongoing program, it is important to see what it might have been or could be, and what to expect from what it is. The program developed over the years more from necessity than idealism, and to keep it meeting its responsibilities new information on bilingual education and the people it serves is always needed. Much of this research was done through the Educational Research Information Clearinghouse (ERIC) files.

Chapter Two deals with the city of Woburn. It contains a brief description of the town and its Puerto Rican residents. The bilingual program in Woburn is also

briefly described.

The third chapter covers information gathered by a survey of thirty-eight Puerto Rican adults in Woburn. Some of the most difficult problems for school officials planning a bilingual program are learning what the parents want for their children and what the linguistic and cultural sentiments are, but these are some of the most important pieces of information for planning purposes. Districts find it difficult to involve Spanish-speaking parents in the workings of the school. Hopefully the information gathered by these twenty-three question interviews will aid in further planning and will be used to increase interest and participation in planning activities by the parents of Spanish-speaking children. The interviews took place in peoples' homes and were conducted by a Spanish-speaking community member active in community work. A preferable method might have been to interview in groups and encourage discussion of the issues, talking with parents about the program and about educational theory. However, this was impossible due to time and language problems. The questions asked were not the only ones that needed to be asked, but the answers given to them indicate a lot about Woburn's Puerto Rican community. In Appendix Two the result of presenting these same questions to Puerto Rican and Anglo

children can be found.

The final chapter, "Conclusions", lays out four possible long term goals for the bilingual program and shorter range steps for reaching them. They are broad goals based on what parents want and how other schools have achieved those results. Also included are suggestions on what the Woburn data mean for other Massachusetts cities.

My interpretation of the survey results and what they indicate is tinged by a desire for linguistic and cultural pluralism. There will certainly be Puerto Ricans in New England from now on, but they will not necessarily be a static population. Most hope and intend to return to Puerto Rico for short or long periods of time, and many other people still on the island hope to spend time in the States. Puerto Ricans are not a transplanted people, planning to make Massachusetts a permanent home, although individuals do, rather, they are U.S. citizens from an island where Spanish has been affirmed as the primary language, living in a part of the country where English is used. Regardless of one's feelings on the value of maintaining language groups as a national policy, for the people of Puerto Rico, the decision to assimilate must be a personal one, not one imposed by others. Where groups of Spanish-speaking

children live, it is the responsibility of the schools to help them maintain their language. I feel that my conclusions pertain as well to other language groups, such as the Portuguese from the Azores, if they place the same importance on their native tongue as the Puerto Rican people of Woburn do, because I believe balanced bilingualism to be in the best interest of the individual and the nation, but someone who feels that the school's job is to facilitate assimilation (a view expressed in the Transitional Bilingual Education Act) might reach different conclusions from the data presented in this paper.

I began this study to answer for myself what should be done for children whose native tongue is Spanish but who enter elementary school fluent in English and Spanish. There is little written about or done for such children, and the answer I have found is tentative. Because of such children, I began to wonder about the wisdom of the transitional model Massachusetts chose for its pioneering attempt to provide quality education for all its children. Transitional bilingual education is needed as a minimum, and that act set Massachusetts miles ahead of the other states, but the results of this survey of parents indicate that, in some communities, the transitional model may not be the best.

CHAPTER ONE. BILINGUAL EDUCATION

What Is It?

Bilingualism has been defined many ways by differing linguists. The majority insist that the bilingual person be able to speak two languages, while some require only that such a person understand the two languages as they are spoken.¹ More useful to a planner of bilingual education are those definitions which provide scales on which the degree of fluency and switching can be measured. The issue of what constitutes bilingualism should be settled so that research results will be comparable, but is only of secondary interest to planners of bilingual education.

Bilingual education does not mean the education of bilinguals, but education in two languages, with the intent of producing bilinguals (though this is not necessarily the number one goal). Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the title dealing with the establishment and funding of special programs for children of limited English-speaking ability, states the national policy on bilingual education. The Manual for Project Applicants and Grantees² defines bilingual education as:

the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures.

This definition leaves quite a bit of leeway for designing a program. Joshua Fishman has classified existing bilingual programs as fitting one of four archetypes.³

Type I. Transitional Bilingualism. This is the form required and funded in Massachusetts.⁴ It calls for the use of the mother tongue for teaching purposes only until the child has developed sufficient skill in English to enter classes taught in English.

Type II. Monoliterate Bilingualism. While speaking and understanding skills are developed in both languages, literacy in the mother tongue is not a goal.

Type III. Partial Bilingualism. The goals are fluency and literacy in both languages, but literacy in the mother tongue is restricted to certain areas, such as cultural materials.

Type IV. Full Bilingualism. Both languages are used as media of instruction and skills in both are developed fully, with the goals being "language maintenance and development of the minority language". Fishman sees

full bilingualism as the ideal, but also as an unrealistic goal, since it requires separating the ethnic group from the rest of the educational system for too long.

All four types have their place in different communities. Fishman⁵ and Saville and Troike⁶ emphasize the need for assaying the sociolinguistic structure of a community before choosing a model for bilingual education. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts mandates as a minimum and supports financially transitional bilingual education.⁷ The statement in the Title VII Manual elaborating on the Declaration of Policy of the Act tends to support this model while leaving room open for others:

It is intended that children participating in this program will develop greater competence in English, become more proficient in their dominant language, and profit from increased educational opportunity. Though the Title VII, ESEA program affirms the primary importance of English, it also recognizes that the use of the children's mother tongue can have a beneficial effect upon their education. Instructional use of the mother tongue can help to prevent retardation in school performance until sufficient command of English is attained. Moreover, the development of literacy in the mother tongue as well as in English should result in more broadly educated adults.⁸

It is important to keep in mind that while the transitional model is the most common one employed in the United States⁹, it is by no means the only one.

Accepted and promoted by virtually all involved in bilingual education, bicultural education is an integral part of bilingual education in state and federal policy. In the Title VII Manual's definition of bilingual education, "the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue" is included. The Massachusetts Act calls for "instruction... in the history and culture of the country, territory or geographic area of the parents of children... enrolled in the program" as part of any bilingual program.

But that is only one portion of what bilingual education is about. Knowing the cultural and political history of the ethnic group, while a prerequisite for teaching in a bilingual/bicultural class, does not constitute cultural sensitivity. A person's culture, much of which is imbedded in language, determines which educational methods will be meaningful and which will compete with an important part of self-identity.

The Spanish language tells a lot about how a Spanish-speaking child looks at the world. Three examples:¹⁰

The Spanish child would say "Se cayo el plato" (the plate dropped), while the English child would say "She dropped the plate".

In English, "I missed the airplane"; in Spanish, "El avion me dejo" (the plane left me).

The American view- "I control destiny"; but the Puerto Rican or Mexican child answers "Lo que será, será" (What will be, will be).

That view, that we are capable of controlling nature and fate, is what has led to the highly-valued position of science, technology and mathematics in our schools. Norma Hernandez¹¹ feels that this sort of cultural difference in values leads to differences in intellectual capabilities. American schools are geared toward American values, and therefore, children of other cultures do not succeed easily in them. The research of Lesser, Fifer and Clark¹² and Lesser¹³ has suggested that patterns of intellectual abilities exist within groups which cross class lines. If Puerto Ricans or Mexicans (or any other ethnic group) within the United States choose to shape a new, myriad culture, they will have to decide whether or not to compete with those of the dominant culture in areas like mathematics.

Hernandez believes educators need to gear their teaching to two types of children,¹⁴ one type prevalent in the American culture, the other in Latin American cultures. The first is the field independent child, who works with things, enjoys taking apart and putting together pieces and works well in a competitive situation. The second, the field dependent child, enjoys dealing with people, recalls faces easily, is influenced by others,

and works best in a cooperative, personalized class. In order to give children from other cultures an even chance, whether or not they speak English, schools need to offer both methods of instruction.

Culture is more than art, music, folk tales and history. It is a whole mind set which affects people in every aspect of life. To advise against bicultural education on the grounds that the culture of most immigrant groups is "in the main associated with the minimum necessities of living and staying alive"¹⁵, and therefore not worth preserving is to miss the point that culture is something internal and necessary to any person. In the words of Samuel Ramos, the Mexican philosopher,¹⁵ culture is "that which humanizes reality". The ideal bilingual/bicultural classroom has two teachers, who can each represent one of the two cultures the children must deal with, and who appreciate the differences, even those subtle differences which show up in language usage and very minor acts. Bruce Gaarder¹⁷ (of the Office of Education) considers "two pairs of eyes" essential for bicultural education. These two people, or even one person sensitive to the different ways the two societies "humanize reality", can help children to choose between the two cultures or to find their places somewhere in

between and can teach them to deal with both.

Bilingual education, as used in the remainder of this paper, refers to any schooling where two languages are used as the media of instruction. Ideally, bilingual education should include bicultural education and should encourage children to feel good about their parents and heritage. All four of Fishman's archetypes and various combinations of them can be good bilingual education in the proper situation, but "balanced bilingual education" refers to that ideal situation (perhaps impossible) where the two languages and two cultures are used interchangeably.

What Is It Good For?

Until quite recently (the Federal Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1968 and the Massachusetts Act in 1971), most non-English speaking children in public schools received little special attention. Several hours per week of English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction was the most they could expect. In 1963, the first major modern bilingual program began in Dade County (Miami), Florida, in the Coral Way Elementary School.¹⁸ The first

three grades, equally divided between English-speakers and Spanish-speaking Cubans, were taught by American and Cuban teachers in both languages. By the second year, all parents had opted for this bilingual program for their children. Since then, bilingual projects have sprung up in many communities where Mexican, Chinese, Puerto Rican, and Native American children live,¹⁹ bilingual education has been encouraged by the federal government and required by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,²⁰ and a U.S. District Court in Texas²¹ has ruled that "the denial of bilingual services to Spanish-speaking children violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution". What are some of the rationales for bilingual education, and what can be expected of it?

At the Senate hearings which preceded the Bilingual Education Act, Bruce Gaarder²² said:

The most obvious anomaly—or absurdity—of our educational policy regarding foreign language learning is the fact that we spend perhaps a billion dollars a year to teach languages—in the schools, the colleges and universities, the Foreign Service Institutes, the Department of Defense,...—yet virtually no part of the effort goes to maintain and to develop the competence of American children who speak the same languages natively...

Government and business need bilinguals for all of their

dealings with foreign countries; many public services need bilinguals to assist foreign clients. Yet, until recently, U.S. policy was to fund (through the National Defense Education Act) second language instruction for those beyond the age where they could easily learn a foreign language, while the mother tongues of so many children were lost through neglect. Not only did this waste money, it wasted the opportunity for those children to enter high paying positions where bilingualism is a requirement.

Even the Bilingual Education Act avoided the question of the political aim of bilingual education. The four types of bilingual education (transitional, monoliterate, partial, and full) noted by Fishman can serve the goals of cultural and linguistic assimilation or cultural and linguistic pluralism. William L. Stewart²³ set out the choices for any country as:

1. The eventual elimination, by education and decree, of all but one language, which remains to serve for both official and general purposes.
2. The recognition and preservation of important languages within the national scene, supplemented by universal use of one or more languages to serve for official purposes and for communication across language barriers.

Rolf Kjolseth²⁴ of the University of Colorado calls the

bilingual program which "embodies an optimal selection" of those program characteristics which tend to promote ethnic language shift the "Assimilation model". The second idealized model, "the Pluralist model", comprises an optimal structure for promoting ethnic language maintenance. His analysis of existing programs shows that while program goals usually support the Pluralist model, the majority of programs in practice "highly approximate the Assimilation model". Joshua Fishman, a leading supporter of bilingual education and a cultural and linguistic Pluralist, concurs with Kjolseth. The Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Education program, which uses the mother tongue as a medium only until the child can function in an all-English environment tends more toward the Assimilation model as well, although individual programs can be different. César Andreu Iglesias²⁵ argues in favor of Pluralism for Puerto Ricans (the largest non-English speaking community in Massachusetts) because:

...the millions of Mexicans, or their descendents, who live in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California speak English and in general can barely express themselves in Spanish (or, in any case, use a jargon that can no longer be called a language) and are, nonetheless, treated the same as, or worse than, the Negroes, like second, third, or fourth class citizens.

Planners of bilingual education should make the choice between Pluralism and Assimilation in light of first, the goals of the particular community, and then, their own political biases.

For the Puerto Rican child moving into the Boston area, the choice of becoming bilingual is made by others. Of necessity, the child must learn English. The extent to which that child's two languages, Spanish and English, will be developed will be determined by the school and the parents. In a transitional bilingual program Spanish-speaking children learn Spanish oral and reading skills before shifting to English. But the Massachusetts born Puerto Rican child who speaks Spanish and English fluently before starting school is seldom placed in a bilingual program, and the English-speaking child with no Spanish background even less often. Are there benefits beyond the benefit of knowing English which these other two groups could partake of?

The Montreal psychologists E. Peal and W.E. Lambert found in their research on the intelligence of bilinguals²⁶ that "bilingual children scored significantly higher on intelligence tests than monolingual children". Further, children who had mastered two languages were better in concept formation than monolinguals and had a "greater

cognitive flexibility". Their conclusion, that "the bilinguals appear to have a more diversified set of mental abilities than the monolinguals", indicates benefits for all children from a bilingual background....

In 1973, Lambert and G. Richard Tucker²⁷ wrote that:

Because of his own limited linguistic experience, the monolingual tends to link language inseparably with both thinking and learning. He wonders whether a person can "think" equally well in two languages. Bilinguals, on the other hand, are more likely to be aware of the symbolic nature of language and to separate it from both thinking and learning.

Both articles caution that these statements are applicable only to the balanced bilingual, in whom both languages are equally well developed. For such a person, the benefits in intelligence are in addition to the benefits of knowing two languages, such as increased career opportunities (bilingual personnel are needed in every field and are sought after with higher salaries), access to a wider range of literature, and the ability to communicate with more people and partake of two (or more) cultures.

It might seem to the English-speaking child that there is no reason to learn Spanish to live in Massachusetts, but the results of Peal and Lambert and Tucker's work have been obtained and corroborated by other researchers as well. J. Vernon Jensen²⁸ summarized much of the research on the effects of childhood bilingualism done before

1962 (reviewing 213 separate articles and papers). On the negative side, he found that many felt that early bilingualism leads to handicaps in speech development, language development and intellectual development, and emotional instability (in children forced to use a different language in school than at home). But other research he examined claimed that speech development was not impaired or that speech inaccuracies were being over-emphasized, that language development in bilinguals catches up with monolinguals shortly and that the child then attains the normal vocabulary, structure and sentence length in each of the two languages (some claim that abilities in language manipulation are eventually greater in bilinguals). Later research examined by Jensen claimed that the intelligence of bilinguals was not being correctly measured by intelligence tests relying upon language facility. On non-verbal intelligence tests, bilingual children perform as well as their monolingual peers. In addition many scholars pointed out that the bilingual deals with ideas rather than words, aiding intellectual growth. Some wrote of the motivational aspects of success in a second language. The emotional problems of bilinguals were explained by the inferior status ascribed by societies to language minority groups. Jensen, like almost every other reviewer of literature on bilingualism,

warns that the research has been done on small numbers of children, often at the extremes of the social class ladder, with little control on all the variables that make the results incomparable. He finds it difficult to generalize from these results except to observe that "earlier studies tended to emphasize disadvantages, whereas investigations in the last two decades tend to stress the advantages."²⁹ Jensen's study was done the year before the Coral Way Elementary School opened what Theodore Andersson³⁰ calls "the contemporary period of bilingual schooling in the U.S." Most of the research since that time has continued to emphasize the benefits of bilingual education of children who speak a minority language. Some note that these benefits also exist for children learning a second language by choice rather than necessity.

The Puerto Rican child beginning kindergarten in Woburn or Boston or New York speaking only Spanish must learn English to survive. The research cited above shows that a school program which encourages and supports the balanced development of Spanish and English will provide that child with benefits not available to the average monolingual child. Bilingualism, which the

child will be forced into by necessity, will not hamper intellectual development (and will probably enhance it) if a bilingual education is provided. However, other research shows that the standard, all-English classroom, even with ESL (English as a Second Language) instruction, may well handicap that five year old intellectually for life.

Due to the work of the linguists and psychologists who preceded them, most scholars writing today about the education of children from linguistic minorities accept almost axiomatically "the pedagogical soundness, at least in the early years of the school experience, of teaching children basic subjects in their own tongue."³¹

"The mother tongue is the best medium for the child to learn."³² Vera John and Vivian Horner³³ note that "between the ages of 5 and 7, children's use of language accelerates: words become a medium of learning and problem solving. It is at this very age that the non-English-speaking child is ordinarily confronted with the demand to learn in English, and indirectly to think in English." They speak of the "damage, both emotional and intellectual, inflicted upon the child who is forced to cope with an alien cultural and linguistic milieu for which he is unprepared."³⁴ Michael West and others³⁵ found that children suffered a large academic handicap

when taught in a foreign language, and for Spanish-speaking children, English is a foreign language.

Bruce Gaarder³⁶ claims that:

children who enter school with less competence in English than monolingual English speaking children will probably become retarded in their school work to the extent of their deficiency in English, if English is the sole medium of instruction. On the other hand, the bilingual child's conceptual development and acquisition of other experience and information could proceed at a normal rate if the mother tongue were used as an alternate medium of instruction. Retardation is not likely if there is only one or very few non-English speaking children in an entire school. It is almost inevitable if the non-English language is spoken by large groups of children.

In Bruce Gaarder's testimony, he also called language "the most important exteriorization or manifestation of the self, of the human personality." Other authors³⁷ have noted the importance of this aspect of bilingual education as well. When the school rejects the child's language, it rejects part of the child, that child's parents, that child's way of life. Insistence upon the sole use of English leads a child to believe that Spanish and those who speak Spanish are inferior and less important to the school, paving the way for academic, social, and psychological problems.

Bilingual education can be expected to support a child through the transition from an all Spanish environment into the American school, to encourage "a more diversified set of mental abilities"³⁸ (Peal and Lambert), and to foster academic success, but elementary schools generally need to measure their results in terms of mathematics and reading skills. Bilingual education, of all four types listed by Fishman, seems to be as effective as or superior to traditional monolingual education in these two areas. Evaluations of bilingual programs in the U.S. and in other countries point consistently toward gains in academic skills for children of minority language groups receiving any bilingual training as compared with their peers who must learn in monolingual classrooms, where their mother tongue is not spoken. Not only does their reading and ciphering ability excel when tested in the mother tongue, but also in the second language. And the few bilingual programs in the U.S. and Canada with English-speaking children indicate that these children outperform their English-speaking peers studying in an all English environment in English, as well as learning the same skills in a second language.

Spanish-speaking children in one school district in New Mexico³⁹ were randomly assigned to one of eight classes: two were experimental English classes designed

to improve their command of English while they learned the basic skills, two were experimental Spanish and English classrooms, and four were traditional classes used for controls. By the beginning of the third grade, the experimental English classes scored as high as the controls in Word Knowledge, Word Discrimination and Reading and better in Arithmetic, while the bilingual classes equaled the controls in Word Discrimination and Reading, doing poorer in Arithmetic and Word Knowledge. However, by September of the fourth grade, the children in all eight classes scored the same in all four skill areas. In addition, the bilingual classes had mastered those same skills in Spanish.

In San Antonio, Texas,⁴⁰ Spanish-speaking children in bilingual first grade classes learned to read, speak, and write English and Spanish. On measures of cognitive growth, communication skills, and social and emotional adjustment, they scored better than their peers who had begun school in monolingual English classes. Further, they had not lost that advantage by the end of their second year in bilingual classes.

Spanish-speaking children learn English better by studying Spanish. It works the other way, too. Indian children in Mexico⁴¹ who couldn't speak Spanish were placed in a transitional program where they first learned

to read their native tongue. They entered the all Spanish first grade only after mastering several primers. The skills they had easily learned in their native tongue carried them over into Spanish so that they learned to read Spanish better and with greater comprehension than other Indian children who had not learned their own language first.

The same thing was done with children in Sweden whose mother tongue was Pitean⁴². After ten weeks of Pitean reading instruction, they joined their peers in learning literary Swedish. By the end of the first year, they had surpassed the control group in many of the necessary language skills in literary Swedish.

Sometimes the benefits of transitional classes are evident even sooner. In Iloilo in the Phillipines⁴³, children begin their studies in Hiligaynon, their native tongue. During the first and second grades, English was taught only as a separate subject. In the third grade, they switched to using English as a medium. "Within six weeks their performance in all tested subjects, including oral English, surpassed that of a control group who had received all instruction in English, beginning in the first grade."

In the United States, one of the most famous bilingual education programs is the one in Dade County,

Florida (in the Coral Way School), began in 1963. There, Spanish and English speaking children are taught in both languages with the goal of total mastery of both languages for all children. Their evaluations have shown that by the fifth grade, students learn all subjects equally well in both languages⁴⁴ and that the bilingual curriculum was as effective as the English curriculum used in their other schools (which have now switched to the bilingual program) in all of the tested academic areas.⁴⁵

It appears that any form of native language instruction will help the minority language child who must learn to use another language as a learning medium. In studying the achievements of Spanish-speaking children in English kindergartens, Betty Broman⁴⁶ found that those children learned at the same rate as others when there is either or both a teacher and an aide in the room who can speak Spanish. She found that when the children could move freely around the room (something that is often true in kindergartens, but not so often in other grades) verifying in Spanish what they learned in English with friends and teachers, they were able to learn English while keeping up with the English-speaking children in other activities.

For Spanish-speaking children, the study of Spanish is doubly important. In 1925, the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University⁴⁷, made a study

of Spanish-speaking children in Puerto Rico, some in English schools, others in Spanish schools, and English-speaking children in the U.S. attending English schools. Their results were that the Puerto Rican children studying in English schools learned much more slowly than the American children; however, the children in Spanish schools learned faster than the American children. Spanish as a native tongue facilitates learning much better than English as a native tongue, because children learn to read and write it quickly and can use those skills to study other subjects. Many other authors have noted this fact and offered it as further reason for bilingual education for Spanish-speaking children.

All of the examples so far have been of children who had to learn another language and found that studying in their own language facilitated the switch. In Quebec, parents who felt that their English-speaking children should learn French to ease the cultural tension there enrolled them in the St. Lambert Elementary School's bilingual program.⁴⁸ There, the children learn to read first in French (unlike Coral Way, where English-speaking children learn to read in English first), and their parents are instructed not to teach them to read in English. The children in the program, a heterogeneous, unselected group, study almost entirely in French at

first, moving towards half English, half French by the seventh grade. By the fourth or fifth grade, the children can speak, understand, read and write French fluently and naturally. They score as high or higher than children in French or English schools (in each language) on math and science tests. Compared to other English-speaking children in English schools, they did as well in English language skills, better in composition, better on tests of verbal intelligence and as well or better on measures of creativity. In no way did their bilingual education harm them, and in many ways their education was superior to a monolingual one, including in cultural understanding.

None of these experiments can be called conclusive proof that bilingual education should be prescribed for everyone. They do point, however, in the absence of contradictory information, toward academic benefits, especially for children who do not speak English when they enter school in this country. For those children, any form of bilingual education can make a difference in academic performance.

The uses and outcomes of bilingual education are plentiful. Through its bilingual program, a school district encourages cultural pluralism or assimilation

or equips its children to make the choice for themselves. Without bilingual education, the non-English speaking child often has only the choice between assimilation as an academic failure or a form of cultural separatism. Nationally, the need for people who can speak two languages in government and business can be met by bilingual education or by special second language training. However, training adults is considered by the majority of linguists to be less effective because the language patterns are so well set. For the individual child, the results of bilingual education are: the knowledge of two languages and an understanding of two cultures, academic skills in English equal to or better than that of peers, possible increase in intelligence measures due to a better understanding of the symbolic nature of language, and, if the child is from a home where English is not spoken, a stronger self-image and a bridge between home and school. If a school offers an optional bilingual program with a strong bicultural aspect to all of its children, they can expect an easing of social tensions among the children, the teachers and the parents. Where these results are valued, bilingual education should receive serious attention from those planning for the educational system.

Who Is It Good For?

Knowing what can be expected from bilingual education, the school planner must still decide who to include in a bilingual program. Certainly those children who would suffer without the special program should be included, and if possible, those who would reap extra benefits by it should be encouraged to participate. But the planner must also consider the interests of the community and the success of the bilingual program in deciding who to encourage or discourage. There are many conflicting issues which should be sorted out and dealt with.

Most of the minority language groups in New England live near the poverty level, including the Puerto Ricans, who generally come from rural areas.⁴⁹ Many feel that what these people need most are English skills to enable them to compete with English-speaking natives for profitable employment. Such people⁵⁰ often advise against bilingual education for that reason. Community leaders who have often themselves come through a school system which ignored and discouraged their Spanish background, quite often oppose plans for bilingual/bicultural education on the grounds that any time devoted to Spanish diminishes their children's chance for success in an

English-speaking society.⁵¹ The outcomes of bilingual experiments - that studying first in the native tongue aids in the study of English - are not obvious. Unless these results are presented to parents as well as educators, the myth that bilingual education cheats the Spanish will persist.

For the Spanish speaking child entering an English school, some form of bilingual education should be recommended. Parents and children should be allowed to make an informed choice, but the goal of the school district should be to enroll as many of these children as possible. The probability of academic success is greatly increased by bilingual/bicultural programs for these children. Through the early use of Spanish, the parents are involved in their children's schooling. Children are motivated by academic success in their native language, which carries over into the English language. Cultural conflicts between generations are eased. Children develop the language they need to communicate with relatives and to return to or visit Puerto Rico (a common occurrence for this particular group). And through the acceptance of the child's language and culture by the school, self-image is kept high in a new environment. Vera John and Vivian Horner⁵² found that "children's sense of control over their environment and self-image correlate highly with

school achievement." A bilingual program must be tailored to the needs of a particular community, but for the child who comes to school speaking only Spanish, some form of bilingual education is a must.

When a child arrives at the school fluent in both Spanish and English, the decision is harder. What should the educator recommend to this child's parents? It seems unlikely from evidence gathered thus far that bilingual education could hinder such children, and they could perhaps help their monolingual peers to learn English, but if places in the program are limited, these guidelines might be used: if the parents do not speak English, the child should be included so that parents may understand the child's schoolwork and participate in it; if there is a strong desire or need to develop the Spanish language or to read it, the child should be taught it; if the child finds regular classes, especially reading, difficult, bilingual classes might help; if the child is emotionally insecure or has a poor self-image due to the differences in cultural values at home and at school, bilingual/bicultural education should be tried. The state of Massachusetts requires that any child who experiences academic difficulties due

to language be placed in a bilingual class if one exists.⁵³

Few of Massachusetts' bilingual programs include monolingual English-speaking children, but the law does not exclude them.⁵⁴ Few parents of such children want them to receive a bilingual education, because bilingual/bicultural education has the connotation of remedial education, and they view those in the classes as handicapped in some way.⁵⁵ However, wealthier parents who send their children to bilingual private schools view bilingualism as a necessity. Joshua Fishman⁵⁶ called a full bilingual program the "ideal" but cautioned that separating non-English speaking children from the rest of the school would be deleterious. Albar Peña⁵⁷ feels that "if children are segregated for instructional purposes, both psychological and pedagogical disadvantages immediately set in", indicating that even a short-term transitional program for only Spanish-speaking children is wrong. To him, bilingual education can only succeed if English-speaking children are included, and to accomplish that, "bilingual education must be viewed as an asset, not a liability". It has been demonstrated at the Coral Way School in Florida and the St. Lambert school in Quebec that bilingual education can be good for English-speaking children as well. The people who

evaluated the St. Lambert program⁵⁸ said of that program:

We do not propose this plan as a universal solution for all communities or nations planning programs of bilingual education. Instead, we have in mind a much more general guiding principle: in any community where there is a serious, widespread desire or need for a bilingual or multilingual citizenry, priority for early schooling should be given to the language or languages most likely to be neglected.

Where the Spanish community desires to maintain their language and culture while learning to function in American life, a full bilingual program involving Spanish and English speaking children can benefit both, if the parents of the English speaking can be made to see (or already see) bilingualism and biculturalism as assets.

Planning For Bilingual Education

A bilingual education program cannot be bought prepackaged. It must be tailormade for the individual school district. Planners emphasize the need to know the people being planned for. Muriel Saville, Rudolph Troike, and Joshua Fishman⁵⁹ all recommend that linguistic and sociological surveys be undertaken by competent professionals to determine the characteristics of the community. They need to know whether different

varieties of Spanish and English are used by different social classes or in different situations, whether the Spanish community is shifting toward English or intends to maintain the use of Spanish in daily interaction, and what the attitudes are toward bilingual education. John Riley⁶⁰ of the Office of Education reports that in similar programs in Fort Worth and Laredo, Texas, the children in Fort Worth performed worse in Spanish than the children in Laredo. They showed no corresponding gains in English. The only factor that could explain this was that in Laredo, the families wanted their children to learn Spanish and pushed them, while in Fort Worth, the parents were intent on having their children learn English. A bilingual education program can not simply be adopted; careful planning must go into its design.

The indication of the accumulated evidence is that where a sufficient number (Massachusetts sets this number at 20⁶¹) of non-English speaking children attend school together, their early education at least should be bilingual. For purposes of designing a program, however, the term bilingual education is too broad. There is extensive literature on possible formats for the particulars of how much to use each language and when, but a more basic and more important problem is designing the

framework of the program, setting broad goals and operating principles. Once these are set, the choice of a model to build on (one of Fishman's four archetypes or a combination) is determined by the anticipated outcomes. Only through a study of research and experimentation in bilingual education can these models be correctly matched. The biggest step, though, for planners (parents, educators, children and professionals) is knowledgably and correctly setting those goals.

Fishman, Savielle and Troike⁶² urge those planning a program to take notice of the sociolinguistic character of the community. That means using all possible means to determine just how homogeneous the children involved are in social class, social mobility, language usage, language maintenance or shift, and cultural ties as well as identifying these areas. Sometimes some of these things will be obvious without extensive surveying, but each of them affects the design of a bilingual program. According to these three researchers, how the community as a whole deals with language maintenance or shift, or linguistic assimilation or pluralism, is the most important planning consideration.

Where a community wants to assimilate and stresses the use of English, a bilingual program emphasizing Spanish reading skills will defeat itself. Another

community might value their separateness and own language almost to the exclusion of English, using English only for necessary communication with outsiders. For them, a transitional program emphasizing the rapid acquisition of English is totally unsuitable. Between these extremes are the majority of communities, placing more or less emphasis on English and their native language. They will set goals such as "the development of native-like English with Spanish skills sufficient for all school work", which dictates a continuing bilingual program in all subjects. The best programs will make accommodations for individual differences in linguistic and cultural goals.

When the goals are set and the basic educational model chosen, other factors restrict the possibilities. One of these is money -- Massachusetts funds transitional programs and the federal government funds selected experimental programs where the percentage of the population unable to speak English and their economic status are taken into account. If the cost of a program greatly exceeds the average expenditure, budget planners will most likely cut it back.

Because the bilingual program is part of the larger educational system, its goals must be acceptable to the majority or chances are that they will be stopped by the opposition. If the Spanish community favors pluralism

but is outnumbered by those who support forced assimilation, they must move carefully to get their plan accepted and funded. Perhaps they will have to spend a long part of the planning stage publicizing and supporting their goals.

One last problem in planning a bilingual program is the number of participants. For some models, the fewer, the better, especially the transitional model, in which teachers work closely with children for a short period of time (three years at most). But for others, a minimum number of children is required. This need can be met by combining classes with another school district which shares the same goals and sociolinguistic characteristics, or by expanding the program to include other children. For instance, if children already fluently bilingual or monolingual-English children are not already included in the goals of the program, there might be room for them without compromising the goals for children whose need for bilingual education is greatest.

Of course, planning does not take place only once. Goals should be periodically reexamined in the light of new data. If the existing program does not meet the present needs of the community it serves, it should be redesigned by the same process.

NOTES

- ¹ See J.V. Jensen (1962), p.365, and T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970), pp.8-10.
- ² Quoted in T. Andersson (1971), p.432. The Manual was first published in 1970 by the U.S. Government Printing Office.
- ³ In J.A. Fishman (1970).
- ⁴ The Act, passed in 1971, is entitled "An Act providing for the establishment of programs in transitional bilingual education in the public schools of the commonwealth, with reimbursement by the commonwealth to cities, towns and school districts to finance the additional costs of such programs" and is referred to as the Transitional Bilingual Education Act, or simply, the Act.
- ⁵ J.A. Fishman (1970).
- ⁶ M.P. Saville and R.C. Troike (1970).
- ⁷ See the Transitional Bilingual Education Act (1971).
- ⁸ Quoted in T. Andersson (1971), p.432.
- ⁹ See T. Andersson (1971), p.434.
- ¹⁰ Taken from M-L. Jaramillo (1972).
- ¹¹ In Norma Hernandez' unparalleled article on "Mathematics for the Bicultural Student", she discusses what culture has to do even with even a subject like math.
- ¹² Lesser, Fifer and Clark (1965), discussed in N. Hernandez (1972).
- ¹³ Lesser (1967), discussed in N. Hernandez (1972).
- ¹⁴ N. Hernandez (1972).
- ¹⁵ Robert Roeming (1971), p.15.
- ¹⁶ Quoted in N.Hernandez (1972).
- ¹⁷ Quoted in T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970).

- ¹⁸The Coral Way Elementary School is described in T. Andersson (1971), p.428, and in several places in T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970).
- ¹⁹For a list of some of these programs, see vol. 2 of T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970).
- ²⁰The Transitional Bilingual Education Act requires that any school district with 20 or more children of school age who speak the same non-English tongue provide those children with transitional bilingual education for up to three years, or until they are ready for English classes.
- ²¹Reported in U.S. Senate (1972). The ruling was handed down in August, 1971.
- ²²Quoted in T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970), p.41.
- ²³Ibid., p.41.
- ²⁴Quoted in T. Andersson (1971), p.434.
- ²⁵C.A. Iglesias (1970), p. 181. The original read:
"Pero los millones de mexicanos, o sus descendientes, que habitan en Texas, Arizona, Nuevo Mexico, y California hablan ingles, y la generalidad apenas se expresa en español (o, en todo caso, en una jerga que ha dejado de tener calidad de idioma), y sin embargo, son tratados igual o peor que los negros, como ciudadanos de segunda, de tercera, o de cuarta clase."
- ²⁶The research was published in 1962 and reported in V.P. John and V.M. Horner (1970), p.149.
- ²⁷W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker (1973), p.90.
- ²⁸J.V. Jensen (1962).
- ²⁹Ibid., p.366.
- ³⁰T. Andersson (1971), p.428.
- ³¹V.P. John and V.M. Horner (1970), p.147.
- ³²M.D. Meyerson (1969), p.526.
- ³³V.P. John and V.M. Horner (1970).

- ³⁴Ibid., p.146.
- ³⁵Discussed in W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker (1973).
- ³⁶Quoted in T.Andersson and M. Boyer (1970), p.50, from testimony given to the Senate Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, May 18, 1967.
- ³⁷For example, S.C. Gudschinsky (1971).
- ³⁸Peal and Lambert. See note 26.
- ³⁹D.G.Muller and R. Leonetti (1970).
- ⁴⁰Reported in V.P. John and V.M. Horner (1970).
- ⁴¹Described in John and Horner (1970), pp.147-8.
- ⁴²Ibid., p.147.
- ⁴³Ibid.
- ⁴⁴T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970), p.54.
- ⁴⁵V.P. John and V.M. Horner (1970), p. 148.
- ⁴⁶B.L.Broman (1972).
- ⁴⁷T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970), p.52.
- ⁴⁸W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker (1973).
- ⁴⁹See A. Gianturco and N. Aronin (1971), P.A. Zirkel (1971), and U.S. Census; also, interview with E. Crespo.
- ⁵⁰See, for instance, R. Roeming (1971), p.8.
- ⁵¹See Albar Peña's contribution to the Mexican American and Educational Change Symposium at the University of California at Riverside, 1971.
- ⁵²V.P. John and V.M. Horner (1970), p. 149.
- ⁵³In the Transitional Bilingual Education Act.
- ⁵⁴However, the extra expense, if any, is not paid by the commonwealth.
- ⁵⁵Albar Peña, see note 51.

⁵⁶J.A. Fishman (1970).

⁵⁷See note 51.

⁵⁸W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker (1973).

⁵⁹In J.A. Fishman (1970) and M.P. Saville and R.C. Troike (1970).

⁶⁰J.E. Riley (1968).

⁶¹See note 20.

⁶²See note 59.

CHAPTER TWO. WOBURN, MASSACHUSETTS

The city of Woburn is about 15 miles northwest of Boston, connected to the city by a major radial highway (Route 93). Suburban in nature, most of the residences are single family homes¹ and almost all of those are owner occupied.² The population density is approximately 38,000 persons per square mile. In 1950, it was 1,593 p.p.s.m. and by 1960 it was 2,427 p.p.s.m.³ Industry is spread out throughout the city, and there is a small retail district in the center of town. Most of the residents of Woburn are of Irish descent, and for many, Woburn is the first step in the move away from Boston.

But there is a small, but substantial community of Puerto Ricans living in Woburn. Using the list of 250 adults developed by the Latin American-Program of the YMCA (which is the only one available) and the survey result(see Appendix)of a mean of 2.1 children per family, the population is somewhere between 500 and 750 people. The 1970 census listed only 236 Puerto Ricans and another 90 other Spanish-speaking people. There are few services for the Spanish-speaking in Woburn. The Latin American program, which has a Puerto Rican director, provides counseling; a Spanish-speaking social worker in the welfare office deals with about 10% of the Spanish

population⁴. There are no recreational facilities where Spanish is used; no Spanish theaters or entertainments; few stores where Spanish is spoken. The community is cut off from the larger Spanish community in Boston by distance and lack of transportation. They face as many financial, cultural, and personal problems as the Spanish-speaking in Boston, but with even less support.

Although there are Spanish communities in many of the towns surrounding Boston, they are unlikely to ever join together to meet these needs because, in general, each Massachusetts town has Puerto Ricans from a different area in Puerto Rico. In Woburn, most of the people are from Patillas and Arroyo, two towns (and the rural areas surrounding them) in the southeastern corner of the island, where sugar cane production is the major source of income. By contrast to Woburn, the mean temperature in the towns is 78° - 80°. ⁵ When the families arrive in Woburn, the men generally find work in the greenhouses. People frequently return to Puerto Rico for periods of time. Although the exact history of migration to Woburn is unknown, there are people there now who moved to Woburn from Puerto Rico in 1958. Half moved there since 1966, and the largest group living there now arrived during the mid-sixties. ⁶

Woburn is an isolated city , cut off in many ways from Boston. Most of the residents are working class and lower middle class. Social tension has built up between the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking communities⁷ which has at least once broken out into a gang war.⁸

The bilingual transitional program in Woburn was begun officially in February 1972, preceded by ESL classes funded by Title I of the ESEA and by special summer classes funded by the Massachusetts Migrant Workers program. The transitional classes begin in kindergarten and go through the second grade. The goals of the program are: facility in English, maintenance of Spanish, reading skills in Spanish, and successful entry into the regular program.⁹ That entry is accomplished by a transitional period when a child is ready to learn any subject through English, as judged by the bilingual teacher. Generally, the child begins attending one or two subject classes part time, spending most of the time in the bilingual class until the new situation is comfortable. There is also a bilingual teacher for older children. In the past, a tutor was provided after school for those children wishing to continue studying Spanish after entering the regular program, but this was discontinued due to a lack

of interest. There are no English-speaking children in the bilingual classes. This year (1973-74) there are approximately 35 children in the program. The rest of the Puerto Rican children are in all of the elementary schools, the junior high, and the high school.

Among Puerto Rican adults in Woburn, the average educational level is estimated at the fourth grade.¹⁰ Some adults are illiterate in both Spanish and English.¹¹ In response to the survey discussed in the next section, 90% of the parents questioned said that they expected their children to graduate from high school. This expectation is lower than in other cities, yet even it is not fulfilled. Only one Puerto Rican has ever graduated from Woburn High.¹² If the bilingual program is successful in motivating and preparing children, this will change.

NOTES

- ¹ See Town Monograph for Woburn, Mass.
- ² Ibid.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Interview with E. Crespo.
- ⁵ R. Picó (1962).
- ⁶ See survey results, next chapter.
- ⁷ From interviews with E. Crespo, M. Marrero, and M. Hagsburg.
- ⁸ Interview with H. Hernandez.
- ⁹ Interview with B. Bane.
- ¹⁰ Interview with E. Crespo.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE. SURVEY OF ATTITUDES IN WOBURN

The Survey

The questionnaire (see Appendix One) was developed to collect data on the attitudes that Spanish-speaking adults in Woburn have toward the schools and bilingual education, in order to bring bilingual education planning more in line with the values of the Spanish community. The questions were devised after reviewing several other parental attitude surveys and the few available results¹. One particular questionnaire, from the Healdsburg Union School District in California², was especially useful because of its format, which was adopted for Part II of this questionnaire. The method of posing questions as statements to be agreed or disagreed with seems less likely to produce biased results because the sentiments expressed are dissociated from the interviewer. The statement which opens Part II is taken from the Healdsburg Questionnaire and several appropriate questions were used in modified form.

Personal interviews were chosen because of the high response rate, the speed with which they could be done and the difficulties inherent in other methods.

The questionnaire was made closed ended and relatively short so that the interviews could be conducted quickly. Questions were chosen to get at attitudes on language use and importance, ties to language and culture, and expectations of the school. The factual questions (Part I) were included for correlation with the value questions (Part II), although the question "Where did you live before?" was intended to discover what portions of the community came from Patillas and Arroyo. Unfortunately, the interviewer failed to get that information.

Once written, the questionnaire was tested for possible consistent sets of answers to determine what biases it had. Each set tried produced more positive than negative responses, but they were not the same ones in every case. The actual results in Woburn yielded a mean of 8.9 positive responses to the twelve value questions.

The survey was translated into Spanish with assistance from Herman Hernandez of the Latin American Program of the YMCA in Woburn.

The Sample

The available, informal estimates on the number of Spanish-speaking in Woburn were all around 1000, although the Census Bureau gave the 1970 population as 326.³ From these estimates, a sample of 35 was decided upon, expecting an adult population of about 350. The only listing of Spanish-speaking adults in Woburn, that of the Latin American program, listed approximately 250 adults. The 38 people interviewed were chosen from that list, and the interviews were conducted in Spanish by a member of the Puerto Rican community in Woburn.

Statistical Methods Used

For setting confidence intervals on the percentage of people agreeing with the majority of people in the sample, the conservative method of the 95% confidence limits chart for an infinite population in Mosteller, Rourke and Thomas was used. Because the population sampled was greater than 10% of the total; these confidence intervals are unnecessarily large, but are sufficient to show that on any one issue, the probability that the true proportion is .5 or less is less than 0.05. (See Table VII).

The three methods used in this paper for determining

association are: chi-squared, the Fisher Exact Method, and the t-test on the difference of means. The chi-squared test was used here only for finding the significance of associations in 2x3 tables (those concerning years in Woburn). Chi-squared (χ^2) is equal to $\sum \frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$ over all the cells, where o is the observed number of cases in any cell and e is the expected number, given no association other than that caused by the marginal distributions. The degrees of freedom are 2 and the probability is read from a table of the chi-squared distribution.

For two by two tables (since all have small cell values), the Fisher Exact Method was used, in which the probabilities of the observed distribution and all those more extreme are summed and doubled (for a conservative estimate of the two-tailed probability) to get the significance (see figure 1 for a demonstration).

The test for comparison of means assumes that σ_x and σ_y are nearly equal (x and y for all tests are numbers of children and the variance can be assumed equal for different groups within the overall population). The variance of the difference between the two means is estimated by:

$$s_{\bar{x}-\bar{y}}^2 = \frac{\sum (x_i - \bar{x})^2 + \sum (y_i - \bar{y})^2}{n_x + n_y - 2} \left(\frac{1}{n_x} + \frac{1}{n_y} \right).$$

Using as the degrees of freedom $n_x + n_y - 2 = 35$, a two-

Figure I

		Question 7		
		Y	N	
Question 8	Y	1	26	27
	N	6	5	11
		7	31	38

Observed Distribution

0	27	27	5	22	27
7	4	11	2	9	11
7	31	38	7	31	38

More Extreme
DistributionExpected Cell Values
Given Marginal Totals

The significance of the relationship between answers is equal to twice the probability of the observed distribution and any more extreme distributions. There is only one more extreme case, so the significance is equal to:

$$2 \left(\frac{27! 11! 7! 31!}{38! 1! 26! 6! 5!} + \frac{27! 11! 7! 31!}{38! 4! 7! 0! 27!} \right) = .00206 = p$$

There is therefore a significant ($p < .05$) relationship, which is that those who do not feel that Spanish is the parents' responsibility feel that children should be allowed to miss school occasionally. Also, those who disagree with the majority on one question are likely to disagree on the other.

USING THE FISHER EXACT METHOD

tailed test at the 95% confidence level using the student t-distribution gives $x-y \pm 1.69S_{x-y}$ as the confidence limits. If they do not include 0, the difference is significant at the 95% level.

Summary of Questionnaire Results

The questionnaire used to ascertain the feelings of parents on the education of Puerto Rican children was administered in Spanish to 38 Puerto Rican adults in Woburn. It was divided into two parts, basic factual information, and 12 value statements which were agreed or disagreed with (see Appendix I for a copy of the questionnaire and the results). The value statements were on bilingual education and the schools, and showed a majority of people with a positive attitude toward both.

On each of the twelve questions the agreement among those interviewed was strong. The statement, "once in a while it should be ok for parents to keep their children out of school for a day for family matters" produced the lowest level of concurrence, with 71% agreeing with it. This figure is significantly (at $p=.05$) greater than 50%, so we can safely say on this statement, as well as the other eleven, that we know the majority feeling on the

subject. The proportion of interviewees concurring (on either 'agree' or 'disagree') on the rest ranged from 82% to 100% (see Appendix I).

The feeling in Woburn is strongly in favor of bilingual schooling. All but one person agreed with the idea that Spanish-speaking children should learn to read and write it as well and that Spanish-speaking children have the right to bilingual education (a right guaranteed by Massachusetts and the United States⁴). None felt that the use of Spanish as a teaching medium would hinder the acquisition of English skills, and all valued those skills as giving their children an advantage in life.

Over half the people interviewed had moved to Woburn since 1967. All had come from Puerto Rico. Except for a late start (only two people had been in Woburn since before 1960), the pattern of arrivals is similar to Boston's⁵. Two thirds said they could speak English and approximately half could read it. Again, these proportions are similar to Boston's⁶. For women, the proportions were lower than for men and increased with years spent in Woburn. For men, the ability to read and speak English was lowest for men living in Woburn five to eight years. The Puerto Ricans in Woburn differed from Spanish-speaking people in Boston, Hartford, Connecticut, and Amarillo, Texas, in having lower aspirations for their

children.⁷

Bilingual Education

Although only three of the thirty-eight people interviewed had children presently in the bilingual program in the schools, the attitudes expressed strongly favored bilingual education. Using conservative 95% confidence limits, we can say that these favorable opinions are held by the majority of Puerto Rican adults in Woburn (see Table VII). Both Spanish and English are important. 97% agreed with the statement, "All children who speak Spanish should learn to read and write it." (question 1). All those interviewed felt that being able to speak and read English would help their children to "do better in life" (question 12) and that "parents should try to learn more English" (question 10). That the schools should teach about Puerto Rico and its history (question 6) was agreed on by 100%. Although some Spanish-speaking communities undergoing a language shift dislike the use of Spanish as a teaching medium because they fear that their children will be disadvantaged in English skills,⁸ none of the Woburn community interviewed agreed with that idea (question 9). Statements 3 and 7 assigned the

responsibility for teaching English and Spanish to Puerto Rican children to the schools and parents respectively. Both statements were rejected by the interviewees, and the only reasonable explanation is that they feel that these tasks should be shared by parents and the school, another indication that the schools should be involved in bilingual education and the parents in the schools. On the issue of the right to bilingual education (question 11), 97% agree, but it is not known whether or not they know that this is a legal right, guaranteed by the state and federal governments.

The Schools

The indications from the value questions dealing with the schools in general are that there is much good will toward the schools and that parents are interested in cooperating with them. All thirty-eight of the adults interviewed saw teachers as good examples for their children (question 2). Most (97%) thought that "it would be a good thing if parents who spoke Spanish and English helped the teachers in schools where there are children who speak Spanish". There was some dispute, but 71% felt that it should be alright "for parents to keep their

children out of school for a day for family matters" (question 8). The great majority (95%) agreed that "most kids who can do the work are able to go to college if they really want to" (question 4). However, the information given in part one, questions 10 and 11, seems to contradict this since 90% of the parents expected their children to end their education with high school (an expectation which is low compared with other cities⁹).

Factual Information

The people to be interviewed were chosen randomly from a list of adults in Woburn. 40% of them were female and 60% male. The mean number of years lived in Woburn is 6.3; the median is 6; and the mode is 7. All had come to Woburn from Puerto Rico and 77% intended to return there (in a Hartford survey¹⁰, 70% planned to return to Puerto Rico). The mean number of children per person is 2.11 and the standard deviation 2.06. Thirteen of the thirty-eight had no children. Of those who had children, only 64% indicated that their children were able to speak English and 75% speak Spanish with their children.

Two questions (10 and 11) asked "how long do you

expect your daughters (sons) to stay in school?"

The answers for daughters and sons were the same: 90% expected that their children would graduate from high school and 5% expected their children to graduate from college. Their expectation is lower than in other cities. In Boston,¹¹ Spanish-speaking parents were asked about the minimum amount of education desired for their children. Only 0.9% desired less than twelve years, 30.3% desired high school graduation, 4.6% hoped for some college, and 41.3% desired graduation from a four year college or better. In a similar survey in Hartford, Connecticut¹², involving only Puerto Rican parents, 0.8% desired junior high school graduation, 25.6% desired high school, 20.8% hoped for two years of college, and 52.8% desired four year college graduation or better. When those same parents were asked what they expected, 12.3% answered junior high or less, 61.4% answered high school graduation, and 26.3% hoped for at least some college (2.5% expected their children to complete a graduate or professional school). In Amarillo, Texas¹³ 86% of the parents surveyed desired a college education for their children. The remaining 14% wished for their children to graduate from high school.

Of those who answered the question, "Can you speak English well enough to go shopping alone?", 24, or 67%

answered yes, but only 49% said that they can read an English newspaper (see Table I). In general, women are less often able to speak or read English than men— 24% more men than women can speak English and 26% more can read it. The ability to speak and read English is not much different in Woburn from the city of Boston¹⁴, where 30.1% indicated that they could speak English, and 43.0% that they speak "a little". In Boston, 28.0% said they could read English, and 30.1% that they could read "a little". Interpreting the Boston results in terms of the questions asked in Woburn is difficult, since reading "a little" and reading a newspaper are not easily comparable, but there is no obvious difference in the abilities.

The Dissenters

Eleven people account for all the dissenting opinions on the twelve value questions; nine of these fall into the category of living in Woburn five to eight years and constitute 50% of that category. For question 7, "Spanish should be taught by the parents rather than by the teachers", there is a significant ($p < 0.02$) association between the answers given and the length of time lived in Woburn. All seven who agreed with the statement came from

the five to eight year group (see Table .II). The complementary question, number 3, "Teaching English to Spanish-speaking children is the school's job, not the parent's job", appears to have the same association (all four who agreed fell into the five to eight year category), but it is not statistically significant at the 95% level (see Table III). The same is true for the answers to question 8, "Once in awhile it should be ok for parents to keep their children out of school..."; the association between that question and years in Woburn is not significant at the 95% level (see Table IV).

The mean number of children for those agreeing with the two questions on the responsibility for teaching Spanish and English (questions 3 and 7) is higher than for the total population. A test on the difference of the means shows that the number of children is significantly (at 95% confidence level) higher for those who agree (question 3- 4.75 children; question 7- 3.57 children) than those who disagree (question 3- 2.09 children; question 7- 1.77 children). Those with more children tend to ascribe the responsibilities to separate people- English to the teacher and Spanish to the parent. Furthermore, there is no significant association between the number of children and the categories for years in Woburn. On question 8, the people who did not think

children should stay out of school for family reasons, had an average of 3.36 children, compared with an average of 1.58 for those who agreed with the statement; however, due to the large variation, the difference was not significant at the 95% level.

Questions 3 and 7 are related (see Table V). All four of those who felt that English is the school's job also felt that Spanish is the parent's responsibility. However, three people who saw teaching Spanish to their children as their responsibility did not ascribe the task of teaching English to the schools. Using the Fisher Exact Method, the relationship between answers given to these two questions (agree-agree and disagree-disagree) is significant at better than the 99% confidence level. There is also an inverse relationship (agree-disagree) (see Table VI) between the answers to question 7 (on Spanish teaching) and question 8 (on staying out of school), significant at the 99% level. Although answers to questions 3 and 7 might have been associated with the ability to speak English, they were not. Question 8, which had the largest dissenting group (29%) was not related to anything other than question 7.

The Puerto Ricans

The data gathered from these thirty-eight people paint a picture of Woburn's Spanish community. They are almost all Puerto Ricans. One third can not speak English, one half cannot read it, although half have been in Woburn over six years. A third say that their children do not speak English and seventy-five percent use only Spanish to communicate with their children. Their expectations for their children's academic success are lower than in other cities.

In the schools, their children are learning to read and write and speak English. Except for parents whose children are in the bilingual program (only three of the thirty-eight had children in the program), that means that the majority of parents cannot follow their children's schoolwork, yet they expressed the opinion that the responsibility for teaching English does not lie exclusively with the school. Feeling runs strongly in favor of the importance of English. "Parents should try to learn more English." "Children who learn to speak and read English will do better in life than those who don't." In a small Spanish community in Massachusetts, it is hard to ignore the necessity of learning English.

But at the same time, Spanish cannot be ignored either. Around three quarters want their children to learn to read and write Spanish. They feel (or know) that their children have a right to a bilingual education where they can learn these skills. They see no conflict between the two languages. They want Puerto Rican parents and Puerto Rican history in the schools. Perhaps they won't go to school to tell the teachers their feelings (they have respect for and faith in the schools), but these parents feel more strongly about their native language than many suspect.

Table I

Years	Sex	Speak		Read		Speak	Read
		Yes	No	Yes	No		
1	M	1	0	1	0	100%	100%
	F	0	0	0	0		
2	M	1	1	1	1	33%	33%
	F	0	1	0	1		
3	M	2	0	1	1	50%	25%
	F	0	2	0	2		
4	M	3	1	2	2	75%	50%
	F	0	0	0	0		
5	M	1	0	0	1	67%	0%
	F	1	1	0	2		
6	M	0	2	0	2	25%	25%
	F	1	1	1	1		
7	M	2	1	2	2	43%	29%
	F	1	2	0	3		
8	M	2	0	2	0	100%	100%
	F	1	0	1	0		
9	M	0	0	0	0	-	-
	F	0	0	0	0		
10	M	0	0	0	0	*	*
	F	0	0	0	0		
11	M	1	0	1	0	100%	100%
	F	0	0	0	0		
12	M	0	0	0	0	-	-
	F	0	0	0	0		
13	M	1	0	1	0	100%	100%
	F	1	0	1	0		
14	M	0	0	0	0	100%	0%
	F	1	0	0	1		
15	M	0	0	0	0	100%	100%
	F	1	0	1	0		
Total	M	14	5	11	9	74%	55%
	F	7	7	4	10	50%	29%

* 1 Person, sex unknown,
reads and speaks English

ABILITY TO SPEAK AND READ ENGLISH
BY YEARS IN WOBURN AND SEX.

Table II

Years	Yes	No
1-4	0	12
5-8	7	11
9-16	0	6
Total	<u>7</u>	<u>29</u>

Question 7: Should Spanish be taught by the parents rather than the teacher?

$$\chi^2 = 8.740 \quad (P < 0.02)$$

ANSWERS TO VALUE QUESTION 7 BY YEARS LIVED IN WOBURN

Table III

Years	Yes	No
1-4	0	12
5-8	4	14
9-16	0	6
Total	<u>4</u>	<u>32</u>

Question 3: Is it the school's job to teach English to Spanish-speaking children, rather than the parent's job?

$$\chi^2 = 3.8516 \quad (P > 0.10)$$

ANSWERS TO VALUE QUESTION 3 BY YEARS LIVED IN WOBURN

Table IV

Years	Yes	No
1-4	10	2
5-8	10	8
9-16	6	0
Total	<u>26</u>	<u>10</u>

Question 8: Is it ok for parents to keep their kids out of school for family reasons for a day once in awhile?

$$\chi^2 = 5.5702 \quad (P < 0.10)$$

ANSWERS TO VALUE QUESTION 8 BY YEARS LIVED IN WOBURN

Table V

		Question 7			
		Yes	No	Total	
Question 3	Yes	4	0	4	$p = .001$
	No	3	31	34	
	Total	7	31	38	

Question 7: Should Spanish be taught by the parents rather than the teacher?

Question 3: Is it the school's job to teach English to Spanish-speaking children rather than the parent's job?

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 7 BY RESPONSES TO QUESTION 3

Table VI

		Question 8			
		Yes	No	Total	
Question 7	Yes	1	26	27	$p = .002$
	No	6	5	11	
	Total	7	31	38	

Question 8: Is it ok for parents to keep their children out of school for family reasons for a day once in a while?

Question 7: Should Spanish be taught by the parents rather than the teacher?

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 8 BY RESPONSES TO QUESTION 7

Table VII

**95% CONFIDENCE INTERVALS ON TRUE PROPORTION OF
POPULATION AGREEING ON EACH ISSUE**

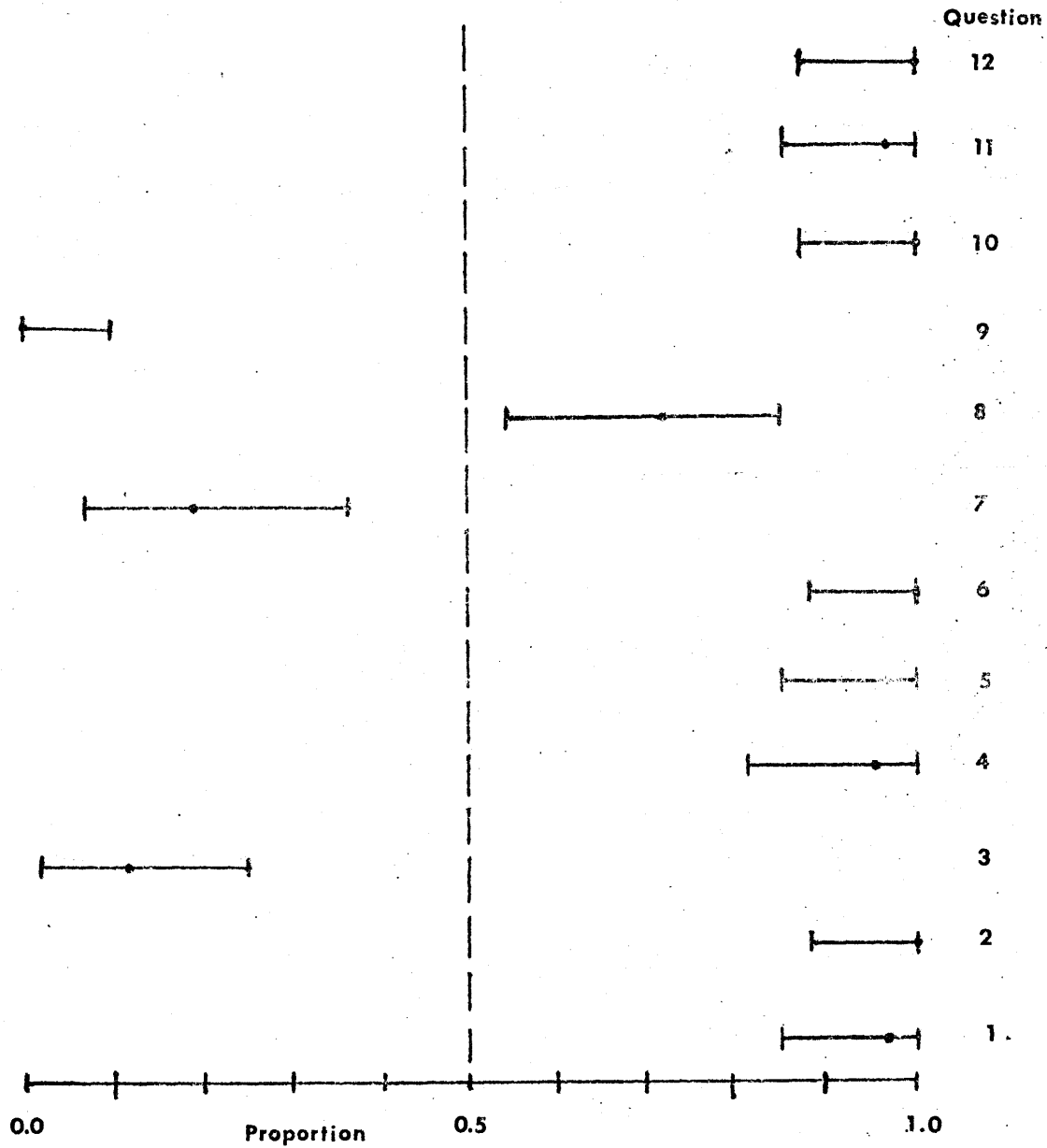


Chart 1 in Mosteller, Rourke, and Thomas (1970) used to establish limits.

NOTES

- ¹ Surveys with results: A. Gianturco and N. Aronin (1971),
Peso Education Service Center (1970), P.A. Zirkel (1971).
With no published results: L.P. Gutierrez (1972),
Healdsburg Union School District (1971), Jersey City
State College (1970), Las Cruces School District (1971,
2 surveys).
- ² Healdsburg Union School District (1971).
- ³ U.S. Census, count of Spanish Speaking Persons, 1970.
- ⁴ Guaranteed by the Transitional Bilingual Educationa Act
in Massachusetts. The U.S. District Court in eastern
Texas, U.S. v. Texas (San Felipe-Del Rio ISD) ruled, in
1971, that "the denial of bilingual services to Spanish-
speaking children violates the equal protection clause
of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution". See p.288,
U.S. Senate (1972).
- ⁵ See A. Gianturco and N. Aronin (1971), p.13.
- ⁶ Ibid., p.36.
- ⁷ See "Factual Information" later in the chapter.
- ⁸ See "Who Is It Good For" in Chapter One.
- ⁹ See "Factual Information".
- ¹⁰ P.A. Zirkel (1971).
- ¹¹ A. Gianturco and N. Aronin (1971).
- ¹² P.A. Zirkel (1971).
- ¹³ Peso Education Service Center (1970).
- ¹⁴ A. Gianturco and N. Aronin (1971).

CHAPTER FOUR. CONCLUSIONSPlanning For Bilingual Education In Woburn

The process of planning for education is cyclical.¹ Every plan, once designed, needs constant reevaluation in light of new information, new problems, new people. The bilingual program for Spanish-speaking children has undergone changes in the past which have led it today to be a small, well-staffed transitional program teaching Spanish and English reading and preparing children individually to move into the standard classes. The results of this study, especially the attitudes of parents, require a reconsideration of the goals and methods of this program, for it is the parents who ultimately will measure a school's success or failure in this society.

In affecting this one program, the attitudes of these Puerto Rican parents will have repercussions throughout the system. Changes in the resources devoted to bilingual/bicultural education or even in the curriculum will affect other classes with other needs and other children. The goals set forth below pertain to the bilingual program, but there are more Puerto Rican children outside the program than in it. For that reason, the results of the attitude survey should be considered also in

planning for the standard program. The needs of Puerto Rican children in and out of transitional bilingual classes have to be balanced with other needs when planning the entire school system. To set these priorities fairly, all children need to be represented, so that as long as Puerto Rican parents are not part of the planning group, the number one priority ought to be getting them into that group.

The recommendations that follow are for the bilingual program, although many of them could be applied to the entire educational system. They consist of four long term goals to govern and guide other more immediate goals. So far, the Woburn program has limited itself in planning because of a fear that there will soon not be enough children to warrant a bilingual program. This should not stop them, though, in light of the information provided by the survey. Although migration to Woburn is on the decline, 75% of all Puerto Ricans speak only Spanish with their children, and 36% report that their children can not speak English. Almost all want their children to learn to read and write Spanish and expect the schools to help them to teach those children. So, expecting the need for bilingual/bicultural education to continue, the four long term goals are:

1. to involve parents fully in the bilingual program
2. to create harmonious cultural diversity in Woburn
3. to maximize the educational benefits of the bilingual program
4. to move toward a full bilingual/bicultural program

One: Involve Parents Fully In The Bilingual Program

The goal of parent involvement is specified by the Massachusetts Bilingual Act and supported by research.² The Bureau of Transitional Education, which is charged with the job of providing "for the maximum practicable involvement of parents of children of limited English-speaking ability in the planning, development and evaluation of transitional bilingual programs", requires each bilingual program to create a Parent Advisory Committee to review proposed plans. However, programs across the country have found this and other forms of involvement extremely difficult,³ except where an established ethnic political group or agency worked with the schools.⁴ In lieu of such a superior situation, the Woburn program should devote effort to involving parents, because the need is great.

The bilingual program especially needs representatives of the Puerto Rican community planning and evaluating its content, methods, and goals. No one in the administration is truly qualified to plan the education of children whose needs and background differ so from the majority of children without knowledge of the linguistic and social structure of the community (see Saville, Troike and Fishman). Some of that knowledge can be gained by questionnaires such as the one devised for this study, in which the opinions expressed and the strong concurrence only point up the need for policy makers who know their neighbors' feelings. This notion is basic to American education and is reflected in the locally elected school boards in every city and town of the Commonwealth.

A second place where Puerto Rican adults are needed is in the classroom. As mentioned in Chapter One, the federal policy on bilingual education states that a complete program develops the self-esteem and cultural pride of the children. John and Horner, cited in that chapter, reported a positive correlation between self-image and academic achievement. Parents or other adults (including high-school students) in the classroom working as teacher aides provide Puerto Rican role models for children. Especially in those classrooms where the teacher represents the American culture, another adult can provide

"a second pair of eyes". The answers given to the value questions of the questionnaire indicate that adults want to share the responsibility for educating children with the school, and most importantly, that the Puerto Rican community very strongly supports the idea of having teacher aides.

One obvious entry point for involving the parents of children in the bilingual classes is through the Parent Advisory Committee required by law. The obstacles, though, must each be overcome. Spanish-speaking people working long hours, such as those in Woburn's greenhouses,⁵ have little time or energy for school meetings. Often, women who don't work can not or won't go out without their husbands.⁶ In the schools, teachers hold the authority and people who went to school where teachers were even stronger authority figures may feel uncomfortable there. Rural Puerto Ricans seldom work through formal meetings.⁷ People with a fourth grade education on the average⁸ might be reluctant to advise the teachers on how to teach their children. To break down these barriers to a functioning Parent Advisory Committee, the transitional bilingual program, through its community liason and any volunteer help available (especially people familiar with community work and the local Spanish community), ought to work toward these three objectives

simultaneously: 1) determine from the parents the best times, days, and meeting places for PAC meetings; 2) get parents to talk informally in groups about education; and 3) familiarize the parents with the schools, the teachers and administrators, and the bilingual program.

The three objectives overlap. Bilingual Schooling in the United States, a major handbook for bilingual education planning, suggests meetings held on Sunday afternoons.⁹ Questionnaires listing all the days and hours of the week could be mailed out, but it would be better if people talking with the parents asked about the relative merits of Sunday afternoons and weekday mornings or evenings. Using the information collected by this study as a starting point, they could visit stores, bars, living rooms and porches to get people talking about what sort of education they want for their children, how the responsibility for it could be shared, and what their children ought to learn about Puerto Rico, just to get people thinking and talking about these issues in an unpressured atmosphere. At the same time, they could share information on the program with the parents and invite them to visit the classes, even if they do not presently have children in them. Alternative places for meetings include the living rooms of participants and the YMCA building where the Latin American Program is housed.

If the time and skill necessary to discussing these things informally are not available, such discussions can be started in other situations, especially adult education classes and school-sponsored social events. Social events such as class plays or family pot luck dinners, gather parents together, making simple polls easy to administer, bring parents in contact with those who run the bilingual program, and open the school doors to people reluctant to visit during classes. Information on the aims and methods and accomplishments of the bilingual program in Woburn should be part of the agenda, and questions and opinions should be solicited.

Adult education, which exists in Woburn only for those who speak English, holds the greatest potential for planning. Parents who want their children to learn about Puerto Rico and its history and to read Spanish and English and further, consider teaching those subjects as partly their own responsibility, most likely want to learn the same things themselves along with methods of helping their children. English classes geared toward Puerto Ricans, one third of whom can not speak English, and more of whom can not read it, but who expect that facility in English will improve their situation in life, should be a first priority, planned by those knowledgeable on adult education, the Puerto Rican community, and

bicultural English as a Second Language. Other classes which might interest the Spanish-speaking people of Woburn include traditional adult education courses: sewing, consumer affairs, art, music, and high school equivalency courses, offered in Spanish. Again, the best way to identify courses and times which will attract enough students is to ask the people they are planned for, and to involve trusted organizations and people in the planning. As parents become students themselves, they can discuss what they see as goals for their own and their children's education. Adult education can also provide training for teacher aides in bilingual classes.

Whenever and wherever the Parent Advisory Committee meets, its purpose is to improve the bilingual program by making it responsive to the people it serves and the values of the community. No one else can accomplish this; it must be done by representatives of the Puerto Rican community, and they can only accomplish it if all the information on the Woburn program and on research and experiments in bilingual education is available to them. Meetings do not need to be conducted formally, but the agenda ought to focus on what is, what could be, and what will be. In Woburn, as in other cities, PAC meetings often develop into discussions of individual children,¹⁰ preventing parents from dealing with any

larger subjects. But people do not know how to deal with policy and planning issues automatically; someone who does ought to run the meetings. All questions on individual children should be directed to the teachers in separate conferences (which could, perhaps, be held before or after the PAC meetings). Providing information on the program and data on bilingual education is the responsibility of the program director and the community liason, in conjunction with the other teachers. As a first step, teachers could prepare a program on the transitional bilingual program (perhaps with slides of class activities), the Massachusetts law mandating it, and what they see as the goals for the program, encouraging parents to talk about their reactions. The way bilingual education is handled will determine the linguistic and cultural future of the Puerto Rican community and that decision belongs the children and adults of that group, not to the school system.

The second mode of involving adults (parents, high school students, and others) in bilingual education, as mentioned earlier, brings them into the classroom to assist the teacher, share their experiences with the children and provide role models for them. It takes no special talent to read or recite stories or to help with coats, boots, paints or trips, and any unemployed

adults, retired people, or high school students with extra time should be invited to participate. Helping with academic lessons requires somewhat more skill and confidence, but anyone interested can learn the methods from the teacher or in night classes, providing extra flexibility to deal with fast or slow students or those who enter during the year. Teachers should encourage people with special skills (in art, music, storytelling, etc.) to join the class periodically. Parents with little time can chaperone an occasional trip. For permanent aides, funds should be sought, but if the school system can not reimburse them, administrators should still try to ease the problems of volunteers by finding daycare for their younger children and providing flexible hours. The people interviewed like the idea. High school students are likely to volunteer, and may perhaps decide to become bilingual teachers based on their experiences. Unless the children object (although those described in Appendix Two did, younger children in a homogeneous class might not), a search for volunteers and funds should begin.

Lastly, to encourage Puerto Rican parents to involve themselves with the school, the channels open to all other parents need to be opened to those who can not speak or read English. The superintendent and school

committee should establish a requirement of bilingualism for the next clerical worker, switchboard operator or secretary hired. When any parent calls or visits the administrative offices of the schools, someone there should be able to speak to them and provide whatever information or advice is needed or direct them to the proper person. Also, all notices, report cards, and permission slips sent home with children ought to be in the language their parents speak. For open houses, parent-teacher conferences and all meetings, a translator should be available and advertised. Until there is such a person, bilingual teachers need to perform these functions within their own classrooms.

Involving the Spanish community in bilingual education should receive major, immediate attention from those responsible for it. The law mandates it and experience shows that it strengthens the program. Initial emphasis belongs on the Parent Advisory Committee, encouraging new members, making the meetings more convenient and comfortable for the parents, and directing attention toward policy issues. If at all possible, an organized program of building the PAC by spending time with parents ought to begin immediately; however, if other commitments of time prevent that, information for planning PAC meetings should be obtained quickly by

questionnaires sent home with students. Meetings of the PAC should not be stopped. Informative programs for meetings should be planned and designed now and announced by flyers and word of mouth. If teachers and students approve of parent aides, the community liaison can inform the high school and people who work with the Spanish-speaking of the plan, and request their help in locating possible aides, but the major emphasis belongs on the PAC.

Two. Create Harmonious Cultural Diversity in Woburn.

The major message of the answers given to the questionnaire is that the Puerto Ricans of Woburn want to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity while learning the language and ways of Woburn's majority. Spanish will continue to be their major language in the future (75% use only Spanish with their children and 33% can not use English for shopping, even after several years in Woburn). Especially because Woburn's Spanish population is isolated from other Spanish communities and resides with large numbers of non-Spanish people (they form at most 2% of the population), one of the goals of the bilingual program (and of the entire school program) should be to encourage understanding by adults and children

of both cultures.

The bilingual program has direct influence over the cultural development of the children in it, through the emphasis placed on Puerto Rican and American customs and values. According to one of the teachers in Woburn,¹⁰ the classes emphasize cultural identity and "Puerto Ricanness" and an understanding of the dominant culture prevalent in the rest of the school. Such an approach, if consistently carried out, suits the desires of the adults of the community. Teachers sensitive to the situation can guide children to a choice of cultural identification (Puerto Rican, Standard American, or some mixture) without pushing them into a fixed mold.

There are other things the bilingual classes can do. They can occasionally join other classes for bicultural activities. Children can teach each other songs in English and Spanish or play together at outdoor games. Exposure to children using the Spanish language to have fun can help the majority children to appreciate the Puerto Rican culture, sensing accomplishment at learning a song or rhyme in Spanish. Once the bilingual children leave their special classes, they will never again be together in such numbers in school. The bilingual classes, by appearing on cable television and in the local paper frequently, can introduce bilingual education and bi-

culturalism to adults and older children throughout Woburn. Since Puerto Ricans are not going to join the "melting pot", the bilingual classes can help to avoid hostility between the two cultures by reducing suspicion and speculation on why there are special classes for Puerto Ricans. As a center of biculturalism, the bilingual program should work to narrow the gap of cultural isolation.

The goal of creating cultural harmony has no specific short range steps. Rather, it should serve as policy -- everything that the program does should work toward that goal by reducing ignorance, suspicion and prejudice within Woburn. The function of the bilingual program should always be out in the open to avoid uninformed antagonism (which is hard to dispel with information after the opinion has been made) due to suspicion. Also, the bilingual classes should not be kept separate from the rest of the school, but should be part of the whole program, preparing the majority of children to live in a city where some of their fellow citizens are Puerto Rican and to see their Puerto Rican neighbors as individuals like themselves.

Three. Maximize the Educational Benefits of the Bilingual Program.

One of the biggest concerns of educational administrators, making the budget stretch to get the best possible education for everyone, means sometimes limiting the extent of special programs. Transitional bilingual education is intended to prepare non-English speaking children to join the other children as equals. No one doubts that it helps, but the advantage such preparation gives in the long run is not yet known in Woburn. The attitudes of fourth and fifth graders who had ESL training (see Appendix Two), when compared with those of adults, show that the pressure to conform with classmates (in the regular program) overcomes the cultural message from home. Will children who learn to read Spanish forget once the lessons are over and the pressure to be "American" is on? Without some changes, this is possible.

To achieve academically, children need strong self-images¹¹ and a foundation of basic skills. The bilingual program now provides both of these, and hopefully will continue to. The cooperation between teachers in moving children gradually out of the program is good. Children also need encouragement from their families. From what

the adults say, we can expect the children to receive support in learning both Spanish and English.

However, as they move out of the supportive bilingual program, they stop using Spanish in school, and their parents are for the most part cut off from their school world. They no longer have teachers who understand their cultural background and ways of dealing with the world, and may not have developed or accepted new ones. Most of all, they now face large classes where at most there are two or three other Spanish faces in the room. It is now when the schools must work to retain the advantages of bilingual classes for these children.

The best way to do this is by developing cultural awareness throughout the school system so that the Puerto Rican child's image of him/herself does not come under sharp attack. Children come to school with their parents' prejudices, which, for many in Woburn, include disrespect for the Puerto Ricans as a group. Therefore, to make the bilingual program worth the work that goes into it, the curriculum for the rest of the school ought to stress the idea that Puerto Rico is an island inhabited by ordinary people, American citizens, people who for the most part are like themselves but who speak another language. In Woburn's schools, Puerto Rico's history and legends and

traditions should receive the same attention that England's or Europe's or Ireland's do. In purchasing textbooks, efforts should be made to find books which deal with Puerto Ricans well, and library books which deal with Puerto Rican children should be recommended to all children. To defuse the language issue (where children are made to feel ashamed of their Spanish by other children who can not tolerate feeling left out when they can not understand), at least some Spanish should be taught, possibly by the bilingual teachers and their classes, to all non-Spanish speaking children in the early grades.

Another way of getting more out of the bilingual classes is by having parent aides in the classroom. While the children benefit from the parents' presence and instruction, the parents may gain from the teacher and the students. By helping children with English and Spanish, parents reinforce their own knowledge of the two languages, possibly learning to read English with their children. For people who don't work and stay at home, the bilingual situation will help in learning English. Additionally, grade school classes frequently cover, incidentally, aspects of urban living helpful to a parent recently moved to Woburn from a rural area. Most especially for people who do not leave their homes and deal with non-Spanish speaking people, time spent in

an elementary school classroom as an aide has the added advantage of casually introducing aspects of American culture, urban knowledge (for instance reading maps and using public transportation), and the English language.

For any planner, especially one constrained by political and financial considerations, getting the most (and best) possible out of each program is important. In the transitional bilingual program, several steps can be taken immediately and without further investment. The Woburn school system should: 1) maintain a policy of providing children in the bilingual classes with the same basic skills as their peers before integrating them; 2) encourage, in the classes, discussions on what it means to be Puerto Rican in Massachusetts; 3) lead children to appreciate their accomplishment in learning two languages and in other areas. Outside the bilingual program, an investment in time and money is needed to back up the work of the bilingual classes. It should be system-wide policy that any new textbooks purchased show a variety of children, including Puerto Ricans, and treat them fairly, in a non-patronizing way. Seminars and workshops, conducted by Puerto Ricans, would introduce teachers to some of the cultural differences mentioned in this study, to basic facts about Puerto Rico, to the lifestyles of Puerto Rican families in Woburn, and to children's

literature dealing with Puerto Ricans. Similar workshops for sensitizing suburban teachers to the Black culture have been successful in a number of school districts.¹²

Once past those two steps, a policy of including reference points familiar to Puerto Rican children in all subjects and introducing Anglo children to that culture would be inexpensive (in time and money) and relatively simple. For example, teachers could include the standard Puerto Rican diet as an example in a nutrition class, read a story in which the protagonists are Puerto Rican children, or use Puerto Rico for a geography study. Other steps, such as bringing parents into the school as aides, require a large effort and more planning.

The Fort Worth and Laredo bilingual programs were mentioned earlier as an example of what happens when planning is done without respect to the values and goals of the community. Those answering the Woburn questionnaire expressed a desire for their children to become and remain bilingual and biliterate, yet the program designed for them is a transitional one, shifting from one language to the other. Given the small number of children and the statewide emphasis on transitional classes, it is not certain that any other program could be devised. Still, thought should be given to whether or not the transitional program actually offers the most

effective education possible, given the attitudes children find at home.

Four. Moving Toward a Full Bilingual Program

Perhaps the biggest question raised by the literature and the opinions of the people interviewed is whether or not transitional bilingual education is the best education that can be offered to the children of the Puerto Rican community. It can not be answered by any one person, but needs to be discussed by everyone involved with the education of those children (including the children themselves).¹³ Joshua Fishman called the Full Bilingual Education model, where both languages are used equally for an indefinite period, the ideal. He also warned that a program should be geared to the social and linguistic conditions of the community, especially with regard to maintenance and shift of the language in question. From this we can assume that he only feels the full bilingual program to be ideal where language maintenance is desired, such as in Woburn. The one problem he sees which keeps it from truly being ideal is that the language minority children will be segregated from the rest for too long. Albar Peña¹⁴ was quoted earlier as seeing

"psychological and pedagogical disadvantages" to such segregation. Therefore, taking a lesson from the Coral Way Elementary School, the ideal education for Spanish-speaking children in Woburn is one which combines Spanish and English as media and doesn't segregate the children, in other words, a bilingual program for Spanish-speaking and English-speaking children together.

The research cited in this study indicates that for English-speaking children there are educational benefits from bilingual education. There are occupational benefits as well. And from a societal point of view, children growing up together, learning to appreciate each other's culture as well as understanding their own better by comparison, will reduce the social tension within the city and carry their biculturalism wherever they go if they leave Woburn.¹⁵

Full bilingual education is Joshua Fishman's ideal, and it works well in a Florida school for Cuban and American children, but does that mean that for Puerto Rican children in Woburn it would be better than the transitional program? It would take several years to evaluate the present program in Woburn, to ask whether or not children could still read Spanish three years later, what sort of support they received at home when all their schoolwork was in English compared to when it

was Spanish, and how many children felt that they could still retain their Puerto Rican identity if they valued it without experiencing social and academic problems. We could wait and see, and no one could predict the answers with certainty now; however, the answers of children who had essentially ESL training provide clues to those answers (see Appendix Two). The writer's feeling is that, given the evidence presented here, a full, two-way, bilingual/bicultural program should be the desired goal of the present transitional program and that even if that goal is never reached, each step in that direction will improve the education offered to Puerto Rican children.

The restraints that will hold back such progress include a dwindling in-migration of Puerto Rican families, resistance and reluctance on the part of the rest of the city, lack of funds, and the Massachusetts law which calls for transitional education and funds only programs which meet its criteria. However, those restraints can be dealt with if support goes to a dual-language program for all children who desire it. If the number of children is ever too small to sustain the program, children from a neighboring city can be taken on a tuition basis in order to keep the costs reasonable and the numbers of children balanced. Woburn should begin now to keep track

of the number of preschool children who can be expected to enter the bilingual classes in order to plan more effectively for the future. Funds could be sought from federal sources, such as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (the Bilingual Education Act), the National Defense Education Act (which funds foreign language instruction) and Title I funds (general unspecified aid to poverty areas). The Bureau of Transitional Bilingual Education would most likely help in the development of such a program and insure that at least present funding levels would not be cut unless enrollment dropped.

One of the first steps on the way to such a program is developing interest in it among the English-speaking of the city, and this step ought to be taken whether or not the end result will be full bilingual education. The program of bilingual/bicultural education and the benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism should be made public. As was mentioned for the third goal, keeping such a program out of view does not help the situation in Woburn at all. Other parents may wonder why Puerto Rican parents are involved in a Parents Advisory Committee of their own and do not work through the PTA and elected school officials, or wonder why general school funds go to support a program with limited enrollment. Rather than seek answers to their questions, they are likely to direct

their anger (silently) at the Puerto Ricans, whom they suspect of getting special treatment from the schools unfairly.

What could happen instead is a publicity campaign to explain the program to anyone who is interested through bulletins, newspapers, cable tv, and P.T.A. or club meetings. All parents could be invited to see for themselves what bilingual education is. At the same time, the benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism could be stressed, paving the way for involvement of English-speaking children in bilingual education.

The second step, moving toward extending the Spanish part of the program, is to provide tutoring during school hours for any child interested in maintaining the skills learned in the transitional program. Such a step does not determine the fate of the bilingual program, but allows children to choose without sacrifice (i.e. afternoons) to continue learning Spanish and to read about their background and culture in the language most often used to talk about them.

Whether or not a full bilingual program would serve the needs and desires of the Spanish community ought to be one of the first considerations of the Parents Advisory Committee once it is organized as a planning body. They should also investigate the feasibility of such a plan.

Priorities

Of the four goals listed, the most urgent is parent involvement in planning and evaluating the program through the Parent Advisory Committee. Without that, the program can not actually move toward the other goals. The first steps require some effort by program personnel to gather the necessary information to schedule and locate meetings. Although the use of polls is possible, the method of personal contact is preferable because it raises interest in the issues to be handled by the PAC. This method might be difficult if teachers feel they can not invest the time necessary or if volunteers are unavailable. However, such work could possibly be combined with the annual census of non-English speaking children required by state law, or college students interested in educational policy or community work could be enlisted (possibly through the federal work-study program).

Once the PAC can function as a policy-making board, the question of which model of bilingual education suits the city and the budget should be addressed. Concurrently, the steps toward involving people in the classroom should begin, and a panel of parents with several Puerto Rican members can look at the cultural aspect of the curriculum and textbooks and make recommendations. They

could organize seminars and workshops for teachers along with the PAC and the appropriate experts. It should be the responsibility of the community liaison and the PAC to begin disseminating information on the program as soon as it has been presented to the PAC members. Because the transitional program is new and still flexible, all of the recommendations offered should be examined by the PAC as soon as possible and priorities set for individual steps. Those steps specified for the regular school program can be begun immediately or after the teacher workshops. School policy should encourage multiculturalism in every possible way. Again, the most important short range goal is the vitalization of the Parent Advisory Committee and their first goal should be the consideration of the proper goals for a bilingual program and the best way to accomplish them in Woburn.

Implications Beyond Woburn

Many of the cities in the Boston metropolitan area face problems similar to those in Woburn. Cities too small to engage professional sociologists, linguists and planners must, nevertheless, plan suitable bilingual programs for small numbers of Spanish-speaking (and Port-

uguese-speaking) children. To do this, they really need to survey for the sociolinguistic data called for by Fishman, Saviile and Troike.¹⁶ The questionnaire developed for Woburn could be adopted for another city to get very basic information on the value of Spanish and English to the community and the expectations adults have of the schools. Woburn's Spanish-speaking population is virtually all Puerto Rican, but in a city with a mixed Spanish population, the questions should include all of the nationalities, either with separate history and culture questions (should each be taught?) or one question on Latin America. Also, the attitudes of the different nationalities (where there are enough from any country to constitute a separate group) should be analyzed separately. This way, an outnumbered group with different values will receive special attention in the planning process. Experience shows that two of the questions (3 and 7) in part II of the questionnaire are not clear enough and should be reworded. If more time was allowed for the survey, the questions could be made open-ended. Such a method would get more information and provide an opportunity to answer questions on the program, possibly drawing more people into the planning process.

Using the survey results from Boston and Hartford,¹⁷

it is impossible to say whether the Puerto Ricans of Woburn are atypical in their attitudes toward bilingual education. The attitudes they expressed have significance for other cities where this information is not known. The almost unanimous opinion in favor of maintaining the Spanish language through the schools as well as at home calls into question the soundness of the transitional bilingual model universally prescribed for Massachusetts. For all cities this should be a warning not to accept a prepackaged bilingual program, but to carefully plan it with all the tools and expertise available to the city.

NOTES

- ¹For a graphic portrayal and description of the educational planning process, see F. Banghart and A. Trull, Jr. (1973).
- ²"Some of the most successful and secure programs we have observed are those in which parents are most intimately involved." T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970).
- ³Ibid., p.62.
- ⁴For instance, the Portuguese bilingual program in Cambridge, Mass., in which the Portuguese organization COPA is involved.
- ⁵From an interview with Eduardo Crespo.
- ⁶E.Crespo and others.
- ⁷From an interview with Marlen Hagsburg.
- ⁸E. Crespo.
- ⁹T. Andersson and M. Boyer (1970), p.62.
- ¹⁰M. Marrero.
- ¹¹Cited earlier, V.P. John and V.M. Horner (1970).
- ¹²For instance, Newton, Mass., where summer workshops were funded by the Metropolitan Planning Project, which is working to reduce the problems of racial and cultural isolation in the schools.
- ¹³J.A. Fishman (1970).
- ¹⁴See note 51, Chapter One.
- ¹⁵W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker (1973) report that in the St. Lambert program, attitudes toward the French were considerably improved without any change in attitudes toward English peers.
- ¹⁶J.A. Fishman (1970) and M.P. Saville and R.C. Troike(1970).
- ¹⁷A. Gianturco and N. Aronin (1971) and P.A. Zirkel(1971).

APPENDIXES

QUESTIONNAIRE WITH RESULTS

- I. Sex: 22 Males 15 Females 1 Unmarked
Males= 60% Females= 40%
1. "How long have you lived in Woburn?" Mean= 6.3 years
Standard Deviation= 3.4 years
 2. "Where did you live before?" Puerto Rico 37
No Answer 1
 3. If lived in Puerto Rico:
"Do you plan to return there?" Yes 27 No 8
Yes= 77% No= 23%
 4. "Can you speak English well enough to go shopping
alone?" Yes 24 No 12 Yes= 67% No= 33%
 5. "Can you read an English newspaper?" Yes 18 No 19
Yes= 49% No= 51%
 6. "Do you have any children? How many?" Yes 24 No 13
Mean= 2.11 Standard Deviation= 2.06 Number= 37
 7. If no children in family, go to part II, question 1.
"Do your children speak English?" Yes 14 No 8
Yes= 64% No= 36%
 8. "Which language do you speak most often with your
children?" Spanish 15 English 4 Both the same 1
Spanish= 75% English= 20% Both the same= 5%
 9. "Are any of your children in bilingual classes at
school?" Yes 3 No 19
 10. "How long do you expect your daughters to stay in
school?" Finish the eighth grade 1
Graduate from high school 17 Graduate from
college 1
 11. "How long do you expect your sons to stay in school?"
Finish the eighth grade 1 Graduate from high
school 17 Graduate from college 1
- II. "We would like to know how you feel about education and
about using Spanish and English to teach courses in
public schools. Some people have agreed and others
disagreed with the statements I am going to read to

you. We would appreciate your opinions about these things."

1. "Some people think that all children who speak Spanish should learn to read and write it."
37 Agreed 1 Disagreed
2. "Most teachers are good examples for my children to follow."
38 Agreed 0 Disagreed
3. "Teaching English to Spanish-speaking children is the school's job, not the parent's job."
4 Agreed 34 Disagreed
4. "Most kids who can do the work are able to go to college if they really want to."
36 Agreed 2 Disagreed
5. "It would be a good thing if parents who spoke Spanish and English helped the teachers in schools where there are children who speak Spanish."
37 Agreed 1 Disagreed
6. "The schools should teach children about Puerto Rico and its history."
38 Agreed 0 Disagreed
7. "Spanish should be taught by the parents rather than by the teacher."
7 Agreed 31 Disagreed
8. "Once in a while it should be ok for parents to keep their children out of school for a day for family matters."
27 Agreed 11 Disagreed
9. "If classes are taught partly in Spanish, a child learns less English."
0 Agreed 37 Disagreed 1 Didn't know
10. "Parents should try to learn more English."
38 Agreed 0 Disagreed
11. "All Spanish-speaking children have the right to bilingual education."
37 Agreed 1 Disagreed
12. "Children who learn to speak and read English will do better in life than those who don't."
38 Agreed 0 Disagreed.

CUESTIONARIO

I. Sexo: M F

1. " Cuántos años vive Usted en Woburn?" _____
2. " Donde vivía Ud. antes?" _____
3. Si vivía en Puerto Rico,
" Se propone volver a Puerto Rico?" Sí No
4. " Puede Ud. hablar suficiente inglés para ir a
comprar sólo(a) a una tienda?" Sí No
5. " Puede leer un periódico inglés?" Sí No
6. " Tiene Ud. niños? Cuántos?" Sí No _____
7. Si no tiene niños, vaya a cuestion II-1.
" Hablan los niños inglés?" Sí No
8. " Que idioma Ud. habla mas con sus hijos?"
inglés español igualmente
9. " Están algunos de sus niños en las clases bilingües?"
Sí No
10. " Cuanto tiempo Ud. espera que su hija este en la
escuela? Ud. espera que: terminen el 8 grado
que terminen la escuela superior o que se
graduen de Universidad?"

II. "Nos gustaría saber lo que Ud. piensa acerca de la educación y del uso de dos idiomas, inglés y español para la enseñanza en las escuelas públicas. Ciertas personas están de acuerdo y otras no están de acuerdo con esto. Le agradeceríamos mucho su opinión sobre este asunto."

1. "Mucha gente piensa que todos los niños de habla hispana debían aprender a leer y escribir español."
De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé
2. "La mayoría de los maestros son el ejemplo que mis niños deben seguir."
De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

3. "El enseñar el idioma inglés a los niños de habla hispana es trabajo de la escuela y no de los padres de familia."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

4. "La mayoría de muchachos que pueden hacer el trabajo escolar pueden ir a la universidad, si realmente lo desean."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

5. "Sería una buena cosa si los padres que hablan inglés y español ayudaran a los maestros donde hayan niños que no hablan inglés."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

6. "Las escuelas debían enseñar acerca de Puerto Rico y su historia."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

7. "Los padres de familia y no los profesores en la escuela debían enseñar el español a los niños."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

8. "De vez en cuando es bueno para los padres de familia mantener a sus hijos fuera de la escuela por razones familiares."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

9. "Si se enseñan las clases en parte en español, los niños aprenden menos inglés."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

10. "Los padres de familia debían tratar a aprender mas inglés."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

11. "Todos los niños de habla hispana tienen el derecho de una educación bilingüe."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

12. "Los niños que aprenden a hablar y escribir inglés progresaran mas cuando adultos que los que no sepan."

De acuerdo No de acuerdo No sé

APPENDIX TWO. SURVEY OF CHILDREN

After the results of the survey of adults were in, I interviewed ten fourth and fifth graders at the Plympton School in Woburn.¹ Of the ten, four were from Puerto Rico; one was born in Woburn and had one Puerto Rican parent, one Anglo parent; five were native English speakers. Seven were male and three female. Their answers to the same value questions put to the adults showed less sureness, but any exact comparison is difficult because of the small number of children.

The ten children were seated in a room and given printed copies of the questions. The questions were read aloud and each child marked the answers on the page. Vocabulary and difficult questions were explained as they were asked. Fourth and fifth graders were chosen as subjects because they could understand and think about the questions. Within the school situation, older children would be self-selected by dropping out and no other gathering place could be found where a mixed group of children met.

The cultural and linguistic surety displayed by the Puerto Rican adults did not show up in the answers given by their children (see the copy of the questionnaire and results following). The adults felt, 37 to 1, that

bilingual parents working in the schools, as aides would be a good idea, but only one of the five Spanish-speaking children liked the idea. Only two of the children felt that reading and writing Spanish should follow speaking it. Two felt that the schools should not be involved in teaching Spanish. While their parents felt unanimously that bilingual classes would not hamper the learning of English, two of the children felt it would. Two of the children reported that their parents spoke no English and disagreed, along with one other child, with the statement that parents should try to learn more English. Although they all knew children in the bilingual classes, only three answered that Spanish-speaking children have the right to bilingual education. Finally, on a question asked only of the children, "Would it be a good thing if everyone learned Spanish and English both when they were in the first grade?", four of the five Puerto Rican children answered "no". While their parents found Spanish and English both very important and capable of coexisting, these children seemed almost ashamed of their Spanish, wanting to deny it and their parents. They don't think it necessary to learn to read Spanish and don't want or need their parents in the schools. Four of them agree that English betters one's life, yet three of them don't feel that their parents should learn more English. It

might be possible that they are disenchanted by the schools already and want to keep something as important to them as their language and culture out of the schools, but they joined in with the other children in saying that teachers are good examples (four to one) and that anyone can go to college (five to zero), suggesting that it is Spanish and not the schools they are rejecting.

Those who work with the Puerto Ricans in Woburn report strong prejudices against them, so I expected that these would be reflected in the opinions of the Anglo children. On the final question, about everyone learning the two languages in the first grade, two of the five children agreed, two disagreed, and one didn't know (compared to four to one disagreeing among the Puerto Ricans). Four of these children felt that bilingual classes would not lead to worse English skills. All five of them felt that the responsibility for teaching Spanish should be shared by the school, and all five agreed with the idea of bilingual aides. All of these sentiments, as well as the conversation after the interview, indicate that to these monolingual children being able to speak two languages is an accomplishment one could be proud of. However, they still place English in first place. Only one agreed that Spanish-speaking children have the right to bilingual education, and all five thought that Puerto

Rican parents should try to learn more English. Two felt that Spanish-speaking children should learn to read Spanish, two disagreed and one didn't answer, the same split as the Puerto Rican children. These children supported bilingualism more strongly than their bilingual peers, perhaps because what they said did not affect them personally. But the three who answered question six wanted their school to teach about Puerto Rico and its history, so potential for further understanding is there.

School achievement is closely linked with self-image², and these Puerto Rican children need to be helped to appreciate the advantage that their bilingualism gives them. Teachers outside the bilingual program should become aware, if they are not already, of their students' Puerto Rican heritage. They should visit the homes of some of these students, so that parents can feel more at home in the school, so that children can see that teachers do not find their homes strange or repulsive, and so that teachers know and feel comfortable in the environment these students come from each day and return to each afternoon. If language is a problem, teachers can seek out families who speak English or use children as translators. Classes in Woburn, especially those with Puerto

Rican children in them, should discuss what the island is like and what ordinary people do there. Parents who can tell folk tales or teach Spanish songs should be invited to classes. Many thoughtful teachers supply their classrooms with books and pictures about Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans. What is important, though, is that such things not be for only the Spanish children. By openly accepting and appreciating the differences among children, the teacher fosters self-respect, a necessary ingredient for success.

NOTES

¹The children were interviewed during the school day through the cooperation of Bertha Bane, the director of the bilingual program, and their teachers.

²See the article by Vera P. John and Vivian M. Horner, "Bilingualism and the Spanish-speaking Child".

QUESTIONNAIRE WITH RESULTS

1. Which sex are you? 7 Males 3 Females
2. How old are you? 2 were 9, 7 were 10, 1 was 12
3. Did you ever live in Puerto Rico? 4 Yes 6 No
4. Can you speak Spanish? 5 Yes 5 No
5. Can your parents speak Spanish? 5 Yes 5 No
6. Can they speak English? 8 Yes 2 No
7. Which language do you speak with your parents?
4 Spanish 5 English 1 Both

We would like to know how you feel about education and about using Spanish and English to teach courses in public schools. Some people have agreed and others have disagreed with the statements that I am going to read to you. We would appreciate your opinions about these things.

1. Some people think that all children who speak Spanish should learn to read and write it. What do you think?
*2/2 Agreed 2/1 Disagreed 1/2 Didn't know
2. "Most teachers are good examples for me to follow"
Do you agree or disagree with the people who say this?
4/4 Agreed 1/1 Disagreed
3. Teaching English to Spanish-speaking children is the school's job, and not the parent's job. What do you think?
0/1 Agreed 5/4 Disagreed
4. Most kids who can do the work are able to go to college if they really want to. Do you disagree or agree?
5/5 Agreed 0/0 Disagreed
5. It would be a good thing if parents who spoke English and Spanish helped the teachers in schools where there are children who speak Spanish. What do you think of this?
1/5 Agreed 2/0 Disagreed 2/0 Didn't know

*The number of Spanish-speaking children responding is placed over the number of English-speaking children responding.

6. The schools should teach children about Puerto Rico and its history. Do you agree with this?
3/3 Agreed 1/0 Disagreed 1/2 Didn't know
7. Spanish should be taught by parents rather than by the teacher, if the parents speak Spanish. Do you agree with the people who say this?
2/0 Agreed 3/5 Disagreed
8. Once in awhile it should be ok for parents to keep their children out of school for a day for family reasons. What do you think?
5/5 Agreed 0/0 Disagreed
9. If classes at school were taught in Spanish and English, children would learn less English. Do you agree with this or do you disagree?
2/1 Agreed 2/4 Disagreed 1/0 Didn't know
10. Parents who speak Spanish should try to learn more English. Do you agree or disagree?
2/5 Agreed 3/0 Disagreed
11. All Spanish-speaking children have the right to bilingual education (school taught in Spanish and English). What do you think?
3/1 Agreed 2/2 Disagreed 0/2 Didn't know
12. Children who learn to speak and read English will do better in life than those who don't learn. Do you agree or disagree with this?
4/3 Agreed 1/1 Disagreed 0/1 Didn't know
13. It would be a good thing if everyone learned Spanish and English both when they were in the first grade.
1/2 Agreed 4/2 Disagreed 0/1 Didn't know

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Eduardo Crespo, social worker for the Office of Welfare Services, October 19, 1973.

Marlen Hagsburg, teacher and community liaison, Woburn Transitional Bilingual Program, December 6, 1973.

Herman Hernandez, director of the Latin American Program of the Young Men's Christian Association in Woburn, on several occasions during November and December, 1973.

Maria Marrero, teacher, Woburn Transitional Bilingual Program, October 22, 1973.

Alex Rodriguez, of the Massachusetts Committee on Bilingual Education, December 11, 1973.